

PALGRAVE
HANDBOOKS



THE PALGRAVE INTERNATIONAL HANDBOOK ON ADULT AND LIFELONG EDUCATION AND LEARNING

Edited by
Marcella Milana, Sue Webb, John Holford,
Richard Waller, and Peter Jarvis



The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning

“This is a timely book that helps situate our field in a world committed to 2015 Sustainable Development Goals. I commend the editors for providing a truly international collection of perspectives on adult education and learning. To their credit, they have given us a delightful mix of new and more senior voices in the field, from multiple nations, resulting in a rich and textured examination of key issues before us. This is very welcome edition.”

—Leona M. English, *Professor of Adult Education, St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia, Canada*

“The *International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning* is an unmissable reference for students and researchers interested in rethinking the field. The result of an ambitious collective endeavour, its innovative structure offers a variety of theoretical and conceptual approaches, new research insights, policy debates and the study of tensions at a range of analytical scales and geographies. It is a valuable scholarly piece of literature in the best tradition of adult education internationalism and criticism.”

—Licínio C. Lima, *Professor of Education, University of Minho, Portugal*

“This text is the go-to-handbook when it comes to making sense of international issues facing lifelong learning and adult education. It offers both a contemporary and interdisciplinary analysis that will provoke students to reflect deeply the about nature, purpose and meaning of the field.”

—Edward W. Taylor, *Professor of Lifelong Learning and Adult Education, Penn State University, USA*

Marcella Milana · Sue Webb
John Holford · Richard Waller
Peter Jarvis
Editors

The Palgrave
International
Handbook on Adult
and Lifelong
Education and
Learning

palgrave
macmillan

Editors

Marcella Milana
Department of Human Sciences
University of Verona
Verona, Italy

Sue Webb
Faculty of Education
Monash University
Clayton, VIC
Australia

John Holford
School of Education
University of Nottingham
Nottingham, UK

Richard Waller
Department of Education and Childhood
University of the West of England
Bristol, UK

Peter Jarvis
Department of Politics
University of Surrey
Guildford, UK

ISBN 978-1-137-55782-7 ISBN 978-1-137-55783-4 (eBook)
<https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4>

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017937282

© The Editor(s) (if applicable) and The Author(s) 2018

The author(s) has/have asserted their right(s) to be identified as the author(s) of this work in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

This work is subject to copyright. All rights are solely and exclusively licensed by the Publisher, whether the whole or part of the material is concerned, specifically the rights of translation, reprinting, reuse of illustrations, recitation, broadcasting, reproduction on microfilms or in any other physical way, and transmission or information storage and retrieval, electronic adaptation, computer software, or by similar or dissimilar methodology now known or hereafter developed.

The use of general descriptive names, registered names, trademarks, service marks, etc. in this publication does not imply, even in the absence of a specific statement, that such names are exempt from the relevant protective laws and regulations and therefore free for general use.

The publisher, the authors and the editors are safe to assume that the advice and information in this book are believed to be true and accurate at the date of publication. Neither the publisher nor the authors or the editors give a warranty, express or implied, with respect to the material contained herein or for any errors or omissions that may have been made. The publisher remains neutral with regard to jurisdictional claims in published maps and institutional affiliations.

Cover image: © John Cooper/Stockimo/Alamy Stock Photo

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Macmillan Publishers Ltd.

The registered company address is: The Campus, 4 Crinan Street, London, N1 9XW, United Kingdom

CONTENTS

Introduction to the Handbook	1
Marcella Milana, Sue Webb, John Holford, Richard Waller and Peter Jarvis	
Part I Thinking and Rethinking the Field	
Introduction	9
Marcella Milana, Sue Webb, John Holford, Richard Waller and Peter Jarvis	
Theoretical Landscapes	
Contemporary Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning: An Epistemological Analysis	13
Richard G. Bagnall and Steven Hodge	
Exercising Clarity with Transformative Learning Theory	35
Chad Hoggan	
Critical Adult Education Theory: Traditions and Influence	53
Stephen Brookfield	
From Radical Adult Education to Social Movement Learning	75
John D. Holst	

Adult Learning and Communicative Rationality Palle Rasmussen	93
Generative Pathways	
Adult Education and the ‘Learning’ Turn Terri Seddon	111
Limit Situations. Adult Education and Critical Awareness Raising Danny Wildemeersch	133
Revisiting Paulo Freire: Adult Education for Emancipation Emilio Lucio-Villegas	151
Learning and Experience: A Psycho-Societal Approach Henning Salling Olesen	169
Complexity, Adult Biographies and Co-operative Transformation Laura Formenti	191
Conceptual Sites	
Economics and the Political Economy of Adult Education Richard Desjardins	211
The Critical Turn in Human Resources Development Tonette S. Rocco, Sunny L. Munn and Joshua C. Collins	227
Learning and Identity Development at Work Alan Brown and Jenny Bimrose	245
Lifelong Learning as an Emancipation Process: A Capability Approach Pepka Boyadjieva and Petya Ilieva-Trichkova	267
Knowledge Production as Organisational Learning: The Case of Danish Universities Bente Elkjaer	289

Part II Scale and Movement

Introduction	309
Marcella Milana, Sue Webb, John Holford, Richard Waller and Peter Jarvis	
Global	
Assembling Literacy as Global: The Danger of a Single Story	315
Camilla Addey	
Conceptualizing Participation in Adult Learning and Education: Equity Issues	337
Kjell Rubenson	
Participation in Adult Literacy Programmes and Social Injustices	359
Lyn Tett	
Lifelong Learning Policy Discourses of International Organisations Since 2000: A Kaleidoscope or Merely Fragments?	375
Moosung Lee and Shazia K. Jan	
Transformative Sustainability Education: From Sustainababble to a Civilization Leap	397
Elizabeth A. Lange	
Research Patterns in Comparative and Global Policy Studies on Adult Education	421
Marcella Milana	
Regional	
Latin America: Adult and Popular Education in Dialogue	443
Danilo R. Streck and Cheron Zanini Moretti	
Europe: Comparing Lifelong Learning Systems	461
Éric Verdier	
The Mediterranean: Adult Education Landmarks	485
Peter Mayo	

The Southern African Development Community: Challenges and Prospects in Lifelong Learning Idowu Biao and Tonic Maruatona	507
National	
Argentina: The Debate Between Lifelong and Popular Education in Adult Education Lidia Mercedes Rodríguez	531
Ghana: The Life and Death of Adult Education and Implications for Current Policy Michael A. Tagoe	549
Palestine: Philosophical and Methodological Dilemmas for Adult Education Rabab Tamish	571
China: Adult Education and Learning from Mao to Now Roger Boshier	587
Singapore: Trends and Directions in Lifelong Learning Prem Kumar	609
Timor-Leste: Adult Literacy, Popular Education and Post-conflict Peacebuilding Bob Boughton	629
Transience	
Transnational Migration, Everyday Pedagogies and Cultural Destabilization Linda Morrice	649
Researching Transnational Migration and Lifelong Learning Shibao Guo	667
Reconfiguring the Learning Space: Skilled Immigrants in Canada Hongxia Shan	687

Non-permanent Workers and Their Learning in a Developmental State	707
Sahara Sadik	
The Global Spread of the Nordic Folk High School Idea	721
Henrik Nordvall	
Part III Contexts, People and Practices	
Introduction	737
Marcella Milana, Sue Webb, John Holford, Richard Waller and Peter Jarvis	
Organisations	
Adult Education Learned Societies: Professionalism and Publications	741
Sue Webb	
Adult Education Research: Publication Strategies and Collegial Recognition	761
Andreas Fejes and Erik Nylander	
Popular Universities: Their Hidden Functions and Contributions	779
Nelly P. Stromquist and Guillermo Lozano	
The Ideals and Practices of Citizenship in Nordic Study Circles	797
Annika Pastuhov	
South African University Engagement: Lifelong Learning and ‘Socially Robust’ Knowledge	817
Julia Preece	
Learners	
Learning in Later Adulthood: A Critical Perspective	839
Brian Findsen	
Lifelong Learning for Older Adults: Culture and Confucianism	857
Maureen Tam	

Disabilities and Adult and Lifelong Education Jovita M. Ross-Gordon	879
Queering Transformative Learning: The Unfolding of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Ally Lives Matthew A. Eichler and Racidon P. Bernarte	899
Technologies, Objects and Artifacts	
Technologies for Adult and Lifelong Education Seng Chee Tan	917
The Mainstreaming of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) Sarah Speight	939
Lifelong Learning for Africa's Older Adults: The Role of Open Educational Resources and Indigenous Learning Rebecca Nthogo Lekoko and Keitseope Nthomang	957
Popular Culture, Adult Learning, and Identity Development Robin Redmon Wright	971
Popular Fictions as Critical Adult Education Christine Jarvis	991
Creativity, the Arts, and Transformative Learning Patricia Gouthro	1011
Index	1027

ABOUT THE EDITORS

Marcella Milana is Associate Professor at the University of Verona, Italy, where she directs the International Research Centre for Global and Comparative Policy Studies on the Education and Learning of Adults (IRC-GloCoPos). A Joint Editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis), and Joint Convenor of the Policy Studies in Adult Education Research Network of the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA), her work deals with the politics of adult education policy in a globalised world. Her latest book is *Global Networks, Local Actions: Rethinking Adult Education Policy in the 21st Century* (Routledge, 2017).

Sue Webb is Professor of Education at Monash University, Australia, and previously Professor of Continuing Education and Director of the Institute for Lifelong Learning at the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom. A Joint Editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis), her research focuses on social inequality in access and participation in further/higher education and through migration. Her latest publications include *Geographical and place dimensions of post-school participation in education and work* (NCVER, Australian Government, 2015).

John Holford is Robert Peers Professor of Adult Education at the University of Nottingham, United Kingdom, and Joint Editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis). He is also Joint Convenor of the Policy Studies in Adult Education Research Network of the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA). His research has focused chiefly on the role of lifelong education in the formation of citizens,

communities and social movements. His recent books include (with Ellu Saar & Odd Bjørn Ure) *Lifelong Learning in Europe: National Patterns and Challenges* (Edward Elgar, 2013).

Richard Waller is Associate Professor of the Sociology of Education at the University of the West of England, Bristol, United Kingdom. A Joint Editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis), he has taught in further and higher education since 1994, and currently co-leads the departmental Professional Doctorate in Education and PhD programmes. His research focuses on post-compulsory education, social justice and identity, and his latest publications include the co-authored book *Higher education, social class and social mobility: The degree generation* (Palgrave, 2016).

Peter Jarvis is Emeritus Professor of Continuing Education at the University of Surrey, United Kingdom. He is the author or editor of over forty books, and a Founding Editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis). He has twice been awarded the Cyril O. Houle Award for Outstanding Literature in Adult Education by the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education, and he was the first non-North American to be elected to the US International Hall of Fame of Adult and Continuing Education (University of Oklahoma).

LIST OF FIGURES

Exercising Clarity with Transformative Learning Theory	
Fig. 1	Typology 43
Fig. 2	Typology higher edition 48
Learning and Identity Development at Work	
Fig. 1	Dynamic model of occupational identity formation (Brown 1997) 249
Fig. 2	Key factors influencing learning and identity development at work 251
Lifelong Learning as an Emancipation Process: A Capability Approach	
Fig. 1	Participation rate in formal and non-formal adult education and training (last 12 months) in 2007 by countries, % 279
Fig. 2	Indexes of fairness in participation in adult education for people with low (ISCED 0–2) and higher education (ISCED 5–6) 279
Fig. 3	Main reasons for participating in formal education activity by countries, % 281
Fig. 4	Main reasons for participating in non-formal education and training activity by countries, % 281
Research Patterns in Comparative and Global Policy Studies on Adult Education	
Fig. 1	Distribution of academic texts (number, %), by research pattern 427
Singapore: Trends and Directions in Lifelong Learning	
Fig. 1	A holistic view of lifelong learning 620
Fig. 2	Multigenerational flow 621

Disabilities and Adult and Lifelong Education

Fig. 1 Integrative model of disability in adult learning and education 894

Lifelong Learning for Africa's Older Adults: The Role of Open Educational Resources and Indigenous Learning

Fig. 1 African countries with over 4% of their population aged 65 years and above, 1990–2010 961

Fig. 2 Projection of elderly population, 65 years and above, in Africa 2020–2050 961

LIST OF TABLES

Contemporary Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning: An Epistemological Analysis

Table 1	Selective features of the framework of educational epistemologies	18
Table 2	Selective features of situational educational epistemology	29

Lifelong Learning as an Emancipation Process: A Capability Approach

Table 1	Model of lifelong learning roles in a capability approach perspective	276
Table 2	The most important reason why the respondent did not want to participate in education and training by countries	282
Table 3	The most important reason why the respondent did not participate or did not participate still more in education and training, though they wanted to (by countries)	283

Knowledge Production as Organisational Learning: The Case of Danish Universities

Table 1	Number of academic publications produced by staff employed at Aarhus University over a 5-year period (2009–2013)	293
---------	--	-----

Conceptualizing Participation in Adult Learning and Education: Equity Issues Kjell

Table 1	Growth of employer-supported adult education and overall participation in adult education. (After Desjardins 2016, p. 113)	344
---------	--	-----

Research Patterns in Comparative and Global Policy Studies on Adult Education

Table 1	Identified research patterns, by unit of analysis and research aims	427
---------	---	-----

Europe: Comparing Lifelong Learning Systems

Table 1	‘Decommodified’ LLL regimes	474
Table 2	Market LLL regimes	475

The Southern African Development Community: Challenges and Prospects in Lifelong Learning

Table 1	Determination of the need for and goal of lifelong learning in SADC countries	516
Table 2	Structure and learning contents of lifelong learning projects within SADC	517
Table 3	Management styles and resources deployed in the realm of lifelong learning	519

Adult Education Learned Societies: Professionalism and Publications

Table 1	Geographical distribution of affiliated first authorship among all peer-reviewed articles published in two adult education journals 2010–2015	752
Table 2	Institutional distribution of first authorship among all peer-reviewed articles published in two adult education journals 2010–2015	753

The Ideals and Practices of Citizenship in Nordic Study Circles

Table 1	Participants in study circles	802
---------	-------------------------------	-----

Technologies for Adult and Lifelong Education

Table 1	Processes and goals of three metaphors of learning and their relation to adult learning	922
---------	---	-----

Introduction to the Handbook

*Marcella Milana, Sue Webb, John Holford, Richard Waller
and Peter Jarvis*

This Handbook aims to provide its readership with a wide-ranging frame of reference for researching adult and lifelong education and learning, in varied geopolitical and social territories across the world. It has been possible thanks to a collaborative effort involving, over a 3 year period (from concept to publication), seventy-one established scholars and newer researchers from Africa (six), Asia (eight), Europe (twenty-six), Latin America (four), North America (nineteen), and Oceania (eight).

Its premise is that adult education, adult learning, lifelong education, and life-long learning are entangled activities that have differentially captured academic, political and practical attention over time and space. As a result, time and again scholarly work concerned with the education of adults and the learning that happens in adulthood treats these activities as either synonymous or distinctive. This frequently results in intangible conceptual tensions between adult educa-

M. Milana (✉)

Department of Human Sciences, University of Verona, Verona, Italy
e-mail: marcella.milana@univr.it

S. Webb

Faculty of Education, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria, Australia
e-mail: susan.webb@monash.edu

J. Holford

School of Education, University of Nottingham, Nottingham, United Kingdom
e-mail: john.holford@nottingham.ac.uk

R. Waller

Department of Education and Childhood, University of the West of England,
Bristol, United Kingdom
e-mail: Richard.Waller@uwe.ac.uk

P. Jarvis

Department of Politics, University of Surrey, Guildford, United Kingdom

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_1

tion, adult learning, lifelong education and lifelong learning, which affect the very object of academic enquiry, and its investigation.

A wide range of disciplines has, of course, helped address the cognitive, physical, social and political dynamics and processes of education and learning that occur in formal, non-formal and informal contexts beyond schooling. Thus the scholarly literature on adult education, adult learning, lifelong education, and lifelong learning is extensive. It includes key reference books that in recent years have gathered together diverse contributions in an attempt to redefine the contours of what has been for a long time a delimited field (i.e. adult education), in the light of developments in cross-related areas of studies (i.e. adult learning, lifelong education, lifelong learning). Such texts include among others: Kasworm, Rose and Ross-Gordon 2010; Wilson and Hayes 2010; Findsen and Formosa 2011; Jarvis 2012; Aspin et al. 2012.

Yet we (the Editors) perceived a gap in the literature for a reference book that explicitly approaches the inner tensions between adult education, adult learning, lifelong education, and lifelong learning, especially one that is sensitive to the multiple disciplinary heritages entrenched in researching the education and learning that occur in adulthood. This collection seeks to combine discipline-based theoretical perspectives, examining their influences on, and the contaminations they bring to, researching the education and learning of adults, and also the frictions and dilemmas these present. Last but not least this book seeks to exemplify the international dimension in researching education and learning in formal, non-formal and informal contexts beyond schooling.

Accordingly, three central questions guided our design of this Handbook:

1. How is the field of adult and lifelong education and learning being understood and conceptualised by research in the twenty-first century? What theoretical frames are researchers drawing on and why?
2. How are researchers locating and representing their work within the diverse descriptors of the field and the tensions between these terms—for example, adult education, lifelong education, lifelong learning, adult learning and lifelong learners? How are these understandings related to the ontological and epistemological positions of researchers, and their global positions?
3. What disciplinary traditions and practices are researchers drawing on and how are these traditions, bodies of knowledge or practices informing the questions and issues researchers consider important or the dilemmas and challenges their research is focused on?

From the outset we envisaged a loose structure for this Handbook. This, we considered, would best tease out the richness of diverse scholars' insights, as they engage with one or more of these questions from their own conceptual, methodological, disciplinary and geographical positions.

As Editors, we have tried to overcome mainstream and cultural-related attitudes and assumptions, and have benefitted from the invaluable support of

our international Editorial Advisory Board: Prof Tonic Maruatona (Africa), Prof Weiyuan Zhang and Prof Helen Bound (Asia), Prof Andreas Fejes (Europe), Prof Timothy Ireland (Latin America), Prof Emeritus Tom Nesbit and Prof Emerita Amy D. Rose (North America), and Prof Richard Bagnall (Oceania). Undoubtedly the active engagements that we, and members of the Editorial Advisory Board, have with scholarly journals in adult education, adult learning, lifelong education, and lifelong learning, have proved a rich resource.

Together we identified more than a hundred potential contributors, whose research is well known in national or international academic communities, and draws on, and at times combines, different disciplinary knowledge, or expands our understandings in various ways. But while we invited these colleagues to contribute, we must recognise the limits of what is possible.

One such limit is language. Language shapes the way we appreciate and communicate about research. This was envisaged as a book to be published in English, so even when English was not their first language, it was important that contributors were proficient and willing to write in English, or able to have their contributions well translated. Despite our efforts, therefore, out of sixty-five authors of individual or collective chapters included in this Handbook, half are based in the Anglophone world (Australia: seven; Canada: six; New Zealand: one; the United Kingdom: eight; the USA: eleven). However, the other half is not. Among contributing authors outside the Anglophone world, the vast majority work in a country where English is a foreign language (Argentina: one; Belgium: one; Brazil: two; Bulgaria: two; China: one; Denmark: three; Finland: one; France: two; Germany: one; Malta: one; Italy: two; Palestine: one; Spain: one; Sweden: three), though a few are based in countries that, due to past colonial ties, still recognise English as an official language (Botswana: three; Ghana: one; Hong Kong: one; Philippines: one; South Africa: one; Singapore: three). If this Handbook had been designed for publication in Mandarin Chinese or Spanish, just to mention the two most spoken languages in the world (other than English) (Lewis et al. 2016), it would no doubt convey rather different frames of reference for researching adult and lifelong education and learning.

Knowledge is, of course, never value free; neither is any reference book aimed at defining and bordering a vast area of academic research across geopolitical and social territories. Language conditions how we gain access to and disseminate research, but a number of other factors also influence how knowledge is produced, and thus contribute to shaping the boundaries of a field of academic enquiry.

In the social sciences, as Sartori (1984: 16) notes, the accumulation of knowledge, as well as the stability of language, depends on the terms used, because language not only expresses, but also moulds our thought. On this line of thinking, ‘allocating a term to a concept—terming the concept—is a most central decision’ (Ibid.).

We intentionally defined the field of academic enquiry covered by this Handbook as *adult and lifelong education and learning*. This phrase, composed

of words we selected and grammatically linked to one other, is unusual in the specialised literature. More common are combinations of two of the words (adult education, adult learning, lifelong education, lifelong learning), or phrases that grammatically link at least three such words (e.g. adult *and* lifelong learning, adult learning *and* education, education *and* lifelong learning, adult education *and* lifelong learning).

It was not our intention to predetermine the boundaries of a field of academic enquiry in which we position ourselves. Rather we wished to permit more stable allocations of terms to concepts in order to unleash the potential for a collective rebounding of the field. Hence we acknowledge that the result of our collective endeavour is only one possible rebounding that might have been possible—yet we believe, it has been fruitful for the accumulation of knowledge on cognitive, physical, social and political dynamics and processes of adult and lifelong education and learning.

Nonetheless, we purposely described this collective redrawing of boundaries in terms of *research on* (not *in*) adult and lifelong education and learning, for two main reasons. First, we felt that there are already many valid resource books for practitioners willing to increase their knowledge on how to teach, or create the conditions for learning, that address adults in formal, non-formal and informal contexts. As we write, we know more are under preparation by professional organisations that represent practitioners (at least in the Anglophone world). At the same time, we note that the number of university chairs and specialised undergraduate and graduate programmes in adult education have been reducing in number; in some countries, they have disappeared entirely. Hence both newer and more established scholars in the field face some difficulties in gaining access to, and disseminating, knowledge gained through research in their own countries and elsewhere. Second, the richness and complexity of adult and lifelong education and learning as a field of academic enquiry almost defies attempts to be thoroughly analysed or fully represented in this or any other Handbook (no matter its length).

We hope that despite these limitations, this Handbook contributes new knowledge and understandings derived from research on adult and lifelong education and learning in various parts of the world. We therefore hope that it will be of value to undergraduate and postgraduate students. However, it is equally our hope that the Handbook will stimulate further research by newer and more established scholars who share an interest in how the education and learning of adults in contemporary societies is affected by socio-cultural, political and economic globalisation processes. Regardless of their geographical location, undergraduates, postgraduates and newer and established academics need to understand their relationship to these knowledge producing processes in the field of adult and lifelong education and learning. And arguably, we hope this Handbook will also encourage researchers to rethink questions of equity and fairness and the sustainable prosperity of individuals, their immediate communities, and societies at large.

HANDBOOK OVERVIEW

The structure of this Handbook is the result of inductive inferences (Polkinghorne 1983) that we made, reading and discussing time and again each of the chapters submitted for publication, in editorial communications and exchanges between the authors, and with our Editorial Advisory Board. In doing so, we built on our knowledge of the field. Yet, while looking at possible interconnections and cross-references among the chapters, we abandoned the apparent certainties of our original categorisation. Initially, we had intended to distinguish between three conceptualisations: firstly, learning in adulthood and learning systems; secondly, understandings and knowing about learners, educators and learning; and thirdly, dilemmas and challenges. Whilst the Handbook does provide chapters that focus on these three sets of ideas, and the ideas can be searched for using the index, we have not used these concepts as the organising structure. Instead, we adopted a different organising rationale, drawing on human geography as a powerful metaphor for depicting the territory of research on adult and lifelong education and learning.

Since the new millennium, as Storey (2015) points out, there has been an increased interest among scholars of human geography in the social and political contexts of how we understand a territory and issues of territoriality. Traditional understandings of a territory as the spatial extend under the jurisdiction of a state, and of territoriality as a state strategy to create a sense of ownership over such territory, and act for its (material and ideational) defence (Dahlman 2009), have been both revisited and expanded. For instance, Delaney (2005) stresses that territories are not simple bounded spatial entities, but rather the result of a mix of power, ideology and authority. Thus, territoriality is entrenched in social practices and processes that blend space, power and meaning. In this line of thinking, Storey (2012) speaks of various territorial strategies applied to affirm, keep or oppose power in diverse social and political contexts, and of different territorial practices that can strengthen, support or contest diverse forms of exclusion.

Metaphorically, we see educational research as a territorialised world, of which differentiated areas of research are observable manifestations. Yet the production of distinct spaces for the creation, dissemination and accumulation of academic knowledge implies the production of distinct territories within the world of educational research. As such adult education, adult learning, lifelong education, and lifelong learning can be seen as the resultant of territorialisation processes that occur at the micro-scale, where each is produced as a bounded space claimed by group of academics, practitioners and policymakers, jointly or on their own terms. Yet, in human geography, as Storey (2015) notes, the concepts of territory and territorialisation simplify and limit complex phenomena that involve particular ways of thinking about or imagining space—in the service of specific political functions. Similarly, we imagined this Handbook as a bounded space or territory to serve as a reference book for newer and

established scholars. The contours of this territory are represented by the three ‘spaces’, or parts, of this Handbook.

Part I, **Thinking and Rethinking the Field**, has probably the least self-explanatory title. We hope this implies that territorial borders are not fixed or defined once and forever at the conceptual level. The section *Theoretical Landscapes* presents collective theoretical frameworks of reference in adult education and learning in which the pioneering work of a few scholars have been further developed by others, and constitute today well-established and recognisable theories and/or theoretical perspectives. The section *Generative pathways* comprises original conceptualisations and theorisations that selected scholars have developed over their lifetimes, either in solitude or in collaborative efforts with others, in order to make sense of specific concerns and research areas. For the most this work draws on different traditions and/or disciplines, but always adopts critical, self-reflective, and personal lenses. Finally, the section *Conceptual Sites* depicts political economic influences and tensions in re/thinking adult education and learning, which we see as just one ‘site’ within the larger landscape of adult education and learning research, but to which—for its contemporary relevance—we pay particular attention here.

Part II, **Scale and Movement**, suggests that at the socio-cultural and political levels, there are distinctive territorial borders, depending on the scale on which we focus attention. At the same time, it recognises the permeability of such boundaries. These become especially evident when we take into account the flows of people across geographical borders, and the ideas and capacities they carry with them. Accordingly, the *Global* section deals with research on issues such as, the sustainability of the world we inhabit and the social injustices that persist within it, but also on the work of intergovernmental organisations, and their discourses on adult and lifelong education and learning. It also reflects on how different research patterns within the field capture what goes beyond national borders. The *Regional* section brings to light how different territorialisation processes—that build on countries’ political alliances and/or cultural proximity—frame the research on adult and lifelong education and learning. Similar processes, however, also occur in territories that correspond to spaces of state jurisdiction in South America, Asia or the Middle East, as depicted in the *National* section. Finally, the *Transience* section questions the territorialisation processes that build on the geography of territories, addressing the conceptual and practical dilemmas these raise.

Finally, Part III, **Contexts, People and Practices**, concentrates on the collective and individual actors whose power, ideology and authority contribute to the creation of territories as bounded spaces for the education and learning of adults. But in so doing, it pays equal attention to inanimate and often silenced phenomena that play strategic roles in creating a sense of ownership over the territory of adult and lifelong education and learning. The section *Organisations* looks at study circles, popular universities, universities, enterprises and academic publishing as non-spatial dimensions of education and learning territories. The *Learners* section looks at other non-spatial dimensions, exploring some

characteristics of particular adult learners, such as their age, disabilities and sexual orientation. Finally, the section on *Technologies, Objects & Artefacts* further expands on the non-spatial dimensions that contribute to territorialisation processes, from the information and communication technologies that brought Massive Open Online Courses or Open Education Resources to centre stage to arts, fiction, and popular culture. Such bounded spaces may function as new or alternative territories for adults' learning and education.

Short introductions to Parts I, II and III present in greater detail the work that each embraces.

HOW TO USE THIS HANDBOOK

Likewise any other Handbook, people may choose and read selected chapters or sections according to own interests. But there are also many other pathways to read through this Handbook, among which we here point at just a few.

People willing to delve into the **epistemic complexity** of adult education, adult learning, and lifelong education and learning, may start by reading Richard G. Bagnall and Steven Hodge's epistemological analysis (Chap. 2), then read about the learning turn in Terri Seddon's contribution (Chap. 7), to conclude with reading about the conceptual relations between learning and education in Palle Rasmussen's chapter (Chap. 6).

Readers attentive in issues of **social inclusion and justice** may go through the contributions on people with disabilities by Jovita M. Ross-Gordon (Chap. 45), and on the complex lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and ally by Matthew E. Eichler and Racidon P. Bernarte (Chap. 46), to continue with the contribution on older adults by Brian Findsen (Chap. 43). They may also read forward on the social injustices of participation in adult literacy programmes, in Lyn Tett's contribution (Chap. 19), and consider equity issues connected with participation in adult learning and education, thanks to the contribution of Kjell Rubenson (Chap. 18). Finally, they may question whether Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) really democratise participation, as does Sarah Speight in her contribution (Chap. 48). Yet, readers interested in the empirical studies on lifelong learning, may also consider the heuristic potential of the capability approach in conceptualising lifelong learning, with the contribution of Pepka Boyadjieva and Petya Ilieva-Trichkova (Chap. 15).

People willing to delve into more **critical turns and perspectives** may read the chapter on the critical turn in human resources development by Tonette S. Rocco, Sunny L. Munn & Joshua C. Collins (Chap. 13), and the chapter on transformative sustainability education by Elizabeth A. Lange (Chap. 21).

Those with an interest in **African countries** may start with the contribution of Michael Tagoe on the historical relation between adult education and social movements in Ghana (Chap. 28), then read Idowu Biao and Tonic Maruatona's contribution on the challenges and prospects for lifelong learning in the Southern African Development Community (Chap. 26), read further on South African university engagement in Julia Preece's contribution (Chap. 42),

to conclude with a focus on the role of open educational resources and indigenous learning for Africa's older adults, as presented by Rebecca Nthogo Lekoko and Keitseope Nthomang (Chap. 49).

People attentive to adult and lifelong education and learning in **Latina America** may initiate their reading with the contribution of Danilo R. Streck and Cheron Zanini Moretti (Chap. 23) on the dialogue between Adult and Popular Education in Latin America, then read about the Argentinean debate between Lifelong and Popular Education in the contribution by Lidia Mercedes Rodriguez (Chap. 27), to finally reflect on the relevance of Paulo Freire's work today, thanks to the contribution by Emilio Lucio-Villegas (Chap. 9).

Far more reading pathways through this Handbook are of course possible. No matter the one(s) one chooses, we wish for an enjoyable reading that can stimulate thoughts, and further research on adult and lifelong education and learning.

REFERENCES

- Aspin, D. N., Chapman, J. D., Evans, K., & Bagnall, R. (Eds.). (2012). *Second international handbook of lifelong learning*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Dahlman, C. T. (2009). Territory. In C. Gallaher, C. T. Dahlman, M. Gilmartin, A. Mountz, & P. Shirlow (Eds.), *Key concepts in political geography*. London: Sage.
- Delaney, D. (2005). *Territory: A short introduction*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Findsen, B., & Formosa, M. (2011). *Lifelong learning in later life: A handbook on older adult learning*. Rotterdam: SensePublishers.
- Kasworm, C. E., Rose, A. D., & Ross-Gordon, J. M. (Eds.). (2010). *Handbook of adult and continuing education*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Jarvis, P. (Ed.). (2012). *The Routledge international handbook of lifelong learning*. London: Routledge.
- Lewis, M. P., Simons, G. F., & Fennig, C. D. (Eds.). (2016). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Polkinghorne, D. (1983). *Methodology for the human sciences: Systems of inquiry*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Sartori, G. (1984). *Social science concepts: A systematic analysis*. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.
- Storey, D. (2012). *Territories: The claiming of space*. London: Routledge.
- Storey, D. (2015). Territory and territoriality. In B. Warf (Ed.), *Oxford bibliographies in geography*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wilson, A. L., & Hayes, E. (Eds.). (2010). *Handbook of adult and continuing education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Thinking and Rethinking the Field

INTRODUCTION

The essence of scholarship is the reshaping of knowledge. Classically, of course, this happens through discovery of the new: previously unknown facts, or new theories, models and perspectives which enable us to understand afresh what we already know. But scholarship is not just a matter of discovering the surprising or unforeseen, of radically new insights and wholly new theorisations. Very often, new discoveries and interpretations are incremental: ‘standing on the sho[u]lders of giants’, as Newton (1676) famously put it—or, more modestly, peeping over the shoulders of colleagues. This is no less true in lifelong education and learning as in any other field of inquiry, and in this Handbook we emphasise the need for continual intellectual work on the nature of our field. For this reason, we do not see territorial boundaries—conceptual or geographical—as fixed or defined once and for all: in our field as in others, landmarks change and contours shift; fences are erected, eroded or torn down. The label we use for the field of academic enquiry—*adult and lifelong education and learning*—itself points to this volatility.

The chapters in Part I explore some of the contours and complexities of the field: they encourage us to think about it and to rethink it, and show some ways in which this can be done. The chapters are arranged in three sections. Those in the first, *Theoretical Landscapes*, explore theories and perspectives that have become well-established frames of reference. To begin with Richard G. Bagnall and Steven Hodge look at the epistemology of contemporary adult and lifelong education and learning, illuminating the ‘vocationalisation’ that dominates policy and provision. Prevailing cultural contexts, they argue, selectively favour particular epistemologies, and this explains the episodic flourishing of constructivist and emancipatory epistemologies. Neoliberalism, seen as a context, explains the shift from ‘education’ to ‘learning’ and the ascendancy of a ‘vocationalist’ epistemology—though they also suggest the rise of a situational epistemology may herald its future decline. In the second chapter, Chad

Hoggan engages with transformative learning, one of today's most prominent paradigms. This suffers, he argues, from conceptual 'evacuation': that is, the term is used to refer to such a wide variety of phenomena that it has lost any distinctive meaning. Transformative learning is a 'metatheory', but he suggests a typology of outcomes that can generate some clarity.

Mezirow was clear about transformative learning's links with Habermas, but arguably its influence rests on its 'metatheoretical' nature. Some educational theories take root across a wide intellectual, political and pedagogical spectrum. In different ways the remaining three chapters in this section engage with the genealogies, challenges and potential of theories rooted in this emancipatory tradition. Stephen Brookfield explores two major traditions of critical analysis that have framed much adult educational theorising: Marxism and the Frankfurt School of critical social theory, and the critical pedagogy tradition associated with Paulo Freire. He also touches on the influence of transformative learning and other critically-inclined streams of theorising such as feminist theory, queer theory, Africentrism and critical race theory on adult education. In all, of these he suggests, theory is to play a part in dismantling structures of power by critiquing the ideologies that keep these structures in place.

John D. Holst looks at the connections between 'radical adult education' and 'social movement learning'. What, he asks, is the relationship between our scholarship and the socio-political and economic contexts in which adult education researchers and social movement actors and organisations operate. He addresses this historically, focussing on the USA and the Americas since 1945. In contrast, Palle Rasmussen's discussion of adult learning and communicative rationality is set in a profoundly European frame. 'Learning' (as opposed to the more humanist idea of 'education') has been much used in policy discourse of late: Rasmussen discusses philosophical criticisms of learning, the significance of the German tradition of *Bildung*, the significance of learning theorists such as Knud Illeris, and the contributions of two critical social theorists: Jürgen Habermas and Oskar Negt. He sees these as substantiating the interactive dimension of learning: the link between individual learning processes and the complexity of contemporary social life.

The section on *Generative Pathways* explores various scholars' original theorisations. Their work draws on different traditions and disciplines, but they adopt critical, self-reflective, and personal lenses. We begin with Terri Seddon's discussion of 'Adult Education and the "Learning" Turn'. As lifelong learning has replaced adult education (from the 1990s) 'learning as performance' has displaced the established world of adult and lifelong self-development. Using the concept of 'analytic borderlands', she traces global transitions through the 'learning turn' in Australian adult education. 'Lifelong learning', 'adult education' and 'lifelong education' are, she argues, historically specific forms of more general political rationalities, institutionalised spaces and necessary utopias. Danny Wildemeersch then explores the paradox that while adult education typically aims at encouraging its participants to be socially or politically critical, it often results in inequality rather than emancipation. He suggests that by taking

‘equality of intelligence’ (in Rancière’s sense) as the point of departure, participants can take their emancipation in their own hands. In the following chapter, Emilio Lucio-Villegas ‘revisits’ Paulo Freire and the idea of adult education for emancipation. Starting from Freire’s key concepts—culture, dialogue, literacy method, the duality of oppressor/oppressed, conscientisation, and the role of the educator—Lucio-Villegas updates Freire’s thought for today’s social and educational environment, where policies and practices focus so strongly on the labour market.

Henning Salling Olesen’s chapter introduces a psycho-societal approach to theorising learning, combining a materialist theory of socialisation with a hermeneutic interpretation methodology. Individual psychic development, he maintains, produces an inner psycho-dynamic that is a conscious and unconscious resource in the individual’s future life—but this occurs in large part through symbolisation and language. Laura Formenti also explores the significance of individuals’ biographies, but sees complexity theory as a way of overcoming disconnections and dichotomies. Looking for a ‘pattern which connects’ can, she argues, move us to a more cooperative notion of adult education.

Finally, the section on *Conceptual Sites* addresses political and economic influences and tensions in rethinking adult education and learning. This is, of course, only one ‘site’ within the larger landscape of adult education and learning research, but—because of its contemporary relevance—we feel it deserves particular attention. In the first chapter, Richard Desjardins explores three political economy perspectives, linking them to the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)’s shifting policy agenda on adult education over the last five decades. These perspectives, he argues, are of central analytical and political significance when studying adult education policy. Next, Tonette S. Rocco, Sunny L. Munn, Joshua C. Collins consider how various critical theories generated space for the creation of critical human resource development, and how critical race theory is taking HRD in a more radical direction. Alan Brown and Jenny Bimrose argue for the importance of exploring learning at work in relation to identity development: they map changing ideas about the development of identities at work and outline two models of learning to support identity development at work.

Pepka Boyadjieva and Petya Ilieva-Trichkova’s chapter on ‘lifelong learning as an emancipation process’ explores the heuristic potential of the capability approach in conceptualising lifelong learning, and tests its empirical value. Drawing on the work of Amartya Sen and Martha Nussbaum, they develop an index of fairness in participation in adult education and, drawing on it, explore obstacles to participation. Finally, Bente Elkjær’s chapter considers the role universities play as institutions of knowledge production in today’s knowledge-based economies. University scholars, he points out, participate not only in their home university and in global social worlds of knowledge production; they are also, he points out, influenced by local traditions, such as the Nordic countries’ tradition of active participation from ‘below’.

Reference

Newton, I. (1676). Letter to Robert Hooke, 5/15 February. Retrieved January 3, 2017, from http://digitallibrary.hsp.org/index.php/Detail/Object/Show/object_id/9285.

Contemporary Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning: An Epistemological Analysis

Richard G. Bagnall and Steven Hodge

Abstract This chapter seeks to shed some light on the prevailing vocationalisation of adult and lifelong education and learning policy and provision. It does so through a framework of competing educational epistemologies, which are seen as being generated, shaped and selectively foregrounded through educational responses to the prevailing cultural context. Shifts in the nature of that context selectively favour different epistemologies, and may be used to explain: the historical hegemony of disciplinary epistemology; the episodic flourishing of constructivist and emancipatory epistemologies and—with the recent development of a neoliberal cultural context—also the shift from ‘education to learning’ in labelling the field, the contemporary ascendancy of instrumental epistemology evident in the vocationalisation of the field, and the anticipated future decline of that epistemology, with the possible rise of a situational epistemology.

INTRODUCTION

The nature of contemporary adult and lifelong education and learning as a field of educational provision and learning engagement is demonstrably constrained by a policy context demanding its delivery of vocational outcomes. That framing has been the subject of wide-ranging critique and analysis: critique from

R.G. Bagnall (✉)

Mt. Gravatt Campus, Griffith University, 176 Messines Ridge Road,

Mt. Gravatt, QLD 4122, Australia

e-mail: r.bagnall@griffith.edu.au

S. Hodge

School of Education and Professional Studies, Mt. Gravatt Campus,

Griffith University, 176 Messines Ridge Road, Mt. Gravatt, QLD 4122, Australia

e-mail: s.hodge@griffith.edu.au

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,

https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_2

a diversity of views of what is educationally valuable, and analysis focusing largely on its being understood as a neoliberal turn in social policy.

This chapter builds on that body of scholarship in arguing that the general nature of the field at any moment in time may be better understood through a framework of competing educational *epistemologies*—different accounts of what is important in the act of knowing, and hence of how such knowledge should be learned and imparted. Those different educational epistemologies have been generated and selectively foregrounded over time through educational responses to the prevailing cultural context. Four such epistemologies may be seen as having featured significantly in the formation of the field: disciplinary epistemology (wherein valued knowledge is that which is *true*), constructivist epistemology (wherein valued knowledge is that which is *authentic*), emancipatory epistemology (wherein valued knowledge is that which is *powerful*) and instrumental epistemology (wherein valued knowledge is that which is exhibited in *effective action*). Each draws on historically deep roots in educational policy, practice, advocacy and theorisation. Each has come to entail particular properties of education and learning. Differences across the epistemologies in those properties are matters of kind as well as degree. They are also matters of *ethical* import—differences in what it is educationally right to do and good to be. Across epistemologies, such matters tend to be mutually exclusive, suggesting a degree of *incommensurability*—or irresolvability—between educational approaches across the epistemologies. The epistemologies thus may be understood as competing in those respects with others in their educational and learning implications and as conforming to some extent to the notion of competing *paradigms*: epistemic traditions maintained by and through their persuasiveness to their broader cultural context.

Shifts in the nature of the prevailing cultural context selectively favour different epistemologies. The prevailing cultural context during the development of modern adult education and, subsequently, lifelong education as a field of educational provision and learning engagement, was that of the modernist project of progressive scientific humanism, which encouraged the episodic expression of disciplinary, constructivist and emancipatory epistemologies. However, the critical rational empiricism that drove the project of modernity progressively reached the point in the course of the twentieth century where it not only undermined the grounds for the traditional commitment to the universal intrinsic values of progressive humanism, but also spawned a cultural pervasion of electronic communications technology. These developments have redefined social realities, leading to the contemporary cultural context of globalising performativity or neoliberalism. Under those conditions, cultural value has become strongly extrinsic, encouraging the ascendancy of instrumental epistemology in the field of adult and lifelong education and learning.

Criticism of instrumentalism in adult and lifelong education and learning draws strongly on disciplinary, constructivist and emancipatory epistemologies, all now marginalised by their incompatibility with the contemporary cultural context. As such, that criticism is essentially ineffectual in influencing

educational policy and practice, because of the compatibility of educational instrumentalism with the contemporary cultural context. That context, though, may be seen as continuing to evolve into one that is more demanding of diversity, flexibility and situational responsiveness. It is thus increasingly at odds with instrumental education and epistemology.

However, none of the traditional educational epistemologies emerges as capturing the sort of education that is likely to be compatible with the emerging contemporary cultural context. There are intimations, though, of adult and lifelong education and learning developing the nature of what may be seen as a *situational* epistemology, grounded in instrumental education, and hence beholden to it, but also striking out in radically different directions.

This chapter expands that line of argument by, firstly, introducing the epistemological framework. An argument for the importance of the contemporary cultural context in determining the prevailing epistemological form of adult and lifelong education and learning is then developed, followed by a sketching of the rise of instrumentalism in the field and an outline of recent critique of the contemporarily prevailing instrumentalist epistemology from within the field. The chapter then ends with a reflection on a possible future of the field evidencing an emergent situational epistemology.

THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The nature of the field of adult and lifelong education and learning at any point in time and place is argued here to be reflected in, and valuably understood as expressing, an educational epistemology. The notion of epistemology here follows traditional usage in identifying that discipline of inquiry which is focused on the philosophical study of knowledge: what knowledge is and how it is generated, learned, taught, assessed and used (Sulkowski 2013). Epistemological inquiry has traditionally identified and focused critical attention on a diversity of different conceptions of what constitutes knowledge—of what it actually amounts to—including coherentist, foundationalist, pragmatic, naturalistic, relativist, positivist, realist and critical realist conceptions (Abel 2011). These different conceptions of knowledge may be seen, then, as constituting distinctive, substantive accounts of the nature of knowledge—as what may be termed different *epistemologies*.

While such epistemologies are certainly important in education, particularly in educational *research* (Brown and Baker 2007), in educational policy and practice, attention has traditionally been focused not so much on the nature of knowledge, as on *what is important in the act of knowing*. Such attention introduces a *normative* element into the recognition of different epistemologies—that of what is humanly *important*. Such normativity recognises that the epistemologies give expression to the cultural practices of education, including adult and lifelong education, in articulating what *should* be done and should be the case in those cultural practices (Hansen 2007). Correspondingly, the epistemologies defined in this way are different from those defined by traditional

philosophy. They align only partly with traditionally recognised epistemologies, with, for example, logical positivism (Hanfling 1981) historically falling into what is recognised here as disciplinary epistemology, although the latter is now substantially critical realist (Archer 1995), and critical realism is also influential in what are here presented as the constructivist and instrumental epistemologies. What is recognised here as emancipatory epistemology, though, is closely aligned with traditional epistemic relativism (Muller 2000). The educational epistemologies draw on earlier educational scholarship that recognised different *philosophies of education* (Elias and Merriam 2005). Our concern here, though, is with epistemological expressions that are interpretatively *emergent from* different educational approaches, or clusters of epistemically similar approaches; and this presents a clarity, coherence and empirical grounding not evident in earlier theorising: hence, the use here of the notion of *educational epistemologies*.

We may recognise four such traditional, historically prominent, conceptions of what is important in the act of knowing: knowledge as truth, knowledge as authentic commitment, knowledge as power and knowledge as effective action. Each of those conceptions is seen as defining an epistemology: knowledge as truth defining *disciplinary* epistemology, knowledge as authentic commitment defining *constructivist* epistemology, knowledge as power defining *emancipatory* epistemology and knowledge as effective action defining *instrumental* epistemology. The recognition of these four epistemologies seeks to capture the substantial majority of published arguments about the value of different conceptions of adult and lifelong education and learning.

Each epistemology captures a distinctive approach to the development of new knowledge, to learning, and to using knowledge, as well as a distinctive view of how that use contributes to human well-being (Williamson 2000). Each thus captures the distinctive normative constraints evident in educational policy and practice that serve as the grounds for that policy or practice being judged as properly educational, or as education of a high standard, from the perspective of that epistemology. In particular, it captures the nature of particular ways of thinking about education, over others, and it captures particular aspects of educational policy and practice, rather than others—including the sort of educational outcomes that are prioritised, the criteria for assessing educational attainment and the qualities that are particularly valued in educators. These educational characteristics are evidenced in different *approaches* to education: each epistemology giving expression to a closely related cluster of approaches evidencing those characteristics as its essential qualities, and each epistemology capturing the arguments *for* each approach.

Although the recognition of these four epistemologies is grounded in educational scholarship, their articulation to date has been fragmentary, and hence their implications for our understanding of the value of adult and lifelong education and learning have not been recognised or systematised as we are attempting to do here. Our purpose, then, in focusing on the four epistemologies in this work, is to sketch their epistemic and normative features within

the field of adult and lifelong education and learning, and to examine how those features may inform our understanding of the recent evolution of the field.

The following brief outline of each epistemology (Table 1) sketches, firstly, selected key epistemic features: its conception of knowledge, how new knowledge is developed, how it is learned and how it is seen as contributing to human well-being. Selected normative characteristics of educational theory, policy and practice through which the epistemology is expressed are then outlined: its educational teleology, the core focus of educational engagement, its criteria for assessing educational attainment, the sort of knowledge sought in its educators, and contemporarily significant educational approaches evidencing it.

Disciplinary Epistemology

At the core of disciplinary epistemology is a view of knowledge as truth about reality (Abel 2011). Such knowledge thus tends to be propositional and theoretical in nature, in its being articulated through explanatory and predictive frameworks (Pollock and Cruz 1999). Its generation focuses on the objective, disciplinary, discovery of theoretical knowledge through discrete academic disciplines (Archer 1995). Likewise, the learning of disciplinary knowledge is through the study of disciplinary bodies of knowledge (Hutchins 1968). Disciplinary knowledge is thus seen as contributing to human well-being through the Enlightenment path to wisdom, on which better knowledge of what is right, good, true, and beautiful, and of how reality actually works, itself leads to human action for the individual and greater good (Collier 2004).

Education evidencing disciplinary epistemology is directed to achieving individual enlightenment across all important domains of knowledge (Mulcahy 2009). Educational engagement focuses on the immersion of learners in the theoretical content of academic disciplines as bodies of knowledge (Hirst and Peters 1970). Criteria for assessing educational attainment are strongly focused on assessing learners' mastery of the content: their capacity to understand, interpret, interrelate and manipulate disciplinary content through language and numerical symbolic systems (Barnett 1994). Educators (as teachers) are valued particularly for their disciplinary or content expertise, and are seen importantly as transmitting disciplinary content to their students through good teaching and their capacity to assess student learning objectively, reliably and validly (O'Hear 2012). The contemporarily or recently significant educational approach evidencing disciplinary epistemology is commonly characterised as being *liberal* in nature (van der Wende 2011).

Constructivist Epistemology

At the core of constructivist epistemology is a view of knowledge as authentic commitment and engagement—authentic in the sense that such commitments are, in some way, true to the nature of humanity and its cultural contexts, across the range of artistic, scientific, individual, social and political endeavour

Table 1 Selective features of the framework of educational epistemologies

<i>Educational epistemological features</i>					
<i>Epistemology</i>	<i>Contribution to well-being through knowledge as...</i>	<i>Teleology through educational engagement</i>	<i>Learning processes and assessment</i>	<i>Valued educator knowledge</i>	<i>Educational approaches</i>
<i>Disciplinary</i>	Wisdom through knowledge as truth	Enlightenment through immersion in disciplinary knowledge	Engagement with bodies of knowledge assessed as mastery	Disciplinary expertise	Liberal
<i>Constructivist</i>	Character formation through knowledge as authentic commitment	Actualisation through immersion in authentic experiences	Lived experience and reflection assessed on models of human development	Character as persons	Progressive Humanist
<i>Emancipatory</i>	Emancipation through knowledge as power	Transformation through immersion in social criticism and action	Conscientisation and radicalisation assessed as conformity to the framework	Commitment to the emancipatory framework	Student-centred Critical Radical Transformative
<i>Instrumental</i>	Capability development through knowledge as effective action	Action through engagement in proven routines	Cycles of practice and assessment assessed as performance of predetermined actions	Expertise in the field of need and in the implementing framework	Behaviourist Competence-based Outcomes-based

(Dooley 1974). The idea of commitment here entails that which is meaningful in some sense to the subjects, in that it expresses or realises notions or capacities that are valued by them—aesthetically, descriptively, experientially, historically, interactively, scientifically or in other like ways. Such knowledge thus tends to focus on the idea of *being* and to be dispositional in nature. Its generation, correspondingly, may be characterised as the culturally grounded generation of dispositional knowledge (Biesta and Burbules 2003), often negotiated or interactive, and drawing upon a wide range of types of human experience and engagement (Alexander 1995). The learning of constructivist knowledge tends to be grounded, experientially, in structured human engagements or interactions and to involve discursive reflection on those experiences (Fairfield 2009). Constructivist knowledge is thus seen as contributing to human well-being by its direct relationship to matters of human concern, through its development of human character in all of its dimensions (Blackham 1968).

Education evidencing constructivist epistemology is directed to the realisation or the actualisation of individual and collective potential to *be* fully and holistically human (O’Hear 2012). The core focus of educational engagement is on the immersion of learners in the process of their development as persons, in and through authentic interactive educational engagements situated in the cultural contexts of significance to them (Dewey 1966). It is directed to developing individual character—holistically, through self-knowledge and self-development—in its social and spiritual context. Criteria for assessing educational attainment are drawn from pertinent models of human, social and spiritual development, with appropriate cultural contextualisation (Patterson 1973). Educators, commonly regarded as learning facilitators, are valued for their communicative and social skills, and their character as empathic, understanding, encouraging and accepting guides of their students (Valett 1977). Contemporarily significant educational approaches evidencing constructivist epistemology are commonly characterised as being humanistic or progressive and student-centred (Howlett 2013).

Emancipatory Epistemology

At the core of emancipatory epistemology is a view of knowledge as power, in the sense that all knowledge is seen as serving a political agenda involving the structuring of relationships between and among categories of persons (Abdi 2006). All knowledge is thus accepted as being relative to the explanatory framework through which it is generated, although it is acknowledged that some such frameworks better represent the world than do others (Hart 1992). The generation of emancipatory knowledge involves the construction, elaboration and use of an explanatory framework of meaning that is paradigmatically radically oppositional to the prevailing hegemonic framework or ideology, but which is understood to be the natural one (Freire 1970). The emancipatory framework is thus seen as being totalising or universalising, and hence naturally universal (Brookfield and Holst 2011). Learning through it involves the

conscientisation (consciousness-raising with respect to the emancipatory framework) and the radicalisation of the learner (against the false realities of the prevailing hegemony) (Newman 1999). The contribution of emancipatory knowledge to human well-being is thus through the emancipatory explanatory framework being understood as optimising social, economic and environmental relationships for the greater good of humankind: liberating oppressed persons from the false consciousness and exploitation they have been experiencing under the prevailing hegemonic framework (Monchinski and Gerassi 2009).

Education evidencing emancipatory epistemology is directed to individual and societal transformation through the development of learner commitment to living in and through that framework (Brookfield and Holst 2011). Its core focus is on the immersion of learners in the emancipatory explanatory framework: a strategy that focuses attention, simultaneously, on the weaknesses of the opposing hegemonic framework, as the object of critique and social action, and on the strengths of the emancipatory one, as the source of criticism and social action (McMurchy-Pilkington 2008). The criteria for assessing educational attainment informed by emancipatory epistemology are strictly and straightforwardly dictated by its explanatory framework: they are immanent to it (Brookfield 2005). Educators are valued primarily for their knowledge of and commitment to that framework and their ability to persuade learners to its cause (Illich 1973). Contemporarily significant educational approaches evidencing emancipatory epistemology include those commonly characterised as being critical, radical or transformative, including socialist, feminist and Freirean approaches (Collins 1998).

Instrumental Epistemology

At the core of instrumental epistemology is a view of knowledge as effective action—as the capability to act on and in the world according to rationally proven procedures (Bagnall 2004). The ends, though, to which action is directed, are essentially external to the epistemology, being drawn from the prevailing cultural context, rather than the epistemology itself (Bauman 1995). Such knowledge is essentially manipulative in nature, in that it makes it possible to do certain things in particular ways (Bagnall 1999). Its generation focuses on its rationally reductionist elucidation in the context of its effective practice, foregrounding the skills and capabilities—together with their informing understandings, inclinations and propensities—to undertake the otherwise-determined valued tasks effectively and efficiently (Monette 1979). The learning of instrumental knowledge is, correspondingly, undertaken through repeated cycles of practice and assessment in particular realms of practical engagement—vocations, professions or other domains of human instrumentality (Harris et al. 1995). Instrumental knowledge is thus seen as contributing to human well-being through providing more effective and efficient ways of attaining desired ends valued in the prevailing cultural context (Tuxworth 1989).

Education evidencing instrumental epistemology is directed entirely to the end of informing contextually valued action that will be demonstrated performatively by the learners under appropriate conditions (Bagnall 1993). Its core focus is on learning engagements in which learners develop and practice skills predetermined as appropriate to the identified task (Bagnall 1994). Both the nature of the intended performative attainment and the conditions for its demonstration or display are specified prior to educational intervention (Gonczi et al. 1990). Their specification is commonly achieved by subjecting the external performance goals to formal processes of task analysis (van der Klink et al. 2007). Ideally, the nature and extent of the learning required by each individual learner will also be known prior to educational intervention, so that the intervention may be structured to achieve the desired change with maximum efficiency (Hyland and Winch 2007). Criteria for assessing educational attainment are predetermined by the learning task as being performatively demonstrable and measurable—centrally, the application of skills and capabilities—under the pre-specified conditions (Jesson et al. 1987). Educators are particularly valued both for their experience in the cultural context (vocational in most cases) and for their technical expertise in learning assessment, task analysis and structuring educational opportunities to achieve desired performance outcomes (Bagnall 2004). Contemporarily significant educational approaches evidencing instrumental epistemology include behaviourist, outcomes-based and competence-based education (Elias and Merriam 2005).

The Epistemologies in Context

Each epistemology thus represents a distinctive understanding of what is educationally *important*, and that understanding pervades the different dimensions of education and learning in which the epistemology is empirically grounded. The question arises, then, of how these differences come to be expressed. Our response to that question is to argue that the differences are the effects of (1) the cumulative historical interactions between apologists, critics and scholars of different educational approaches, responding to the prevailing cultural context of the moment; and (2) the ‘fittedness’ of different approaches to those contexts. Those interactions involve, among other things: (1) the progressive refinement and articulation of what is distinctive and important about the different approaches; (2) defending one approach against others, as being more suitable for the context; (3) criticism of other approaches as being less suitable to the context; they (4) the development of education theory that supports and explains any given approach; (5) the development of criteria and standards by which those claims can be supported; (6) the gathering of evidence on those criteria to support the claims; and therefore (7) the selective use of evidence to support particular types of educational theory, policy and practice over others. All those and their associated activities inevitably have the cumulative effect of sharpening the differences between the emerging different positions, of differentiating them more clearly and minutely, and of encouraging educational

policy-makers, planners, practitioners and scholars into learned and informed adherence to one position over the others. In so doing, educational players thus position themselves in relation to the prevailing cultural context. Inevitably, the developing positions become increasingly more centred on different conceptions of what is important in the act of knowing, since that is what is politically central to all education. They thus take on the form of educational epistemologies.

Crucial to the distinctiveness of the epistemologies is their ethical nature. The foregoing articulation of the four epistemologies importantly reveals that the differences between them are not just matters of degree—of differences in the relative weight or attention to be given to different educational activities. The differences are, rather, significantly matters of *kind*—of the nature of actions that *are* or are *not* properly to be regarded as educational. The normativity inherent in the different conceptions of what is important in the act of knowing thus develops *ethical* importance in their respective commitments and actions. Each epistemology thus entails a view of what *should* be done in enhancing the educational attainment of learners; to do anything less—through, for example, compromising what one does by incorporating requirements from *other* epistemologies—is unethical. For example, educational engagement within a disciplinary epistemology should involve the immersion of learners in disciplinary knowledge of all types. On the other hand, educational engagement within a constructivist epistemology requires that it be through the immersion of learners in authentic experiences. From the perspective of either epistemology, the essential educational engagement of the other is *non-educational* or, at best, only *partly* and *insufficiently* educational. It either does not *count* as being educational, or it counts for very *little* educationally. From either epistemological perspective, what the other *requires* education to be is *unethical*, because it denies what education *should* be and, in so doing, it denies what stakeholders have the *right* to expect that education will involve (and deliver).

The extent to which educational engagements within any one epistemology may embrace the constructions of any others is thus limited to the extent to which the constructions of other epistemologies are *congruent* with its own. This is a severe limitation, for it pits each epistemology as, potentially, being oppositional to the others. It thus raises the prospect of *incommensurability* between the epistemologies, in the sense that the differences between the epistemologies and their approaches to education may be irresolvable unless essential features of education informed by the respective epistemologies are denied (Feyerabend 1978). The possibility of incommensurability is also indicated partly by the *irrationality* of compromise across educational engagements that express different epistemologies: because the differences are not just a matter of degree, but also of kind, they speak to different features of education. The possibility of incommensurability is, though, most importantly grounded in the *totalising* nature of each epistemology, in that the educational implications of each epistemology constitute, normatively, the valued nature of *all* education, or of all education in a certain domain. None of the epistemologies has the nature of a partial construct, the educational implications of which may be taken

on board to some variable extent and which therefore might be combined with selected features flowing from other epistemologies. Any educational initiative that is identified as being within the purview of an epistemology—whether it be in the nature of policy, curriculum, pedagogy, learning assessment or whatever—thus creates, in itself, an obligation on the part of educationists to adopt or conform to it. Each epistemology thus speaks to a different form of education, any compromise of which is not only *irrational*, but also a matter of *ethical* concern from its epistemological perspective, and each demands recognition of its *essential* features of education.

In the light of that incommensurability, the arguments from different epistemological perspectives may be seen as creating a policy and practice environment of *forced choice* between the epistemologies. In such a situation, the epistemological commitments immanent to educational policy and action will tend to be shaped by influences *outside* the logic of the epistemologically based educational arguments. They will tend to come, in other words, from the of prevailing cultural context in relation to which they are formed and moulded.

The prevailing cultural context does, though, demonstrably *shift* over time and place (Toulmin 1990). In Western culture, at least, the prevailing cultural context in recent times has been the product of the modernist project of critical rational empiricism, grounded in the Enlightenment, with its persistent undermining of traditional fundamentalist beliefs and its extraordinary generation of culturally transformative technologies (Habermas 1983). The historical playing out of the various developments and strands of that project and its cultural effects has created prevailing cultural contexts that have foregrounded one or other of the four educational epistemologies outlined above. Over the last few hundred years, the shifting of prevailing cultural context may be seen as largely favouring disciplinary epistemology, with pockets of constructivist epistemology (as, e.g., in the USA) and, with the rise of socialist dogma in particular, of emancipatory epistemology.

We argue, though, that the contemporarily prevailing cultural context has tended strongly to favour instrumental epistemology, allowing it to flourish in many political contexts (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). Its ascendancy thus marks the shift from adult and lifelong *education* to adult and lifelong *learning* (Field 2001). That shift has been the object of much of the critique of contemporary instrumentalism in the field noted above. The contemporary cultural context has commonly been characterised in recent analysis and critique as *neoliberal* (Rizvi 2007), although that terminology is, perhaps, misleading in its suggestion that liberal ideology is a primary *driver* of the nature of the contemporary cultural context. Lyotard's (1984) notion, adopted by Ball (2000), of its being performative in the sense that all human endeavour is judged in terms of its effectivity, is closer, but is perhaps too narrowly focused on human action. Here we avoid those distractions, in using the generic notion of the *contemporary cultural context* and in following the arguments of those contemporary commentators who have argued that the contemporary cultural context is more a

function of the success and progression of the project of modernity (Bauman 1991).

Central to contemporary cultural context is the erosion of the intrinsic value in knowledge, action and metaphysics: value being significantly reduced to *instrumental* value: to the value of the extent to which it is useful in achieving other ends (Bauman 1998), or what Vattimo (1988) termed ‘exchange value’. Value thus comes to lie substantially *outside* of or *extrinsic* to human being and action (Bauman 1995). It is conspicuously in the prospect of becoming or acquiring something else (Schechter 2010). Such instrumentalisation has become the culturally dominant determinant internationally through the logical progression of what Habermas (1983: 9) termed ‘the project of modernity ... to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art’. That project, which progressively dominated at least Western (and westernised) cultural contexts from the eighteenth century (Dreyfus and Kelly 2011), has seen the infusion of cultural realities with critical rationalist empiricism: undermining traditional metaphysical commitments and replacing them with commitments grounded in reason and empiricism (Toulmin 1990). It reached the point over the course of the twentieth century where it undermined the grounds for believing in the truth of its own foundational commitments to the universal intrinsic values of progressive humanism as the zenith of the project of modernity—what Lyotard (1984) termed the loss of faith in the grand narratives of modernity—with the progressive, but rapid, rise of a culture of instrumentalism (Bagnall 1999). Such culture is substantially lacking in non-arbitrary intrinsic value. It is culture in which human activity is strongly focused on instrumentally achieving outcomes drawn from a multiplicity of different domains of human engagement and systems of belief, and in which the common determinant of value is that of achieving competitive advantage (Bagnall 2004). It has become the culturally dominant determinant internationally under the influence of contemporary electronic communications technology (Castells 1998a): technology which is *globalising* in the sense of its involving the international integration and convergence of culture and cultural artefacts, including political, social and economic systems Giddens (1990).

That contemporary cultural context pervades liberal cultural contexts just as it does the realities of other political persuasions. Any likeness to classical political liberalism in the contemporary cultural context is quite accidental, and is focused on the latter’s individualisation of accountability and choice, the essential moral values of classical liberalism being understandably absent.

Such a cultural context focuses on, or places a high value on, *action*: on doing, on performing and on achieving (Ball 2000). In so doing, it focuses on *outcomes*—on what is done or achieved in and through that action and on its *effectiveness* in doing so (Bauman 1992). It is both grounded in and exhibits the *externalisation* of value from human engagements (Bauman 1995). Value is *extrinsic* to, rather than intrinsic in, those engagements. In its focus on achieving desired performance outcomes of extrinsic value, it places a high value on the *efficiency* with which resources are used in doing so, to the exclusion of

other outcomes being attained (Rizvi and Lingard 2010). It therein promotes attention to the *comparative competitive advantage* of different types of engagements, processes, programmes, policies or organisational arrangements in achieving the desired outcomes (Marginson 1997). In assessing comparative competitive advantage, all value tends to be reduced to a common commodity or currency—that of *economic* cost and benefit—cultural ‘economism’ (Ritzer 1996). The focus, then, is on *technical, mechanistic* and *programmatically* relationships between the desired economic outcomes and the costs of contributing human actions, engagements, policies and interventions (Bauman 1998).

CRITIQUE OF INSTRUMENTALISM IN ADULT AND LIFELONG EDUCATION AND LEARNING

We argue that cultural context has strongly favoured instrumental epistemology in adult and lifelong education and learning in recent decades. Instrumental epistemology aligns well with the contemporary cultural context on each of the features outlined above. Its pervasion of policy and practice in the field over the last half century has been observed through much critique, grounded in a diversity of educational jurisdictions. Bagnall (2004) and Hodge and Harris (2013), for example, have painted pictures of the transformation of the adult and community education sector in Australia into an extension of the vocational education and training sector.

Critique of instrumentalism from within the other three traditional epistemologies has been the focus of a large number of scholarly papers, but has also been embedded in explanatory articulations of and arguments for the educational epistemologies in which the critique is grounded. From a disciplinary perspective, such critique peaked, at least in Britain, during the emergence of the vocationalisation of adult education after World War II. Wiltshire (1956), in articulating what he argued to be the ‘Great Tradition’ of disciplinary adult education, targeted different aspects of the new vocationalism, including its vocational attitude, its focus on technical subjects and its contribution to education as being limited to the development of ‘technicians, functionaries or examinees’ (Wiltshire 1956: 88). Lawson (1975) argued, from a disciplinary perspective, for the importance of what is effectively *liberal* education. He saw true adult education as necessarily being liberating, through its concern with bestowing freedom to choose and judge by imparting knowledge of *principles*, rather than the narrowly specific knowledge of predetermined actions, which he saw as being, merely, *training*. Training, he argued, was the concern of what was being presented as instrumental adult education, but which, in truth, was neither education in its provision and engagement nor educational in its outcomes. Paterson (1979) developed a thoroughgoing articulation of liberal adult education, and its contribution to the human condition. His work made a detailed case for liberal education as the only proper conception of education. In so doing, he dismissed as non-educational, forms of instrumentalist training that he saw as threatening the opportunity for individuals to become liberated

through adult education. Also from a disciplinary perspective, Barrow drew on his reading of Plato to argue that lifelong education should properly be striving for *personal fulfilment* through the development of understanding (Barrow and Keeney 2012). His critique of instrumentalism in education led him to argue for reviving the concept of *lifelong education*, as focusing on what is valuable, in place of the now widespread alternative *lifelong learning*, which, in its all-encompassing inclusiveness, misses what is central and essential to education.

From a constructivist perspective, Houle (1963) argued that instrumentalism in adult education should be seen as a misunderstanding of what adult learners are seeking from their engagement. Adult education, as a substantially voluntary engagement, relies on individual learner self-perceptions or constructions of how they see and justify their involvement in it. He saw those constructions as being alternatively goal-directed, activity-oriented and learning-oriented. While instrumentalism may be seen as responding to goal-directed learners, it represents only a part of that population and it fails entirely to address the other two. Constructivist epistemology infused Knowles's (1990) argument for adult education and his andragogical theory of adult learning, which he developed from constructivist articulations of the human condition and learning. His criticism of educational instrumentalism was in terms of its humanistic limitations: its failure to contribute to adult learners' development as self-directed learners; its failure to properly acknowledge their prior learning; its failure to acknowledge their learning interests and goals; and its misconception of education as the transmission of predetermined skills. Wain's (2004) reflections on the field since his earlier (Wain 1987) argument for a constructivist epistemology ('philosophy' in his terminology) of lifelong education encompassed a thoroughgoing review of critique, theorisation and research into what he termed the 'death of the movement' of lifelong education. Implicit throughout that review were the instrumentalist threads that interweave the different perspectives that he presented of that death in the face of the contemporary cultural context. Also from a constructivist perspective, Halliday's (2012) critique of instrumentalism in lifelong learning argued that it misconstrues the contemporary cultural context as overwhelmingly homogenising in its globalisation. Drawing on a range of counter-argument, he focused on the strong tendencies for heterogeneity, flexibility and responsiveness in lifelong learning. Educational instrumentalism, he argued, demonstrably fails to respond constructively to those tendencies, raising the hope of a future shift towards more contextualised, constructivist approaches to lifelong learning policy and practice.

From an emancipatory epistemological perspective, Freire's (1970) critique of the prevailing educational provision as being based on a 'banking concept' of education targeted instrumental and disciplinary education alike. Education as banking involves imparting knowledge and rewarding its efficient up-take by learners. Freire argued that it results in social oppression: reconciling learners to existing power structures by blocking their development of alternatives. A more detailed critical conceptualisation of instrumentalism was offered by Mezirow (1991), who appropriated Habermas's distinction between instrumental and

communicative knowledge-constitutive interests. He argued that education for instrumental learning—which he saw as the contemporarily dominant approach—directs attention away from the conditions of action and on to predictions about action and the refinement of knowledge and skills relating to it. Such learning, Mezirow argued, fails to foster learning that could lead to the personal or social transformation arising from communicative learning, which has the potential to provoke critical reflection on constraints to action and consciousness. Field's (2006) analysis of contemporary policy and practice in lifelong learning recognised the ways in which the discourse of lifelong learning had co-opted, instrumentalised and subsumed the traditionally autonomous field of adult education, contextualising it within an economic framework. In so doing, he argued, it had a number of socially negative consequences. It contributed to enhancing social inequality, through the discourse of the knowledge economy stimulating a positive response in learners already educationally advantaged. In raising educational expectations, it had relegated some adults to a position where they were unable to participate in, or even to identify, learning opportunities. And it involved the reconciliation of the poor to the capitalist order, legitimating inequality, rather than fostering social change. Brookfield's (2005) argument for a critical theory approach to adult education was firmly articulated from an emancipatory epistemological standpoint. It focused on the task of challenging the contemporarily hegemonic capitalist ideology, with its implicit instrumentalisation of life, including adult education and the ends towards which it is directed.

A NEW EPISTEMOLOGY?

Supported by the contemporary cultural context, adult and lifelong education and learning evidencing instrumental epistemology appears to be immune to all such criticism. The strength of the press from the contemporary cultural context may be expected, then, to dominate at the political and hence the policy-making levels. In such a context, there is little likelihood that educational arguments from disciplinary, constructivist or emancipatory epistemological perspectives would have any significant political or policy-making purchase, but every likelihood that educational arguments from an instrumental perspective would do so.

However, we suggest that there are good grounds for thinking that the hegemony of instrumental epistemology may be drawing to a close. Those grounds relate to the contextual dependency of the hegemony, to the changing nature of the contemporary cultural context, and to the unsuitability of the other traditional epistemologies to the contemporary cultural context.

We have already argued for the contextual dependency of the epistemologies, not only in their formation and continuing refinement, but also in their relative compatibility with the prevailing cultural context, and hence in their relative contemporary significance at any given moment. We have also argued that the contemporary cultural context has favoured, most recently, adult and lifelong

education and learning that evidences instrumental epistemology. However, it should also be recognised that, while maintaining its focus on globalised performativity, that context continues to shift in ways that may be seen as being contrary to the hegemony of instrumental epistemology. Theorists of contemporary globalisation have argued in different ways that globalisation is importantly characterised by a dynamic tension between forces for globalising homogenisation (cultural convergence) and those for localising heterogenisation (cultural pluralisation) (Powell and Steel 2011). In recent decades, the forces for homogenisation have been seen to prevail over those of heterogenisation (Halliday 2012), which has favoured the highly systematic epistemology of instrumentalism. There may, though, be seen as occurring now a shift to more localised forms of globalisation, foregrounding diversity, flexibility and situational responsiveness, with which educational approaches evidencing instrumental epistemology would not be congruent (Castells 1996). Contemporary information technology may also be seen as moving in the same direction: away from massified approaches to communication, towards more tailored, localised approaches, often within globalised frameworks (Castells 1998b). More broadly, knowledge, value and action are also becoming more contextualised (Bagnall 1999), in a direction that is increasingly at odds with instrumental epistemology. It is arguable that the privatisation of risk, performance and responsibility to progressively lower levels of social organisation (and ultimately to individuals)—which is an important feature of contemporary globalisation—is also becoming more pronounced and hence contra-indicative of instrumental epistemology (Edwards 2012). In essence, the globalised *pluralisation* of social meaning is undermining the ascendancy of globalised homogenisation (Edwards 1997).

With such shifts in the contemporary cultural context, the sort of criticism of instrumentalism identified in the previous section from the other epistemologies may, in paradigmatic fashion, reach a point where there would emerge a political shift to an alternative epistemology. The notion of paradigm here is that of an epistemic tradition maintained by and through its persuasiveness to its broader cultural context (Feyerabend 1993): ranging in epistemic embrace from that of a particular conception to an epistemology. However, none of the other epistemologies—disciplinary, constructivist or emancipatory—would seem to be strongly compatible with the emerging form of the contemporary cultural context, especially with its continued focus on performativity. None of them, accordingly, would present a sufficiently politically attractive and persuasive option that may be expected to become dominant.

We suggest, rather, that there are intimations of an emergent new educational epistemology, which we term *situational*. Lacking strong historical grounding, its emergence takes the form of a more Kuhnian paradigmatic shift, wherein the new epistemological paradigm emerges *out of* the old (instrumental epistemology in this case): taking on some features of the old, modifying others and introducing other different features (Kuhn 1970). The emergence of such a situational epistemology has been largely overlooked in contemporary

educational theorising, because it has been largely marginalised under the banner of sociological *postmodernity* (Briton 1996; Bagnall 1999). From an adult and lifelong education and learning perspective, there have been a number of significant contributions to the articulation of such a contribution, including those of Usher (2012), in his recognition of difference and his call for post hoc mapping, rather than a priori normative constraining; Edwards and Usher (2007), in their pedagogy of dislocation; Briton (1996), in his vision of a postmodern future of engagement; Wain (2004), in his Foucaultian politics of hope and suspicion in lifelong learning; and Bagnall (1999), in his notion of future adult educators as ‘situationally sensitive wayfarers’. All these works make clear that what is being described is an *emerging* paradigm, the future nature and impact of which is unknown. However, there is a tendency in some of this work to avoid the reality that all such descriptions of social realities are irreducibly normative in effect, if not in intent (Bagnall 1990). In describing what each of the authors considers to be an interpretation of possible futures, they unavoidably contribute to the creation of another grand narrative. In that vein, we are here suggesting that a situational epistemology, grounded in such theorising and emerging from instrumentalism, should be seen as a strong contender to depose instrumental epistemology.

At this stage, we rather tentatively and somewhat speculatively, suggest that it may take the following form, articulated here using the same structure as that which we used in outlining the four traditional epistemologies earlier in the chapter (Table 2).

At the core of situational epistemology might be a view of knowledge as achieving in context, of knowledge in use, evidenced in the capacity to respond to contextual particulars. Its generation might focus on understanding and responding to the complexities of situations, the human engagements in and with them, and the likely effects of those engagements—through what may be termed *situational analysis*. Correspondingly, the learning of situational knowledge might be through contextualised engagement informed by disciplinary knowledge, and a strongly developed critical situational sensitivity and responsiveness. Situational knowledge might be seen, then, as contributing to

Table 2 Selective features of situational educational epistemology

<i>Contribution to well-being through knowledge as...</i>	<i>Teleology through educational engagement</i>	<i>Learning processes and assessment</i>	<i>Valued educator knowledge</i>	<i>Educational approaches</i>
Situational capability through knowledge as achieving in context	Adaptability through immersion in lived experience	Contextualised, informed and critical engagement assessed as self-efficacy in diversity	Situational expertise	Experiential Work-based Problem-centred

human well-being through the situational capability that it would afford individuals and collectivities in responding to their cultural realities.

Education informed by situational knowledge might be directed to achieving individual and collective adaptability and flexibility, educational engagement focusing on immersion in lived experience—direct, vicarious or contrived—with critical reflection on that experience, drawing on and developing all types of knowledge appropriate to the situation. Criteria for assessing educational attainment might focus on the demonstration of capacity to respond effectively to contextual diversity—of self-efficacy in diversity. Educators, then, might be expected to be valued for their situational expertise—their evidenced capacity to respond sensitively, appropriately and capably to challenging situations in their field of expertise and in their work as educators. Contemporary educational approaches that may be seen as evidencing aspects of situational epistemology may be found in some experiential, problem-centred, work-based and self-directed education.

REFERENCES

- Abdi, A. A. (2006). Eurocentric discourses and African philosophies and epistemologies of education: Counter-hegemonic analyses and response. *International Education*, 36(1), 15–31.
- Abel, G. (2011). *Rethinking epistemology (Berlin studies in knowledge research, Vol. 1)*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Alexander, J. C. (1995). *Fin de siècle social theory: Relativism, reduction, and the problem of reason*. London: Verso.
- Archer, M. S. (1995). *Realist social theory: The morphogenetic approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bagnall, R. G. (1990). On the normative aspects of adult education taxonomies. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 40(4), 229–236.
- Bagnall, R. G. (1993). Pluralising continuing education and training in a postmodern world: Whither competence? *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Vocational Education Research*, 1(1), 18–39.
- Bagnall, R. G. (1994). Performance indicators and outcomes as measures of educational quality. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 13(1), 19–32.
- Bagnall, R. G. (1999). *Discovering radical contingency: Building a postmodern agenda in adult education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Bagnall, R. G. (2004). *Cautionary tales in the ethics of lifelong learning policy and management: A book of fables*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic.
- Ball, S. (2000). Performativities and fabrications in the education economy: Towards the performative society? *The Australian Education Researcher*, 27(2), 1–24.
- Barnett, R. (1994). *The limits of competence: Knowledge, higher education and society*. Buckingham: The Society for Research into Higher Education & the Open University Press.
- Barrow, R., & Keeney, P. (2012). The changing university, lifelong learning, and personal fulfilment. In D. N. Aspin, J. Chapman, K. Evans, & R. Bagnall (Eds.), *Second international handbook of lifelong learning: Part one*. Dordrecht: Springer.

- Bauman, Z. (1991). *Modernity and ambivalence*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bauman, Z. (1992). *Intimations of postmodernity*. London: Routledge.
- Bauman, Z. (1995). *Life in fragments: Essays in postmodern morality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bauman, Z. (1998). *Globalization: The human consequences*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Biesta, G. J. J., & Burbules, N. C. (2003). *Pragmatism and educational research*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Blackham, H. J. (1968). *Humanism*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Briton, D. (1996). *The modern practice of adult education: A postmodern critique*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Brookfield, S. (2005). *The power of critical theory: Liberating adult learning and teaching*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brookfield, S., & Holst, J. D. (2011). *Radicalizing learning: Adult education for a just world*. San Francisco: Wiley.
- Brown, B. J., & Baker, S. (2007). *Philosophies of research into higher education*. New York: Continuum.
- Castells, M. (1998a). *The information age: Economy, society and culture (Vol. III: End of millennium)*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (1998b). *End of millennium*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The rise of the network society*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Collier, A. (2004). *Indefense of objectivity and other essays: On realism, existentialism and politics*. London: Routledge.
- Collins, M. (1998). *Critical crosscurrents in education*. Malabar, FL: Krieger.
- Dewey, J. (1966). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. New York: Free Press.
- Dooley, P. K. (1974). *Pragmatism as humanism: The philosophy of William James*. Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Dreyfus, H., & Kelly, S. D. (2011). *All things shining: Reading the Western classics to find meaning in a secular age*. New York: Free Press.
- Edwards, R. (2012). Lifelong learning: A post-human condition? In D. N. Aspin, J. Chapman, K. Evans, & R. Bagnall (Eds.), *Second international handbook of lifelong learning: Part one*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Edwards, R. (1997). *Flexibility, lifelong learning and a learning society*. London: Routledge.
- Edwards, R., & Usher, R. (2007). *Globalisation and pedagogy: Space, place and identity*. London: Routledge.
- Elias, J. L., & Merriam, S. B. (2005). *Philosophical foundations of adult education (3rd ed.)*. Malabar, FL: Krieger.
- Fairfield, P. (2009). *Education after Dewey*. London: Continuum.
- Feyerabend, P. (1978). *Science in a free society*. London: Verso.
- Feyerabend, P. (1993). *Against method (3rd ed.)*. London: Verso.
- Field, J. (2006). *Lifelong learning and the new educational order (rev. ed.)*. London: Trentham.
- Field, J. (2001). Lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(1-2), 3-15.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Giddens, A. (1990). *The consequences of modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Gonczi, A., Hager, P., & Oliver, L. (1990). *Establishing competency-based standards in the professions*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.

- Habermas, J. (1983). Modernity: An incomplete project. In H. Foster (Ed.), *The anti-aesthetic: Essays on postmodern culture*. Port Townsend: Bay Press.
- Halliday, J. (2012). The economic control of lifelong learning. In D. N. Aspin, J. Chapman, K. Evans, & R. Bagnall (Eds.), *Second international handbook of lifelong learning: Part one*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Hanfling, O. (1981). *Logical positivism*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hansen, D. T. (2007). *Ethical visions of education: Philosophies in practice*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.
- Harris, R., Guthrie, H., Hobart, B., & Lundberg, D. (1995). *Competency-based education and training: Between a rock and a whirlpool*. South Yarra, VIC: Macmillan.
- Hart, M. U. (1992). *Working and education for life: Feminist and international perspectives on adult education*. London: Routledge.
- Hirst, P. H., & Peters, R. S. (1970). *The logic of education*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Hodge, S., & Harris, R. (2013). *W(h)ither adult and community education: is ACE being trumped by VET?* Paper presented at the 43rd Annual SCUTREA Conference, Glasgow Caledonian University, Glasgow.
- Houle, C. O. (1963). *The inquiring mind*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Howlett, J. (2013). *Progressive education: A critical introduction*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hutchins, R. M. (1968). *The learning society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Hyland, T., & Winch, C. (2007). *Guide to vocational education and training*. New York: Continuum International.
- Illich, I. D. (1973). *Tools for conviviality*. New York: Harper Colophon.
- Jesson, D., Mayston, D., & Smith, P. (1987). Performance assessment in the education sector: Educational and economic perspectives. *Oxford Review of Education*, 13(3), 249–266.
- Knowles, M. S. (1990). *The modern practice of adult education: From pedagogy to andragogy* (rev. ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Cambridge Adult Education.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1970). *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lawson, K. H. (1975). *Philosophical concepts and values in adult education*. Milton Keynes: The Open University Press.
- Liotard, J.-F. (1984). *The postmodern condition: A report on knowledge*, trans. G. Bennington & B. Massumi. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Marginson, S. (1997). *Markets in education*. St Leonards NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- McMurchy-Pilkington, C. (2008). Indigenous people: Emancipatory possibilities in curriculum development. *Canadian Journal of Education*, 31(3), 614–638.
- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Monchinski, T., & Gerassi, J. (2009). *Unrepentant radical educator: The writings of John Gerassi, edited and with interviews by Tony Monchinski*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Monette, M. (1979). Need assessment: A critique of philosophical assumptions. *Adult Education (USA)*, 29(2), 83–95.
- Mulcahy, G. D. (2009). What should it mean to have a liberal education in the 21st century? *Curriculum Inquiry*, 39(3), 465–486.
- Muller, J. (2000). *Reclaiming knowledge: Social theory, curriculum and educational policy*. London: Routledge.

- Newman, M. (1999). *Maeler's regard: Images of adult learning*. Paddington, NSW: Stewart Victor.
- O'Hear, A. (2012). *Education, society and human nature: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. London: Routledge.
- Paterson, R. W. K. (1979). *Values, education and the adult*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Patterson, C. H. (1973). *Humanistic education*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Pollock, J. L., & Cruz, J. (1999). *Contemporary theories of knowledge* (2nd ed.). New York: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Powell, J. L., & Steel, R. (2011). Revisiting Appadurai: Globalizing scapes in a global world—The pervasiveness of economic and cultural power. *International Journal of Innovative Interdisciplinary Research*, 1, 74–80.
- Ritzer, O. (1996). *The McDonaldization of society: An investigation into the changing character of contemporary social life* (rev ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.
- Rizvi, F. (2007). Lifelong learning: Beyond neo-liberal imaginary. In D. N. Aspin (Ed.), *Philosophical perspectives on lifelong learning*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalising education policy*. London: Routledge.
- Schecter, D. (2010). *The critique of instrumental reason from Weber to Habermas*. New York: Continuum International.
- Sulkowski, L. Z. (2013). *Epistemology of management*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Toulmin, S. (1990). *Cosmopolis: The hidden agenda of modernity*. New York: Free Press.
- Tuxworth, E. (1989). Competence-based education and training: Background and origins. In J. Burke (Ed.), *Competency based education and training*. UK: Falmer.
- Usher, R. (2012). Lifelong learning, contemporary capitalism and postmodernity. In D. N. Aspin, J. Chapman, K. Evans, & R. Bagnall (Eds.), *Second international handbook of lifelong learning: Part one*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Valett, R. E. (1977). *Humanistic education: Developing the total person*. St. Louis, MO: CV Mosby.
- van der Klink, M., Boon, J., & Schlusmans, K. (2007). Competencies and vocational higher education: Now and in the future. *European Journal of Vocational, Training*, 40(1), 67–81.
- van der Wende, M. (2011). The emergence of liberal arts and sciences education in Europe: A comparative perspective. *Higher Education Policy*, 24(2), 233–253.
- Vattimo, G. (1988). *The end of modernity: Nihilism and hermeneutics in post-modern culture*, trans. JR Snyder. Cambridge: Polity.
- Wain, K. (2004). *The learning society in a postmodern world: The education crisis*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Wain, K. (1987). *Philosophy of lifelong education*. London: Croom Helm.
- Wiltshire, H. C. (1956). The great tradition in university adult education. *Adult Education (UK)*, 29(2), 88–97.
- Williamson, T. (2000). *Knowledge and its limits*. Oxford: Open University Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Richard G. Bagnall is a Professor at Griffith University, Australia. His scholarly work is in the social philosophy of adult and lifelong education, with particular emphasis on the ethics and epistemology of educational theory, advocacy and policy. He has published extensively in these areas, major works including *Cautionary tales in the ethics of lifelong learning policy and management: A book of fables* (Kluwer, 2004) and *Discovering radical contingency: Building a postmodern agenda in adult education* (Peter Lang, 1999).

Steven Hodge is an education lecturer and researcher at Griffith University, Australia, where he teaches in Griffith's Master of Training and Development program. His current research interest is in educator engagement with standardised curriculum. Among his recent publications are "Alienating curriculum work in Australian vocational education and training" (*Critical Studies in Education*, 57 (2), 143–159, 2016), and a description and analysis of the impact of neoliberal theory on the everyday work of vocational educators.

Exercising Clarity with Transformative Learning Theory

Chad Hoggan

Abstract Transformative learning suffers from evacuation, or the use of a term to refer to such a wide variety of phenomena that it loses any distinctive meaning. Hoggan addresses this problem in three ways. First, this chapter provides a historical overview of the evolution of the learning outcomes described in the transformative learning literature. It then positions transformative learning as a metatheory and provides a suitable definition. Three criteria of depth, breadth, and relative stability are offered as parameters around the metatheory. Last, this chapter presents a typology of transformative learning outcomes, and demonstrates how the criteria and typology can work together to exercise clarity around transformative learning.

For over 36 years, transformative learning theory has been used to name, research, and attempt to understand the potential of learning to change people and society in dramatic ways. At least in the United States and Canada, it has occupied centre stage in the adult education literature. With this popularity has come a fair amount of diffusion; key concepts and terms articulated by Mezirow have been used in increasingly divergent ways. Some scholars fear that transformative learning theory has or may soon begin to suffer from *evacuation*, or the loss of any distinctive meaning (Brookfield 2003). Most critically, scholars have defined the term *transformative learning*—and its associated learning outcomes—in ways that expand far beyond those articulated by the seminal author. If taken too far, this diffusion of a theory and its constructs can eventually render the theory meaningless and therefore useless.

C. Hoggan (✉)
North Caroline State University, Campus Box 7801,
Raleigh, NC 2769, USA
e-mail: cdhoggan@ncsu.edu

However, it is important to remember that the evolution of transformative learning theory is not unique. Most theories experience an evolution in how they are used as different scholars write about them. The key is to periodically evaluate the literature and offer ways that a theory and the ways it is used need to be revised in light of the growing body of research. Transformative learning theory is at a place where such a revision is necessary because its popularity seems to have reached a tipping point; the theory is starting to expand beyond its roots. First, it is expanding beyond the discipline of adult education. The theory is increasingly appearing in journals of other disciplines, such as agriculture/sciences, archaeology, religious studies, health care, critical media literacy, and spirituality (Taylor and Snyder 2012). The theory is also expanding beyond its geographic roots as it is being used by an increasingly international, albeit mostly European, group of scholars (Kukkos 2012). In sum, at this pivotal stage when transformative learning theory is expanding beyond the bounds of its disciplinary and geographic origins, as well as its original definitions and theoretical constructions, it is important to offer a conceptualization of the theory that better represents the insights and knowledge garnered over the last 30 years of research.

BACKGROUND

Jack Mezirow's theory of *perspective transformation*, which he later began calling *transformation theory* and eventually termed *transformative learning*, was first articulated in 1978 as a white paper reporting on a study of women enrolled in return-to-work educational programmes at several community colleges across the United States. The original study was conducted in the 1970s when the 'women's liberation' movement was in full swing; traditional gender roles, norms, and expectations were being actively challenged. In retrospect, the timing of the study was serendipitous as it enabled Mezirow and his colleagues to examine the processes and outcomes of individuals immersed in broad, sweeping cultural change.

Building on concepts such as Kuhn's *paradigm* (1962) and Bateson's *psychological frame* (1972), Mezirow used the term *frames of reference* to refer to mental structures that act tacitly to 'guide the way in which we experience, feel, understand, judge, and act' (1991: 48). Years later, when elucidating on the theoretical grounding of his theory, Mezirow (1991) leaned heavily on critical theory, and especially on Habermas' (1984) descriptions of domains of knowledge and the conditions of ideal communicative acts and other elements necessary to promote a just, democratic society. He synthesized ideas from a variety of disciplines, such as humanist psychology, analytical psychology, and critical theory to form 'the most elaborate and intellectually the most solid conceptualization' of learning in the adult education literature (Finger and Asun 2001: 54). Through all his work, Mezirow focused specifically on the way that individuals' meaning-making processes can be scrutinized and modified through processes of critical dialogue and critical self-reflection. In so doing, it

seems he was interested in showing how intentional educational processes can be used to create a more just society.

After its initial publication, the literature was mostly silent regarding Mezirow's new theory until Boyd and Myers (1988) and Collard and Law (1989) published their famous critiques of it and thus began a series of conversations in the adult education literature between Mezirow and the critics and supporters of his theory. It has since become the most researched theory in the North American literature of adult education for the past 20 years (Taylor and Snyder 2012). Over the course of its history, the critique by Boyd and Myers had an especially momentous effect on the evolution of the theory. Namely, they pointed out that from the perspective of psychoanalytic theory, profound personal change looked much different than what Mezirow described.

Mezirow's description of transformative learning begins with the conception that people have mental schemas, or *frames of reference*, through which they make meaning of their experiences. These frames of reference are composed of two dimensions. *Points of View* are context-specific perspectives. They are the result of applying one's existing understandings to specific situations and are relatively easy to change. The second dimension is composed of *habits of mind*, or 'a set of assumptions—broad, generalized, orienting predispositions that act as a filter for interpreting the meaning of experience' (Mezirow 2000: 17). The power of one's habits of mind is that they are usually invisible to the person. They form through childhood as the person assimilates culturally accepted views of the world, and they operate tacitly to undergird all our interpretations and understandings of the world, ourselves, and our experiences. Being thus ingrained, they are exceedingly difficult to change.

Mezirow (2000) described several varieties of habits of mind:

- Sociolinguistic (cultural canon, ideologies, social norms, customs, ...)
 - Moral–ethical (conscience, moral norms)
 - Epistemic (learning styles, sensory preferences, focus on whole or parts)
 - Philosophical (religious doctrine, philosophy, transcendental world view)
 - Psychological (self-concept, personality traits or types, ...)
 - Aesthetic (values, tastes, attitudes, standards, judgments about beauty, ...)
- (p. 17).

From this foundation, Mezirow's *perspective transformation* refers to the process of 'becoming aware of one's own tacit assumptions and expectations and those of others and assessing their relevance for making an interpretation' (2000: 4). Transformation occurs as learners become aware of the assumptions behind meaning-making habits, critically evaluate them, and revise those assumptions to make them better.

... we transform our taken-for-granted frames of reference (meaning perspectives, habits of mind, mind-sets) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change, and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and

opinions that will prove more true or justified to guide action... (Its) focus is on how we learn to negotiate and act on our own purposes, values, feelings, and meanings rather than those we have uncritically assimilated from others--to gain greater control over our lives as socially responsible, clear-thinking decision makers. (Mezirow 2000: 7–8)

With these learning outcomes in mind, Mezirow described the processes that he felt led to them. When experiences contradict learners' expectation, based on their frames of reference and the resulting views and understandings, they experience a 'disorienting dilemma' (Mezirow 2000: 22). This experience of disorientation may be ignored, but it also may cause them to engage in introspection and change. Mezirow argued that engaging in critical dialogue with others and in critical self-reflection were the primary mechanisms for uncovering and evaluating tacit frames of reference. He proposed the following process that is common, albeit iterative and with variation, during transformation:

1. A disorienting dilemma
2. Self-examination with feelings of fear, anger, guilt, or shame
3. A critical assessment of assumptions
4. Recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation are shared
5. Exploration of options for new roles, relationships, and actions
6. Planning a course of action
7. Acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans
8. Provisional trying of new roles
9. Building competence and self-confidence in new roles and relationships
10. A reintegration into one's life on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective (Mezirow 2000: 22).

The approach to personal transformation that Boyd & Myers described was very different from that of Mezirow. Based on the work of analytic psychologist Carl Jung, it focuses on the expansion of one's ego-consciousness. Rather than being instigated by a disorienting dilemma resulting from a disjuncture between one's expectations and reality, their critique referred to 'a fundamental change in one's personality involving conjointly the resolution of a personal dilemma and the expansion of consciousness resulting in greater personality integration' (Boyd 1989: 459). Jungian psychology describes the ego as the 'experiencing of oneself as a center of willing, desiring, reflecting, and acting' (Stein cited in Dirkx 2012: 118). The ego can only know what is in the conscious part of the human psyche, but the unconscious part of the psyche exerts a much more powerful influence. Transformation results from the 'establishment and elaboration of a conscious relationship with one's unconscious' (p. 120). As people better integrate the conscious and unconscious parts of their psyches, they experience greater self-awareness and live with more authenticity. Just as the outcomes described by Boyd and Myers differ from those of Mezirow, the

processes that lead to those outcomes are also different. Specifically, they involve being present with oneself and paying attention to subtle messages the unconscious sends through emotions, dreams, and fantasies.

The impact of Boyd & Myers' article was not that they demonstrated a more accurate or better conceived theory of the transformative potential of learning; rather, it was that they introduced to the literature a fundamentally different form of personal transformation. The outcome of the transformation they described was distinctly different from that offered by Mezirow. They introduced a conception of personal transformation based on a different disciplinary perspective. When this happened, the literature surrounding transformative learning theory could have gone two different ways. One option is that scholars could have insisted that transformative learning theory only be used to refer to learning experiences that resemble what Mezirow described (i.e. for different forms of transformation, different names should be used). Another option is that scholars could use transformative learning to refer to any type of transformation. For better or worse, the latter course was followed. Indeed, Mezirow encouraged this course as he invited scholars with disparate perspectives to contribute to his edited book on transformative learning theory (2000).

Over the last two decades, the North American adult education journals published more research articles on transformative learning than any other theory. As theories mature, they tend to evolve and expand beyond their original uses and meanings (Conradi et al. 2014), and transformative learning certainly did that. The trend in the literature was for scholars to present a view on personal transformation consistent with their respective disciplinary lenses. In ongoing reviews of the literature, Taylor suggests that there are distinct approaches to transformative learning based on underlying disciplinary and theoretical frameworks. In 1998, he named four different approaches to transformative learning, and then in 2007 he named an additional four approaches. Taylor called Mezirow's version of transformative learning the psychocritical approach and work based on Boyd & Myers' depiction the psychoanalytic approach. Other approaches he named as the: psychodevelopmental, social emancipatory, neurobiological, cultural-spiritual, race-centric, and planetary (Taylor 1998, 2007). This practice of being open to such diverse perspectives allows the field to understand profound learning experiences without artificially limiting them to a particular description. However, it is problematic in that the various approaches do not necessarily fit into Mezirow's theoretical construction. Put simply, as commonly used, transformative learning theory is not really a theory as it is a collection of theories.

THE EVOLUTION FROM A THEORY TO A METATHEORY

As it is used in the literature, transformative learning does not refer exclusively to the theory created by Mezirow. Herein lies the first major problem with transformative learning in its current state: it is used to refer to two distinct things. It is

used to refer to Mezirow's theory of perspective transformation as well as to any of a wide range of phenomena whereby learning results in profound personal, cultural, and/or societal change. Most scholars who have contributed to the literature using any of the additional approaches to transformative learning (i.e. approaches other than the psychocritical approach based on Mezirow) have not grafted their work onto the scaffold provided by Mezirow's theoretical elucidations. Instead, they have simply described the phenomenon of transformation as understood from their respective disciplinary perspectives and called it transformative learning. Each approach, and even individual descriptions within a particular approach, describes different learning outcomes and different processes that lead to those outcomes. This use of a term to refer to multiple, distinctly different things is a problem.

Mezirow's original term for his theory was *perspective transformation*. It is an educational theory in that it describes a particular learning phenomenon in terms of specific outcomes and processes that lead to them. It also provides a theoretical explanation for that phenomenon. In addition to referring to Mezirow's theory, the term *transformative learning* is used to refer to a wide range of theories that address learning that results in personal, cultural, or social transformation. It is, therefore, incorrect to claim that *transformative learning*, the way it is used in the literature, is a theory. Rather, transformative learning is used in the literature as a metatheory. We can begin to solve some of the current problems with transformative learning by being explicit about its use as a metatheory.

A metatheory is an overarching paradigm for a particular phenomenon or range of phenomena; it is 'the umbrella under which several theories of development or learning are classified together based on their commonalities regarding human nature' (Aldridge et al. 1992: 683). In the social sciences, there are two types of metatheories: synthetic and analytic (Wallace 1992). A synthetic metatheory organizes underlying theories in categories. Taylor's (1998, 2007) categorization of the approaches to transformative learning is an example of the way that transformative learning has been functioning as a synthetic metatheory. It organizes the research literature by providing a broad framework within which individual theories are placed (Wallace 1992).

In contrast, analytic metatheory seeks to provide categorizations of components that are common among all the underlying theories. Metaphorically, synthetic metatheory organizes individual theories into columns on a spreadsheet, whereas analytic metatheory seeks for appropriate rows in that spreadsheet: concepts that cut across all the theories. The purpose of the components of analytic metatheory is to provide a common language scholars can use instead of their respective disciplinary jargon so that the disparate disciplines can work together better to generate practical knowledge and broader understandings. There is much to be gained by being explicit and intentional in using transformative learning as a metatheory, and especially in beginning to use it as an analytic metatheory.

TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING AS A METATHEORY: DEFINITION AND CRITERIA

Moving forward, we first need to distinguish between terms. We should use perspective transformation when referring specifically to Mezirow's theory and use transformative learning when referring to the metatheory encompassing the phenomena that Mezirow (1991) so aptly described as the transformative dimensions of learning. To begin, we first must define the broad phenomenon or range of phenomena that transformative learning encompasses. Ironically, the reason that Brookfield (2003) and some others (Newman 2012; Howie and Bagnall 2013) have criticized the literature on transformative learning for using it to refer to almost any kind of learning is that the definitions of transformative learning offered by Mezirow and other scholars are too narrow. Specific theories or approaches to transformative learning tend to have very specific definitions and descriptions, but they are too narrow to encompass the broad range of phenomena that scholars have referred to as transformative learning. So, without a suitably broad definition, the metatheory lacks parameters.

We need a definition of transformative learning that is broad enough to encompass a wide variety of learning experiences that can be considered *transformative*. Then, the criteria for a phenomenon to qualify as *transformative learning* need to be articulated so that there are adequate parameters clarifying the range of phenomena encompassed by the metatheory. The following definition of transformative learning is intended to be broad enough to encompass the wide variety of transformative outcomes present in the literature and thus accommodate an increasing diversity of disciplinary perspectives: 'Transformative learning refers to processes that result in significant and irreversible changes in the way a person experiences, conceptualizes, and interacts with the world' (Hoggan 2016). The first descriptor, *experiences*, refers to a person's lived, felt experience. *Conceptualizes* refers to the way the person understands, makes sense of, and interprets the world and their experiences. The third descriptor, *interacts*, reflects the way transformation affects how a person acts, including the behaviours they choose to engage in as well as the way those behaviours are carried out.

The criteria for learning outcomes to qualify as transformative require further elucidation, as just any learning outcome is not sufficient to call it a transformation. Three aspects of a learning outcome should be considered: depth, breadth, and relative stability. Depth refers to its impact, or the degree to which a learning outcome affects the way a person experiences, conceptualizes, and interacts with the world. Transformation implies something more than a minor change. The second criterion, breadth, is based on the notion that learning is often contextual. Learning outcomes that do not extend past the context in which they occurred do not merit the distinction of being called transformative. However, learning outcomes that are deemed to be transformative should affect the way the person experiences, conceptualizes, and interacts in multiple, if not all, contexts of life (e.g. work, home, and community). The third criterion is

relative stability. Transformation implies permanent change. Two caveats to this notion of irreversibility are important. First, regardless of how a person learns new ways of experiencing, conceptualizing, and interacting with the world, former ways are not miraculously forgotten. Old habits remain in our repertoire of meaning-making processes and may resurface from time to time based on a variety of factors (e.g. stress or situational triggers). Also, a person may likely experience future changes. Not only does transformation not mean a person will never change again, it often can cause someone to be more open to future change (Mezirow 2000). Nevertheless, the criterion of relative stability emphasizes that a temporary change is inadequate to be considered transformative.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CONCEPTUAL TOOL

The main purpose of analytic metatheory is to provide conceptual tools that can be used to discuss and analyse a phenomenon across disciplinary perspectives in order to obtain a better understanding of it. Said differently, scholars treating transformative learning as a metatheory will seek to create concepts and vocabulary that cut across all the individual theories encompassed by the metatheory. To this end, over the course of 2013–2015, two doctoral students and I engaged in a review of a substantial subset of the transformative learning literature. As our database, we compiled all articles addressing transformative learning that were published between 2003 and 2014 in the three journals that have been the primary outlets of transformative learning theory: *Adult Education Quarterly*, *Adult Learning*, and the *Journal of Transformative Education*. This compilation yielded 206 articles. Details of the methodology and results can be found elsewhere (Hoggan 2016). In brief, we conducted a content analysis of these articles focusing on descriptions of transformation. Specifically, we sought to capture and articulate the ways that learners are changed as a result of ‘transformation’, as described by the scholars studying them.

Over the last few years as I have been engaged with this project, I have frequently been asked why my focus is on the outcomes of transformative learning rather than on the processes that lead to it. Indeed, in the literature, the focus is almost exclusively on process. My consistent response is that not all transformations look the same; there is no single thing or phenomenon that is transformative learning. We use that expression to refer to a wide range of phenomena. Therefore, it does not make sense to talk about processes while being vague about the outcomes. I am reminded of the dialogue between Alice and the Cheshire Cat when Alice asks:

‘Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?’

‘That depends a good deal on where you want to get to’, said the Cat.

‘I don’t much care where—’ said Alice.

‘Then it doesn’t matter which way you go’, said the Cat.

‘—so long as I get *somewhere*’ Alice added as an explanation.

‘Oh, you’re sure to do that’, said the Cat, ‘if you only walk long enough’. (Carroll 1897/2013, p. 49)

As our intent was to document in a very explicit manner the learning outcomes that scholars described in the literature as being transformative, the study resulted in a typology of transformative learning outcomes. The typology consists of changes in: (a) Worldview; (b) Self; (c) Epistemology; (d) Ontology; (e) Behaviour; and (f) Capacity. Figure 1 depicts the typology’s categories and subcategories that emerged from our study.

Admittedly, the distinction between these types of change is somewhat artificial, as there are no clean bifurcation lines between them, and change in one area often includes changes in other areas. Nevertheless, even an artificial separation is helpful in trying to understand complex phenomena. For example, it is helpful to separate the respiratory system from the circulatory system in order to understand each of them better, but in their actual functioning they interact with each other in such fundamental ways that changes to one impacts the other.

Scholars can use this typology as a common vocabulary to discuss learning outcomes independent of disciplinary perspectives. Although not all instances of transformative learning will necessarily yield change in all six categories, the typology can also prompt scholars to consider learning outcomes to which they

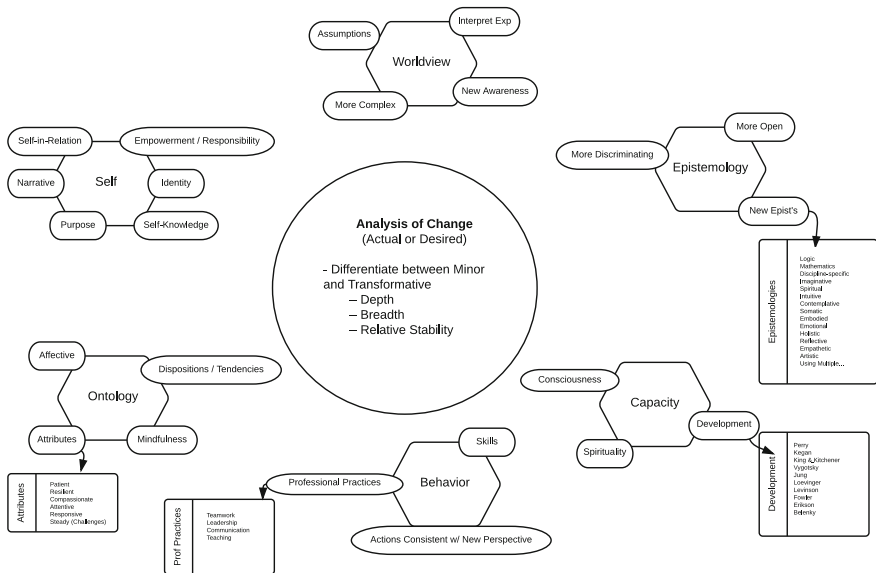


Fig.1 Typology

might otherwise have been blind because of their disciplinary perspective. The following subsections briefly describe the broad categories and subcategories. Due to space limitations, the following subsections only briefly describe the broad categories and subcategories as portrayed within transformative learning literature. (For a more extensive description, see Hoggan 2016.) In addition, a cursory overview of similar ways—that transformation is portrayed outside the literature of transformative learning—is offered in order to demonstrate how the transformative learning literature compares with that of other disciplines in the ways it describes transformation.

Worldview

A change in *Worldview* refers to significant changes in the way the learner understands the world to be. It is a mental model, similar to concepts such as schema and paradigm, which emphasizes shifts in an individual's perception of how the world works. In the transformative learning literature, scholars described changes in worldview through the subcategories of changes to: (1) assumptions, beliefs, values, and/or expectations; (2) ways of interpreting experience; (3) more comprehensive or complex worldviews; and (4) new awareness and/or understandings.

Changes in *Worldview* are discussed in other fields in ways such as changes to meaning-making processes, schema, and frame of reference (e.g. in clinical psychology, developmental psychology, and psychotherapy) or those brought about through experiences resulting in increased social or cultural awareness (e.g. in sociology, social psychology, nursing, religion, or higher education). These perspectives often attribute change to intentional therapeutic work, cultural immersion experiences, or stressful life events.

Self

This category refers to any of a number of ways that learners experience a significant shift in their sense of self. Scholars described changes in self through the subcategories of: (1) self-in-relation to others and/or the world; (2) identity and/or view of self; (3) empowerment and/or responsibility; (4) self-knowledge; (5) personal narrative; (6) meaning and/or purpose; and (7) personality.

Some descriptions of change in *Self* from other fields fit well into these same subcategories. These included changes in empowerment (e.g. in social work, teacher education, higher education, and nursing), identity (e.g. in sociology or personal and developmental psychology), self-knowledge (e.g. in clinical and developmental psychology), personal narratives (e.g. personality psychology), and meaning of life (e.g. in social and humanistic psychology). Additionally, changes in authenticity were discussed separately from overall self-knowledge in bodies of literature such as philosophy, developmental psychology, and sociology. Similarly, increased self-efficacy exists as a distinct category, separate from empowerment, within both social psychology and sociology literature.

Epistemology

Epistemology refers to a person's 'beliefs about the definition of knowledge, how knowledge is constructed, how knowledge is evaluated, where knowledge resides, and how knowing occurs' (Hofer 2002, p. 4). Within the literature on transformative learning, the concept is similar except that it refers primarily to the way people construct and evaluate knowledge in their day-to-day living, their ways of knowing, rather than how they explicitly define it. Scholars described changes in epistemology through the subcategories of: (1) more discriminating; (2) utilizing extra-rational ways of knowing (e.g. contemplative, spiritual, intuitive, somatic or embodied, emotional, holistic, imaginative, empathetic, artistic, reflective, or multiple ways of knowing); (3) more open; (4) shift in thoughts and/or ways of thinking; (5) more autonomous; and (6) more complex thinking.

Changes in *Epistemology* fall into a variety of subcategories within other fields. There is a large body of literature that emphasizes domain-specific epistemological change, or that which is applicable specifically to one type of academic study (e.g. in educational psychology, higher education, and science education). Epistemological change resulting in more dialectical thinking, or a greater ability to hold opposing ideas not as mutually exclusive, was seen in literature from higher education, cognitive psychology, and educational psychology. Discussions of developmental changes in epistemology (e.g. in developmental and educational psychology), changes in capacity closely tied to epistemology (e.g. in higher education, cognitive psychology, developmental psychology, and philosophy), and extra-rational ways of knowing (e.g. in arts education) are also prevalent.

Ontology

In this typology, *Ontology* refers to the way a person exists in the world. It concerns the deeply established mental and emotional inclinations that affect the overall quality and tone of one's existence. Ontological change was described in three ways in the literature. Scholars described changes to ontology through the subcategories of: (1) affective experience of life; (2) ways of being (e.g. more present in the moment or more willing to take chances); and (3) attributes (e.g. greater generosity, empathy, or integrity).

Ontological changes described in other literature include those that impact affect (e.g. in clinical and positive psychology) in much similar ways to what transformative learning literature describes. Additionally, personality changes are sometimes described as differences in an individual's way of being, rather than solely changes to self (e.g. in personality, developmental, and clinical psychology). Increase in one's everyday creativity is another type of change that appears in arts education and social psychology literature, and can reflect ontological outcomes. Literature related to increased mindfulness (e.g. in cognitive psychology, clinical psychology, nursing, and religion) describes changes in a person's daily approach to life as a specific way of being, emphasizing increases in one's appreciation of and attention to the present moment.

Behaviour

Change in behaviour as a learning outcome seemed to be *necessary but not sufficient*; it was often considered an essential component of transformational change, but was always associated with at least one other type of outcome. Scholars described changes in behaviour through the subcategories of: (1) actions consistent with new perspective; (2) engaging in social action; (3) changed behaviour; (4) new professional practices; and (5) new skills.

Throughout literature from other fields, changes in behaviour are also largely discussed as closely tied to outcomes from other subcategories. Shifts in relationships were behavioural outcomes connected with changes in *Self* (e.g. in humanistic psychology, developmental psychology, and sociology); behavioural change related to *Worldview* was discussed as closely related to the activities that individuals choose to pursue in life, such as interacting with one's community or acting in a certain manner towards others (e.g. in clinical psychology, religion, sociology, social psychology, and higher education); changes in *Ontology* that result in learning new ways of being are discussed as involving shifts of habitual tendencies, which are behavioural by their very definition (e.g. in educational psychology, clinical psychology, nursing, and higher education); and changes in *Epistemological* decision-making patterns can lead individuals to make different behavioural choices (e.g. in developmental and educational psychology).

Capacity

Capacity refers to developmental outcomes whereby learners experience systematic, qualitative changes in their abilities that allow for greater complexity in the way they see, interpret, and function in the world (Hoare 2006). The focus of this category is the development of greater capabilities. Scholars described changes in capacity through the subcategories of: (1) cognitive development; (2) consciousness; and (3) spirituality.

Within related literature, *capacity* and *epistemology* are closely tied, particularly within analyses of metacognition, which is the process of thinking about cognition (e.g. in educational psychology). Specific discussions of outcomes similar to changes in *capacity*, however, largely refer solely to cognitive development (e.g. in higher education, developmental psychology, cognitive psychology, and philosophy).

THE TYPOLOGY AS A CONCEPTUAL TOOL

In the 206 articles reviewed for this study, there were over 1200 excerpts we coded that eventually coalesced into the 28 subcategories, which in turn were organized into the six categories presented above. There is an important distinction between the categories and subcategories. Namely, I believe the categories are a stable organizational structure that will likely change very little even if used for a variety of studies and future literature reviews. That is not to

say that every instance of transformative learning will involve outcomes for all six categories, but rather that it seems unlikely that many new categories will emerge over time. In contrast, the subcategories probably represent the ‘academic fashion’ (Newman 2014) of the discipline during the time frame studied (2003–2014). The list of subcategories can and likely will expand with every study that uses the typology. This is to be expected, but scholars should be careful to avoid discipline-specific jargon in the creation of new subcategories. The purpose of the typology is to aid in a better, more holistic, interdisciplinary understanding of transformative learning through the creation of a common vocabulary. This purpose will be moot if scholars simply throw in new subcategories that only reflect their respective disciplinary perspectives.

Using the Typology: An Example

I was recently asked to describe how a four-year college experience might be transformative for some students. My initial reaction was that it is not necessarily transformative for many of them; it depends on many characteristics of the students and their experiences. Regardless, admitting it is somewhat of a caricature of the higher education experience, the analysis provides an example of how the typology might be used by researchers and educators.

Using the categories as a prompt, I considered what I felt were society’s expectations for the outcomes of the college experience. Within each category, I sought to articulate further the exact type of change that I felt was expected. Figure 2 illustrates the decisions made based on the typology. (Note: readers will likely disagree with some of the particulars of my assessment. That is fine—and in some ways it is the point of offering this example.)

When profound change occurs for people, it would be depicted by the typology as a cluster of outcomes. In this example of higher education, that cluster is:

- Self
 - Empowerment/Responsibility
- Worldview
 - Assumptions, Beliefs, Attitudes, Expectations
 - New Awareness/New Understandings
 - More Complex
- Epistemology
 - More Discriminating
 - Discipline-specific
- Ontology
 - Discipline-specific
- Behaviour
 - Skills
- Capacity
 - Perry: Commitments in Relativism.

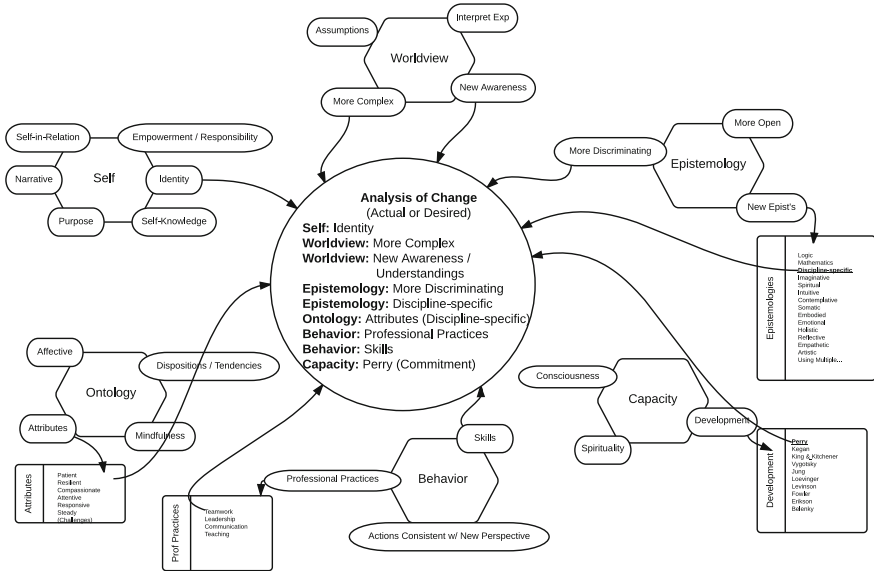


Fig. 2 Typology higher edition

In this analysis of the expected outcomes of higher education, learning outcomes associated with *Self* revolve primarily around a gained sense of empowerment that comes from feeling versed in the requisite understandings and ways of being of society, and especially of successful integration into adult society as prescribed by the formal education system. The sense of empowerment derives from the development of practical knowledge for the given culture and the students’ respective disciplines. Similar to Bourdieu’s concept of *habitus*, this ‘feel for the game’ is ‘embodied and turned into a second nature’ (1990: 63).

Historically, higher education has had dual foci: to prepare graduates with discipline-specific understandings for their chosen places in society, as well as with broader perspectives. Nussbaum refers to this latter focus as ‘education for world citizenship’ and cites the role of higher education in exposing students to diverse perspectives that hopefully leads to:

an education for all students. So that as judges, as legislators, as citizens in whatever role, they will learn to deal with one another with respect and understanding. And this understanding and respect entail recognizing not only difference but also, at the same time, commonality, not only a unique history but also common rights and aspirations and problems. (Nussbaum 1997: 69)

These foci combine to hopefully prepare graduates with the requisite capacities to succeed in their respective professions and to better participate as citizens of the community, country, and world. This ideal of higher education brings with

it a sense of responsibility to play one's part in society and to contribute to its betterment.

Under *Worldview* are three specific outcomes. The first is that we expect higher education to provide its graduates with more accurate and complete understandings. In the typology, this is referred to as a change in assumptions, beliefs, attitudes, and expectations. For instance, students of science may need to replace Aristotelian (or common sense) conceptions of physics with Newtonian understandings (Bain 2004). There is a canon to be learned in every discipline, as well as its norms, attitudes, and values. The second and related outcome is that we expect students to be made aware of important things of which they were previously ignorant. This subcategory focuses on issues, problems, and situations that, once seen, cannot be unseen. We expect students to be exposed to current realities of life, as well as its grander possibilities. Also under *Worldview*, students in higher education are expected to develop more complex understandings of the world. As Mezirow described, we expect students to develop worldviews that are inclusive of a greater array of difference, to see beyond just our esoteric upbringings.

Just as Mezirow advocated for epistemological habits of mind that were more discriminating, we expect college graduates to learn and apply epistemologies to their own meaning-making processes. Epistemology as used in the typology refers to how people know what they know, and the criteria they use to determine the validity of a knowledge claim. We expect higher education to produce graduates who can apply appropriate epistemological criteria to justify and to assess knowledge claims. Often, the epistemologies learned depend on the specific discipline: philosophy majors are expected to learn formal rules of logic, engineers use math as justification, and biologists learn the scientific method. Although not mutually exclusive, these and other epistemologies vary by discipline. We expect graduates to learn to discriminate between knowledge claims based on a particular epistemology.

An integral part of becoming comfortable with the 'rules of the game' (Bourdieu 1990), and especially of them becoming second nature, is adopting appropriate cultural and discipline-specific attributes. For cultural attributes, we expect graduates to be generally conscientious, law-abiding, and civically engaged. Within specific disciplines, we expect accountants to be exact, art majors to be creative, business majors to be enterprising and professional, and so forth.

Learning a particular skill is not transformative by itself. However, skills are often necessary in order for other transformative outcomes to happen. If we expect students to utilize the particular form of critical thinking espoused and used in their discipline, then they must learn to use that epistemology. Similarly, before students can gain the sense of empowerment that comes with learning the habitus of their discipline, they must learn the skills expected of professionals in that discipline. We expect graduates to know these basic, expected skills.

There are many models of development, but the one that is arguably most focused on the increase of intellectual capacity during the college years is Perry's

(1970) scheme of intellectual and ethical development. Therefore, in my assessment of society's expectations for transformative outcomes of the college experience, I suggest that we expect graduates to progress along Perry's scheme from dualistic thinking to multiplicity, and hopefully to some form of commitment-in-relativism. There are many forms that development can take, but we tend to expect increased capacities for complex thinking in terms of how Perry describes them.

Again, this depiction of the expected outcomes of higher education is for illustrative purposes only. Likely most everyone will disagree with at least part of my analysis, but that is the point of the typology. It forces the scholar to be explicit about the learning outcomes. Once articulated, then educators can be explicit about designing pedagogy to accomplish those outcomes, and researchers can be explicit in their descriptions of learning outcomes. Having been prompted to explicate exactly what I mean by the transformative potential of college, critics have fodder to critique.

Although this description of society's expectations of a college education uses the typology of transformative outcomes as a guide, it does not mean that students who experience these changes have also experienced transformative learning. Students who grew up in social situations, wherein the culture roughly resembles the outcomes described above, will likely be able to accomplish the outcomes without the learning experience meeting the criteria of depth, breadth, and relative stability. Specifically, they likely will not experience depth of learning—not because the outcomes are not deeply internalized, but because the learning likely did not need to be particularly impactful because there was little change necessary. However, for students from cultural or socioeconomic backgrounds that are far different from the norms and expectations of higher education, accomplishing these outcomes may well be transformative. The typology provides a framework for articulating learning outcomes that can be transformative, but accomplishing those outcomes does not necessarily indicate that the learning experience should be considered an instance of transformative learning. Applying the criteria of depth, breadth, and relative stability is crucial in order for the metatheory to avoid suffering from evacuation.

CONCLUSION

This typology is intended to be useful for educators and researchers. For educators, exercising clarity about the intended learning outcomes is important so that appropriate pedagogies can be designed to accomplish them. If we are not clear about where we want to go, then any path can seem as good as any other. Further, the typology and criteria can work together to justify the transformative nature of an educational programme to various stakeholders. Similarly, clarity is important for researchers. Being explicit about the learning outcomes observed is critical to avoid the tendency to only see what we expect to see. Such a tendency is likely always going to be present, but using the typology can

prompt researchers to look for areas of change that otherwise might be overlooked due to the particular disciplinary or theoretical lens being used.

REFERENCES

- Aldridge, J., Kuby, P., & Strevy, D. (1992). Developing a metatheory of education. *Psychological Reports, 70*, 683–687.
- Bain, K. (2004). *What the best college teachers do*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an ecology of mind*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990). *In other words: Essays towards a reflexive sociology*. (M. Adamson, Trans.). Cambridge: Polity.
- Boyd, R. D. (1989). 'Facilitating personal transformation in small groups'. *Small Group Behaviour, 20*, 459–474.
- Boyd, R. D., & Myers, J. G. (1988). Transformative education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 7*, 261–284.
- Brookfield, S. (2003). Putting the critical back into critical pedagogy: A commentary on the path of dissent *Journal of Transformative Education, 1*, 141–149.
- Carroll, L. (1897/2013). *Alice in wonderland*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Collard, S., & Law, M. (1989). The limits of perspective transformation: A critique of Mezirow's theory. *Adult Education Quarterly, 39*, 99–107.
- Conradi, K., Jang, B. G., & McKenna, M. C. (2014). Motivation terminology in reading research: A conceptual review. *Educational Psychology Review, 26*, 127–164.
- Dirkx, J. M. (2012). 'Nurturing soul work: A Jungian approach to transformative learning'. In E. Taylor & P. Cranton (Eds.), *The handbook of transformative learning: Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Finger, M., & Asun, J. M. (2001). *Adult education at the crossroads: Learning our way out*. New York: Palgrave.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *The Theory of Communicative Action* (Vol.1). Boston: Beacon.
- Hoare, C. (2006). *Handbook of adult development and learning*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hofer, B. (2002). Personal epistemology as a psychological and educational construct: An introduction. In B. Hofer & P. Pintrich (Eds.), *Personal epistemology: The psychology of beliefs about knowledge and knowing*. New York: Routledge.
- Hoggan, C. (2016). The varieties of transformative experience: A review of the transformative learning literature. *Studies in the Education of Adults*.
- Howie, P., & Bagnall, R. (2013). A beautiful metaphor: Transformative learning theory. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 32*(6), 816–836.
- Kokkos, A. (2012). Transformative learning in Europe: An overview of the theoretical perspectives. In E. Taylor & P. Cranton (Eds.), *The handbook of transformative learning: Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1962). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (2000). Learning to think like an adult. In J. Mezirow & Associates (Eds.), *Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Newman, M. (2012). Calling transformative learning into question: Some mutinous thoughts. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 62(1), 36–55.
- Newman, M. (2014). The tyranny of academic fashion: A reject's lament. *Concept*, 5(2), 9.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1997). *Cultivating humanity: A classical defense of reform in liberal education*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Perry, W. G. (1970). *Forms of intellectual and ethical development in the college years: A scheme*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Taylor, E. (1998). The theory and practice of transformative learning: A critical review, *Information Series* No. 374.
- Taylor, E. (2007). An update of transformative learning theory: A critical review of the empirical research (1999–2005). *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(2), 173–191.
- Taylor, E., & Snyder, M. (2012). A critical review of research on transformative learning theory, 2006–2010. In E. Taylor & P. Cranton (Eds.), *The handbook of transformative learning: Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Wallace, W. (1992). Metatheory, conceptual standardization and the future of sociology. In G. Ritzer (Ed.), *Metatheorizing*. Newbury Park: Sage.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Chad Hoggan is an Assistant Professor at North Carolina State University (USA), where he teaches adult learning and development theory. A Co-editor of the *Journal of Transformative Education* (SAGE), his research focuses on deep learning and change in adulthood. His recent publications include “Transformative Learning as Metatheory: Definition, Criteria, and Typology” (*Adult Education Quarterly*, 66(1), 57–75, 2016).

Critical Adult Education Theory: Traditions and Influence

Stephen Brookfield

Abstract The notion of what constitutes critical adult education theory and practice is strongly contested, partly because the word ‘critical’ is open to so many interpretations. In this chapter, I begin by reviewing two major traditions of critical analysis that have framed much adult educational theorising. The first of these is Marxism and the attempt of the Frankfurt school of critical social theory to modernise Marx’s ideas for in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The second is the critical pedagogy tradition that draws especially strongly on the work of Paulo Freire I then examine the way that specific critically inclined streams of theorising such as transformative learning, feminist theory, queer theory, Africentrism and critical race theory have influenced theorising in adult education. The key to all these theoretical efforts is a desire for a theory to assist in the dismantling of structures of power by critiquing the ideologies that keep these structures in place.

INTRODUCTION

At the heart of critical adult education is the notion of critique, of looking at the shortcomings of a system, institution or set of practices and imagining a more humane, compassionate and equitable way of organising the world. Often the critique is grounded in the tradition of critical theory with its foundations in Marxism. Historically, this tradition is aligned with socialist, communist and anarchist politics. At other times, the notion of critique is grounded in the tradition of pragmatism, of being open to new ways of thinking and acting about current systems and practices. Pragmatism emphasises rooting out and critiquing prevailing assumptions, and always being ready to experiment with

S. Brookfield (✉)

University of St. Thomas, 695 Lincoln Avenue, St. Paul, MN 55105, USA
e-mail: sdbrookfield@stthomas.edu

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_4

new approaches. Historically, this tradition is aligned with democratic politics. Like the critical theory tradition, it too focuses on the notion of transformative change, but is less concerned with the abolition of capitalism. For example, this tradition holds that significant change is achievable in institutions embedded in capitalism. So one can imagine a more humane and democratically run school, government department, hospital or company.

In these different formulations, critique has been a central part of the adult education tradition. Within English language scholarship alone, there is a vibrant documentation of the first notion of critique, of holding the system accountable for its failure to realise democratic, socialist, anarchist or communist social formations. This tradition emphasises adult education's role in building revolutionary social movements comprised of working-class, peasant and indigenous people. The African National Congress, the Cuban peasant militia, the UK Chartists, the Sandinista literacy movement in Nicaragua, the Zapatista Army, the Black Panthers or the US Civil Rights Movement would all be examples of these. Here, teaching skills necessary to organise opposition, or to build a revolutionary army, would be critical adult educational work. When oppositional movements become constituted as permanent revolutionary parties or as institutions of civil society such as Trade Unions, Labour Unions and People's Colleges, critical adult education is a component part of their activities.

There is also a local, community-based variant of this work that operates informally and changes constantly. In Liverpool (where I was born and grew up), New York (where I lived for a decade) or Saint Paul, Minnesota (the US city where I now live), critical adult education is evident in numerous grass roots groups where members teach each other, and learn with each other, how to organise neighbourhood protests, plant community gardens, run food co-operatives, oppose school closures, prevent gentrification, stop fracking, push back against corporate development, keep hospitals open, protest against police brutality and so on.

Critical adult education informed by the critical theory tradition is often conflated with the term 'radical' adult education. Radical adult education on a small and large scale seeks to transform the politics of the wider society. Across the world, this form of adult education has also historically been aligned with working-class or peasant movements and similarly linked to socialist, anarchist and communist politics. It is intended to be transformative in that it seeks to replace a current social order—a military junta or white minority rule for example—with a completely different political and economic formation. Replacing capitalism with socialism or mobilising a peasant army to overthrow a military junta would be examples of radical adult education.

Elements of radical education enter into the critical tradition that draws on Marxism and critical theory. But the intellectual topography of critical adult education includes elements of critique that stop short of advocating radical social transformation. Instead of seeing education as the lever for transformation to socialism, anarchism or communism, some critical traditions place themselves as more concerned with furthering the extension of democracy. Since this

chapter explores critical adult education theory, it will be more expansive than the radical perspective and include elements of critique that stop short of calling for social, economic and political transformation.

Also, since this chapter is supposed to be about critical adult education theory, rather than critical adult education practice, I am not going to go deeply into describing the multiple movements and settings in which critical adult education occurs. Instead, I will focus on the theories that both inform this work and sometimes evolve from it.

MARXISM AND CRITICAL THEORY

The theoretical wellspring for much of critical adult education is Marxism. Marx is the towering intellectual figure—simultaneously foundation and fulcrum—for critical adult education theory. As well as providing critical adult education with many of its central concepts (objectification, false consciousness, commodification, alienation, ideology and praxis), Marxism also influences its forms of discourse. Marx's alternation between polemic and scientism, between philosophising about the need to create the conditions under which people can realise their creativity and humanity and demonstrating the immutable laws of history focused on the predictable crises of capitalism has framed the style in which much subsequent theory is written. In his often quoted 11th thesis on Feuerbach in which he argued that the point of philosophy was to change the world (not just interpret it), Marx underpins the intent of critical adult education theory and its resultant practice to act as a catalyst for revolutionary social change.

Youngman (2000) argues that this activist intent is clearly evident in 'the long-standing heritage within radical adult education in capitalist societies that has been based explicitly on Marxist theory' (p. 33) and further maintains that 'since the early days of Marxism there has been a close connection between Marxist theory and the practice of adult education' (p. 32). As evidence of this, he cites Marx's involvement with the German Workers' Education Association, Gramsci's role in organising workers' factory councils of Turin and the creation by American Marxist socialists of the Working People's College in 1907.

Most adult educational extrapolations of Marxist thought have been published outside the USA; a sure example of the Marxophobia noted by West (1982) and McLaren (1997) whereby anybody within the US declaring themselves as drawing explicitly on Marxist analysis runs the risk of being regarded as intellectually and politically suspect. A recent notable exception to this is John Holst who applies a Marxist influenced analysis to the development of social movements (Holst 2002) and globalisation (2006). But the English language analysis of how adult education is situated within capitalist relations and its contribution to abolishing these relations has been conducted mostly by adult educators located in England (Allman 1999, 2001; Steele and Taylor 2004), Botswana (Youngman 1986, 2000), Canada (Welton 1981, 1993,

1995; Carpenter and Mojab 2011, 2013), Malta (Mayo 1999, 2000, 2005) and Australia (Ollis 2012).

Welton (1995) argues that, ‘the consequences of forgetting Marx for the construction of a critical theory of adult learning are enormous, inevitably binding us to an individualistic model of learning’ (p. 19). In adult education, the connection to a Marxist-inclined critique of individualism is most clearly seen in the application of critical theory (associated with the Institute of Social Research established in 1923 in Frankfurt, Germany) to adult educational practices. Critical theory’s distinctive intellectual project was to interpret, critique and reframe the relevance of Marxist thought for contemporary industrial society. The school’s theorists such as Horkheimer (1974, 1995); Adorno (1973, 2001); Benjamin (1969); Marcuse (1941, 1964, 1965) and Fromm (1941, 1956, 1965, 1968) held the analytical tools and concepts of Marx in high regard, but felt that his ideas needed to be reframed for the industrial age and mass society.

In particular, the Frankfurt school members were perplexed as to the fact that the worker alienation described by Marx in the *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* (1961) did not lead to the working class assuming the reins of power in industrial societies after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917. They were motivated partly by wishing to understand how totalitarianism—both fascist and communist—had developed so successfully in the first three decades of the century, but were also interested in the intersection of culture and ideology (Benhabib 1986). A significant element of their work focused on mass media and popular culture as systems that encoded dominant ideas and practices supporting capitalism (Horkheimer and Adorno 1972; Adorno 2001).

As a body of work, the Frankfurt school thinkers focused on identifying, and then challenging and changing, the process by which a grossly iniquitous society uses dominant ideology to convince people that this inequity is a normal state of affairs. Their perspective is grounded in three core assumptions viewed as axiomatic and articulated in Horkheimer’s classic 1936 essay defining critical theory (1995). These are: (1) that apparently open, Western democracies are actually highly unequal societies in which economic inequity, racism and class discrimination are empirical realities, (2) that the way this state of affairs is reproduced as seeming to be normal, natural and inevitable (thereby heading off potential challenges to the system) is through the dissemination of dominant ideology and (3) that critical theory attempts to understand this state of affairs as a prelude to changing it.

Amongst adult educators, Jurgen Habermas (1987) is the most well-known intellectual heir of the school’s legacy and his theory of communicative action was strongly influential on Mezirow’s development of transformative learning theory in the 1980s and 1990s (Mezirow 1981, 1991; Mezirow and Associates 2000). In a series of books published in the 1970s (Habermas 1970, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1979), Habermas developed a concept of democracy grounded in a theory of communication. He accepted critical theory’s articulation of the extension of technocratic consciousness into everyday life but argued that a

theory concerned with human liberation should replace the Marxist emphasis on how people organise and conduct their patterns of production with a focus on how they organise and conduct their patterns of communication. If we could understand the conditions necessary for people to participate in full, free and equal discourse, Habermas argued, then we would have a theory—the theory of communicative action—that would guide the operation of democracy.

Mezirow's hugely influential 1981 article developing a critical theory of adult learning and education (Mezirow 1981) took Habermas' concern with the emancipatory dimensions of communicative action, reinterpreted emancipatory action as adult perspective transformation and linked this to contemporary adult educational ideas of self-directed learning and andragogy. In viewing these concepts through a Habermasian lens, Mezirow introduced adult educators who had been comfortable with the tradition of humanistic psychology to the realisation that a more conflictual, Marxist-inclined approach to interpreting adult learning processes was possible.

As we shall see later, Mezirow moved beyond Habermas' work and, in a manner echoing Habermas' own intellectual eclecticism, crossed theoretical traditions as diverse as linguistics, information processing, artificial intelligence and cognitive development. As Mezirow developed his ever-expanding theory of transformative learning, it fell to others to interpret the relevance of Habermas' constantly evolving body of work for adult education. Of these interpreters, Michael Welton is undoubtedly the most prominent. In a series of articles and chapters, Welton (1991, 1993, 1995, 2000, 2001, 2003) parlayed Habermas' own convoluted, dense, endlessly hyphenated prose into a passionate and lucid justification of adult educators' need to move beyond simplistic declarations of the importance of social transformation to 'speak in a more self-limiting and precise ways about the asymmetrical relationship between the system (state and work) and the lifeworld (civil society)' (Welton 2001: 32).

After the fall of the Berlin Wall and the breakup of the USSR, some within critical theory argued that the transition to socialism should cease to be the organising project for critical theory. However, one could argue that the events of 1989 and beyond signified the collapse of totalitarian communism rather than the democratic socialism envisaged by the Frankfurt school. To Welton (2001), giving up 'the old Marxian dream of total change' (p. 32) is necessary in Habermas' view if we are to work to achieve realistic and specific social changes in particular contexts. Now that the industrial working class is no longer the chief engine of revolutionary change, we must locate our efforts at resistance in social movements and grass roots activism across a wide range of issues. Habermas and Welton both believe this is the only realistic chance we have of preserving, let alone extending, the democratic process within civil society. They argue that learning how to defend the lifeworld against the system and how to restrict the increasing influence of steering mechanisms within the public sphere are adult learning projects at the heart of twenty-first-century democracy.

Although critical theory has its origins in the first half of the last century, its exploration of the dynamics of capitalism—how contemporary processes of

production turn workers, learners and teachers' labour into 'things' to be traded on the open market—finds a contemporary echo in frequently espoused conceptualisations of learners and educators as 'human capital'. Adult education for workforce development situates the field as a servant of capitalism and the human capital of the educated workforce represents a commodity owned by the organisation, one deemed to provide a 'competitive edge' in the global marketplace. So critical theory's analysis of the commodification and objectification of labour is as relevant in the twenty-first century as in the twentieth, especially as globalisation recasts the notion of the bourgeoisie and proletariat in first world–third world terms.

It is pertinent to note that contemporary critiques of globalisation (El-Ojeili and Hayden 2006) and critical globalisation studies (Applebaum and Robinson 2005) make explicit their intellectual grounding in critical theory. Critiques of neoliberal policies whereby public services are privatised draw on Marx and Fromm's work on the fetishisation of the market, the belief that the capitalist free market is a 'thing', an 'entity' that, left alone, works magically to confer economic benefits on all, build overall prosperity and conserve the spirit of entrepreneurial freedom and liberty. The ideological and structural mechanisms initially described by Marx to make societal inequality appear normal are now often analysed on a global scale (Rehbein 2011).

CRITICAL PEDAGOGY

A second (and connected) strand of critical adult education theory draws on the work of the Brazilian literacy educator Paulo Freire (2000a, b) and a founder of the Italian communist party, Antonio Gramsci (Borg et al. 2002). The connection of Freire to Marx is clearly articulated in Allman's extensive scholarship on revolutionary pedagogy (Allman 1999, 2008, 2010). As Mayo (2013) observes, 'Allman demonstrates clearly that one cannot fully understand his (Freire's) thinking unless one roots it in Marx's dialectical conceptualization of oppression' (p. 129). As a communist, Gramsci is also clearly situated in the Marxist tradition and reflections on Marx were a prominent element in his prison writings (Gramsci 1971).

Two constructs were highly influential in launching critical pedagogy scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s: Freire's concept of conscientisation and Gramsci's concept of the organic intellectual. The simultaneous publication of two adult education texts examining the connections between both these thinkers' work (Coben 1998; Mayo 1998) heralded how a theory of critical practice was entering adult education. This stream of theorising is more focused on classroom and community practice and is often subsumed under the term critical pedagogy. It is a mid-range or local form of theorising concerned to illuminate the intersections between the pressures of ideological manipulation and cultural conformity and educational practice designed to challenge dominant ideology.

Although the field of critical pedagogy was often originally articulated in the context of elementary and secondary schooling, its influence is now embedded in adult education. Hence, case studies of critical adult education practice (see, e.g., Sheared and Sissel 2001; St. Clair and Sandlin 2004; Kirkwood and Kirkwood 2010) and introductions to the field intended to communicate a critical edge (see, e.g., Brookfield and Holst 2010; English and Mayo 2012) often foreground ideas from critical pedagogy.

Freire's idea of conscientisation, derived from his work in Brazil, Bolivia, Guinea-Bissau and Chile, exploded across the world in the 1960s and 1970s and had an enormous influence on the developing popular education movement (Hammond 1998; Kane 2001; Motta and Cole 2014) in Latin America. Freire argued that teaching basic literacy skills had to be situated in peasants' everyday worlds, using their own problems and concerns as the experiential grist for the development of teaching practices. Adult educator Septima Clark (Charron 2012) adopted a similar approach in the civil rights movement. Freire conceived teaching as an explicitly political act since people's concerns over land ownership, landlords' exploitative practices, water rights and so on were indicative of a rapacious and unchecked capitalism. Interestingly, these same exact concerns were paralleled in some of the works of the Highlander Folk School (subsequently the Highlander Center) in Tennessee (Gaventa 1983). Situating people's learning within the context of understanding exploitation and inequity, and providing educational help (developing skills, analysis and tactics) to efforts to democratise political economy, became fundamental tenets of popular education.

The concept of praxis also entered the lexicon of adult education largely due to Freire. Although grounded in Hegel's notion of the dialectic, and Marx's development of this idea, most adult educators associate the notion of praxis with Freire. In classic Marxism, the dialectical process places two contradictory forces in opposition to each other and posits that it is the clash of these that gives rise to new social forms. Allman (2010) provides a thorough analysis of this process in adult educational terms by emphasising for example how two groups that stand in opposition to each other—students and teachers—transform both themselves and the process of education into a dialogic form.

McLaren (2000) has remarked on how Freire's ideas have been often co-opted by mainstream adult education to signify that classrooms should be more democratic and participatory and that active learning should be the pedagogic order of the day. He criticises the way that Freire's work has been domesticated and deracinated by being ripped out of their Latin American political context and defused of revolutionary import. To McLaren, people can say they are working in a Freirean way simply by moving chairs into a circle and asking people to co-construct the curriculum or using discussion as the main teaching approach. The content and direction of education (the revolutionary transformation of capitalist authoritarianism into collective, democratic and socialist forms) become lost as the focus shifts solely to matters of process. A democratically arrived at, collective decision by a group to stick within

comfortable and socially acceptable boundaries could, in this bastardised form of Freire, be considered as authentic and dialogic.

In time, partly because of his time at the World Council of Churches in Geneva and because of a brief stint at Harvard University who published his *Cultural action for freedom* (2000), Freire's work became enormously influential across the English-speaking world. He conducted a series of talking books with leading educators such as Ira Shor (Shor and Freire 1987) and the founder of the Highlander Folk School, Myles Horton (Horton and Freire 1992) that presented his ideas in a more accessible way for English speakers and explored the applicability of his analysis and approaches to the industrialised first world.

The dominance of the andragogical paradigm drawn from humanistic psychology and articulated by Malcolm Knowles (1970 and Knowles and Associates 1984) was challenged by Freire's work. Adult education was now theorised as an inherently political enterprise with revolutionary significance with practitioners either serving the capitalist, authoritarian status quo or working to overthrow this. Adult educators were not omniscient founts of knowledge, although they always worked in a certain political direction. They were authoritative, not authoritarian, making sure that any interjections they made served to clarify people's emerging understanding of an unequal world and to support their desire to take control of their lives. Learning was not an individualistic process but a collective attempt to name, and then change, reality. Educators learned from and with those they served and invited relentless critique of their own actions. Social movements advanced by people stepping back to reflect critically on their actions and then moving to a more informed phase of re-engagement. The exercise of radical love (echoing Freire's Christianity) informed all educational action, a contention that earned Freire critique from some on the left. I once heard a teamster at a union-sponsored meeting in New York where Freire was speaking dismiss his ideas as flower power.

Freire's theoretical and philosophical axioms have lasted longer than the immensely popular notion of andragogy and, in a world in which income, racial, gender and power disparities are ever more glaring, still exercise great influence within adult education today. They also present a counter to the notion of tying adult education to workplace learning and reducing the scope of the field to the preparation of learners for jobs in service industries or the information society.

As mentioned earlier, a second important idea that is drawn from Marxism but that is known mostly through critical pedagogy's interpretations is that of the adult educator as a distinctive kind of teacher or practitioner—the organic intellectual. The notion of the adult educator as an organic intellectual is one that originated in Gramsci's (1971) prison writings but was developed by European adult educators (Williams 1977; Coben 1998; Mayo 1999, 2005; Allman 2010) as a model for the field's practitioners. For Gramsci, organic intellectuals were 'elites of a new type, which arise directly out of the masses, but remain in contact with them' (p. 340). These intellectuals help the working class

‘to conquer ideologically the traditional intellectuals’ by their ‘active participation in practical life as constructor, organizer, permanent persuader’ (p. 10). They distinguish themselves by having ‘worked out and made coherent the principles and the problems raised by the masses in their practical activity’ (p. 330). They are able to formulate and communicate a strategy for political revolution in terms that the working class can understand since they are themselves formed by a working-class culture. The end result of this effort is the establishment of a new hegemony reflective of working-class interests.

The work of organic intellectuals results in ‘the theoretical aspect of the theory-practice nexus being distinguished concretely by the existence of a group of people “specialised” in conceptual and philosophical elaboration of ideas’ (p. 334). In other words, organic intellectuals are crucial to the awakening of revolutionary fervour and a necessary trigger to workers coming to realise their true situation of oppression and deciding to change this through political actions. Gramsci wrote that with regard to the dynamics of a large-scale political movement, ‘innovation cannot come from the mass, or at least at the beginning, except through the mediation of an elite’ (p. 335). Organic intellectuals have the responsibility to help people understand the existence of ruling class hegemony and the need to replace this with proletarian hegemony. In order to do this, these intellectuals need a capacity for empathic identification with how it feels to be oppressed. They must inhabit the lifeworld of the masses ‘feeling the elementary passions of the people, understanding them and therefore explaining and justifying them’ (p. 418).

This is why it is so difficult for well-meaning middle-class radicals to become organic intellectuals. Despite Freire’s injunctions concerning the need for middle-class adult educators to commit class suicide so they can work in an authentic way with the peasantry and other oppressed groups (Freire 2000), this transition is highly problematic. And what of attempts to commit racial, rather than class, suicide? How can white adult educators ever experience the systemic racism visited daily on people of colour? As Holst (2002) points out, discussions of organic intellectuals that focus on Martin Luther King (the emblematic organic intellectual in Cornel West’s view) tend to ignore the way the civil rights movement ‘produced organic intellectuals from the Black share-croppers and working class throughout the South’ (p. 85).

I read Gramsci as arguing that a condition of being an organic intellectual is the educator being a member of the racial or class group concerned, and not a sympathetic fellow traveller, however well intentioned. Myles Horton understood this when he insisted that the literacy teachers in the campaign to help St. John’s islanders learn to read and write (so they could register to vote) should all be African American (Horton 1977). No matter how sincere a white teacher might be, she lacked the racial membership to feel ‘the elementary passions of the people’ that was a precondition of her being trusted by the people.

In his adumbration of the adult educator as an organic intellectual, Gramsci is clearly operating from a very different conception than that of the adult educator as a facilitator. To him, the job of an organic intellectual is to ‘organise

human masses and create the terrain on which men move, acquire consciousness of their position, struggle etc'. (p. 377). There is no pretence at neutrality or objectivity here, no compulsion to see the oppressor's point of view. The intellectual's task is to galvanise the working-class opposition and translate this into an effective revolutionary party. In this analysis, adult education is a site for political practice in which organic intellectuals can assist the working class in its revolutionary struggle.

For Gramsci, this organic intellectual work was part of a 'war of position' to assist working-class adults learn those elements of the dominant culture (at a very basic level, reading and writing) that would assist them in overthrowing that culture and establishing a new hegemony, a working-class proletarian hegemony. This kind of learning is very far removed from the learning as joyful self-actualisation ethos that sometimes pervades adult and continuing education programmes today. To Gramsci (1971), studying was a job, 'and a very tiring one, with its own particular apprenticeship—involving muscles and nerves as well as intellect.... A habit acquired with effort, tedium and even suffering' (p. 42).

The idea of the adult educator as an organic intellectual working to help people advance their collective interests by challenging dominant ideology and ushering in revolutionary change has moved beyond Gramsci's focus on the working class to include groups marginalised by factors such as race, gender and sexuality. In so doing, it has informed an enormous variety of insurrectionary and revolutionary adult educational efforts. A few that come to mind are the rise of different forms of participatory research (Pyrch 2013), social action (Foley 1999), indigenous education (Schmelkes 2011; Cortina 2014) and environmental protests (Clover et al. 2012). There is also a host of specific community development practices and events that teach people to identify and push back against dominant power and ideological manipulation. Culture jamming (Scatamburlo-D'Annibale 2010), invisible theatre (Boal 2000, 2001, 2006), Adbusters Clover and Shaw (2010), critical shopping (Jubas 2012) and the Raging Grannies (Roy 2002) would be a few examples. Here, activists stage interventions in public and community spaces such as restaurants, shopping malls, military bases and street corners to force an awareness of power relationships people take for granted.

CRITIQUE AS CRITICAL ADULT EDUCATION THEORY

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first-centuries, a number of theoretical movements, loosely organised around the notion of critique, have come into play within adult education theorising. One of the most prominent has centred on the works of Jack Mezirow. As mentioned earlier, Mezirow's (1981) article 'A critical theory of adult learning and education' explored the learning domains that Jurgen Habermas claimed to be central to engaging in communicative action. Since Habermas viewed learning communicative action to be the central task of adulthood, Mezirow's development of this work within adult education

seems entirely natural. The hundreds of studies that Mezirow's work has inspired certainly make the case for Habermas' contention. At the time of its initial articulation, Mezirow's work was groundbreaking in the US for its being situated in a dense European theoretical framework.

In the 30 years following the publication of the 1981 article, Mezirow provided numerous elaborations and extensions of his work drawing on an ever-broader range of knowledge, including artificial intelligence, brain chemistry and cognitive science. His intellectual project was to create a comprehensive theory of adult learning that could guide the field of adult education in terms of its practice. At the centre of this theoretical project was the idea of transformative learning, something he identified as the core process of adult learning (Mezirow 1991; Mezirow and Associates 2000). Put very simplistically, Mezirow argued that as people negotiate adulthood, the fragmented and contradictory nature of life in post-industrial societies confronts them with a series of disorienting dilemmas. These dilemmas are present in situations where assumptions and expectations are overturned by a (usually traumatic) series of events. Individual examples would be getting fired, suffering bereavement or the breakdown of an intimate relationship. Recent societal examples would be the destruction of the 2001 World Trade Center towers, a unilateral invasion (as with Iraq in 2003) and the 2008 collapse of the banking industry and subsequent bailout.

As a result of these disorienting dilemmas, we are forced to re-evaluate the ways we have understood the world. In so doing, we develop meaning schemes (sets of assumptions related to specific situations) and meaning perspectives (assumptions constituting broad worldviews). Over time, these become increasingly comprehensive (in that they account for a broader range of events) and discriminating (in that they discern differences between different kinds of events and phenomena). Adults transform their frames of reference through critical reflection on the assumptions of others (objective reframing) or on one's own assumptions (subjective reframing). Mezirow argues that the overall purpose of adult development is to realise one's agency through increasingly expanding awareness and critical reflection. The function of adult educators is to assist this development by helping learners reflect critically on their own, and others', assumptions. Regular reviews of transformative learning (Taylor 2007; Taylor and Snyder 2012) document how the scope of transformative learning has itself widened to account for holistic, somatic and emotional dimensions to this process, and to its application within studies of different cultural contexts (Merriam and Niscane 2008). O' Sullivan et al. (2002) have explored the connections between transformation and spirituality and the importance of connecting transformation to ecological balance.

The main element of Mezirow's theory of transformative learning that deals with social action is what he calls 'systemic' critical reflection that focuses on probing sociocultural distortions. Systemic reflection describes the process by which people learn to recognise how uncritically accepted and unjust dominant ideologies are embedded in everyday situations and practices. Critical reflection

as ideology critique focuses on helping people come to an awareness of how capitalism shapes belief systems and assumptions (i.e. ideologies) that justify and maintain economic and political inequity. This kind of ideology critique is appropriate for critical reflection on external ideologies such as communism, capitalism or fascism or for reflection on our own ‘economic, ecological, educational, linguistic, political, religious, bureaucratic, or other taken-for-granted cultural systems’ (Mezirow 1998: 193).

In building a comprehensive theory of adult learning, Mezirow broadened the notion of critique to include interpersonal and even intrapersonal domains. As a result, he provoked criticism that he had lost focus on the collective critique of structures and systems and had focused too much attention on the individual, internal change. Mezirow and his supporters contended that in building a comprehensive theory of adult learning, one could not restrict the focus to investigating systemic critique but had to deal also with the adult learning of an intrapersonal spiritual nature or of learning situated within intimate relationships.

The widespread attention granted to Mezirow’s work, along with the already examined influence of critical theory and critical pedagogy in the field, was paralleled by the development of multiple critical theories within adult education. A strong feminist theory of adult education emerged that placed women’s concerns, the centrality of gender and the dominance of patriarchal ideology and structures at the forefront of analysis. Critical feminism undertakes a power analysis of gender-based inequality across personal and social relationships, work, politics and ideologies of sexuality. Some proponents focus mostly on what are often conceptualised as ‘women’s issues’ such as reproductive rights, rape and sexual objectification via pornography, others conduct a broader critique and dismantling of patriarchy and its ties to capitalism. As Tisdell (2000) points out, it is probably more accurate to talk of feminist *theories* and feminist *pedagogies* (Tisdell 2000) in the plural. For example, theorists such as Thompson (1977, 2007); Mojab (2005); Carpenter and Mojab (2011) and Hart (2005) build on the insights of materialist feminism (Alama and Hekmo 2008) to insist that gender oppression be understood as intersecting with other forms of class and race-based oppression and that to separate them is empirically and theoretically untenable. Angela Davis (2012, 2015) and bell hooks (2014) both posit a critique of capitalism as a feminist concern and urge the building of broad-based revolutionary alliances across race and gender.

Concepts drawn from the feminist theory that has gained traction in adult education include several drawn from feminist epistemology (Alcoff and Potter 1993). As English and Irving (2015) observe, what were once considered strictly feminist perspectives, such as the recognition of learning as a holistic process involving multiple senses, emotional currents and somatic dimensions, are now mainstream ideas in adult education. Gender-based modes of cognition such as connected knowing (Belenky et al. 1986; Goldberger 1996) and maternal thinking (Ruddick 1995), and the notion of standpoint theory (Harding 2003) have all influenced adult educational scholarship (Hayes and Flannery 2000;

English and Irving 2015). Standpoint theory's contention that an adult educator's positionality and identity are crucial in shaping her commitments and practice is now broadly accepted as essential to any critical stance. In research, it is no longer daringly provocative for adult educational dissertations to contain a statement regarding the researcher's identity and positionality. In practice, adult education informed by feminist theory is usually upfront about the transformational politics it is attempting to introduce. There is no value neutrality here, instead a clear statement of the radical agenda being pursued.

Finally, the notion of helping women find and express themselves in an authentic voice that emerged in post-war feminism is now accepted as an important theoretical construct in critical adult education. It can be linked to the emergence of narrative research as a modality to further a social justice agenda (Nash and Viray 2013, 2014) in which the purpose is to liberate the voices of marginalised people. Finding voice, hearing voice and speaking in an authentic voice are now staple components of how critically inclined educators describe their purposes and practice.

The effort to find an authentic voice in matters of sexuality and gender is also reflected in the emergence of queer theory in adult education. Queer theory enjoins adult educators to consider a particular process of adult learning: How do people constantly learn to construct, dismantle and reconstruct sexual identity, and how do they understand and practice desire? Exploring this process is replete with implications for how one thinks, learns and teaches, and what one believes should be covered in a fully inclusive adult education curriculum. As is appropriate for a theory that emphasises shifting categorisations and rejects essentialism or fixed identities, queer theory is less a set of theoretical tenets and more a critical posture that questions traditional notions of sexuality. In particular, queer theory problematises heteronormativity; that is, the dominant, unquestioned belief that heterosexual relationships are not only the empirical norm, but morally superior to gay and lesbian same-sex relationships. The privilege associated with being 'Straight' is, according to Rocco and Gallagher (2006) important to identify and challenge, particularly when it forces gay and lesbian workers to 'pass' as straight for purposes of workplace safety or career development.

In choosing the term 'Queer Theory' to describe a theoretical posture of sexual critique, its adherents are mainstreaming what was previously a term of abuse. As Hill (1995) acknowledges, this is a common response of marginalised groups who proudly wave the term of abuse applied to them as a badge of identity, thus turning the linguistic and ideological tables on the dominant group. The Queer theory argues that pinning down one's sexuality in a fixed, static way is always likely to be complex, as in transgendered relationships, or in straight friendships between transvestites and cross-dressers. Classics in the field such as *Epistemology of the Closet* (Sedgwick 2008) 'interrogate' (to use a favoured term) dominant understandings and practices of sexuality. In other words, they question rigorously and continuously how certain ideas and behaviours become accepted as 'normal' and others viewed as 'deviant'.

The 'Queer' in queer theory can never be defined in any stable way since the notion itself rejects an essentialist epistemology that defines sexuality in a bifurcated, either/or way as gay or straight, hetero or homo (Grace and Hill 2004). Instead, queer celebrates the idea of constantly shifting identities and broadens conceptions of behavioural possibilities. Grace and Hill (2004) argue that queer theory's radical inclusion connects it to theorising in transformative learning whereby meaning schemes and perspectives are gradually broadened to become ever more permeable and comprehensive.

An interesting example of queering identity is adult educator Elizabeth Tisdell's description of her sexuality as contextual (Bettinger et al. 2006). In describing being in a committed monogamous relationship with a man, then with a woman for more than 10 years, and now with a man for the past 10 years, Tisdell rejects the descriptor of bisexual or any categorisation of her own sexual orientation. She writes 'for me my sexual orientation is contextual, and related more to a person and relationship, than with one gender or another' (p. 64). Thus, what to others might appear as sexual confusion, is clarifying for Tisdell since her sexual orientation is 'contextually situated as being in love with and committed to a particular person regardless of his or her gender' (p. 64). As Hill (2006) notes, any attempt to queer organisations, classrooms or adult education programmes is a complex practice with multiple dimensions that 'is fraught with paradox and contradiction' (p. 101).

Queer theory's emphasis on shifting identities and the contextual nature of practice have influenced how adult education has come to place much greater emphasis on local truth and situated knowledge. Given that queer activism is necessarily experimental (Hill 2004), there is a scepticism of grand narratives of overarching models of adult educational programme development and a much greater emphasis on experiential and artistic approaches to working with adults (Grace et al. 2010; James and Brookfield 2014).

Not only has gender identity come under examination within adult education, the construct of race has also led to two powerful streams of theorising: Africentrism and critical race theory. Merriweather-Hunn (2004) defines Africentrism as 'the written articulation of indigenous African philosophy (an oral tradition) as embodied by the lived experiences of multiple generations of people of African descent' (p. 68). Africentrism draws on African-centred values and traditions to argue that African American learners and educators—indeed all members of the African Diaspora—need to work in ways shaped by those values and traditions rather than follow the Eurocentric norm. As developed most prominently by Professor Scipio A. J. Colin Jr. III (Colin 1998, 2002; Closson 2006), the Africentric paradigm re-conceptualises adult learning and development as a collective, not individual, process in which *I Am Because We Are* (Hord and Lee 1995). One's own interests and identity are deemed to be inextricably intertwined with the well-being of the tribal collective, an approach that in Colin and Guy's (1998) view 'differs significantly from traditional Eurocentric perspectives of individualism, competition, and hierarchical forms of authority and decision-making' (1998: 50). To Colin and Guy, the Swahili

notions of Ujima (collective work and responsibility) and Ujamaa (cooperative economics, most famously evident in Nyrere's African socialism) are grounded in African rather than traditional Eurocentric cultural values, and are at the heart of adult learning. The Africentric paradigm conceives adult education as a process of developing African-based cognitive and socio-economic structures that stress community, interdependence and collective action.

The aforementioned values match a particular curricular orientation to adult education, one that focuses on self-ethnic liberation and empowerment. Arguing for a philosophy of self-ethnic reliance, Colin and Guy (1998) argue that African American adult education programmes must be 'designed to counteract the sociocultural and the socio-psychological effects of racism' (Colin and Guy 1998: 47). Adopting Colin's (1998, 2002) emphasis on self-ethnic reflectors, such a curriculum should be developed by members of the ethnic or racial group that have lived the experience of racism and should reflect and affirm the racial identity and traditions of Africans rather than Europeans. Africentric adult education practices and understandings must be generated outside the dominant Eurocentric ideology. In Colin and Guy's opinion, an Africentric practice of adult education 'means that the selection, discussion and critique of African American/African American content must not occur based on using standards or criteria arising from traditional Eurocentric perspectives. Rather, selection of content about African American/African American adult education is based on an Africentric perspective' (Colin and Guy 1998: 51).

The Africentric theoretical paradigm has prompted other efforts at racially based scholarship and led to an awareness of the importance of racially based ways of knowing (Brookfield 2003) amongst majority white scholars. It has inspired a major pre-conference of the annual Adult Education Research Conference that focuses on the African Diaspora and adult education. In terms of specific adult educational practices, it has underscored the need for programmes within which one racial group is pre-eminent to be taught by members of that group who are more attuned to its cultural rhythms and who provide ethnic reflectors for the learners concerned. This work has challenged and widened the range of practices seen in adult educational classrooms, including the creation of a master's degree in lifelong learning at Mount Saint Vincent University (Nova Scotia, Canada) run on Africentric principles (Bernard and Brigham 2012).

In contrast to Africentrism, critical race theory (CRT) draws on the European tradition of critical theory to argue that a state of permanent inequity has become accepted as normal in the USA (Delgado and Stefancic 2001). Critical race theory views racism as the enduring, all-pervasive reality of American life and white supremacy as the dominant ideology. It suggests adult educators acknowledge this and make its analysis and confrontation a central feature of study and practice (Brigham 2013). CRT assumes that racism is endemic and that as legal measures restrict its overt expression (as in the existence of whites-only clubs or organisations), it reconfigures itself in racial microaggressions and aversive racism (Sue 2010, 2015). Racial microaggressions are the

subtle, daily expressions of racism embodied in speech, gesture and actions such as who gets called on to contribute in discussions and how those contributions are interpreted. Aversive racism comprises the racist behaviours that liberal whites enact even as they profess sincerely to be free of racism. Brigham's (2013) analysis of how race should be theorised in adult education describes how these subtle forms of racism endure and the conversations African American adult educators need to have with the broader field to confront class, power and language in the fight for dignity.

CRT places considerable emphasis on the use of narrative, particularly counter storytelling. Counter storytelling encourages people of colour to recount their experiences of racism in ways that reflect their own culture, a process that challenges not just what whites consider to be racial reality (that civil rights has made racism a non-issue) but also what constitutes appropriate forms of classroom expression or scholarship. Using Hip Hop (Guy 2004) as a means of counter storytelling, for example, stands in contrast to mainstream forms of narrative such as formal autobiographies and memoirs. The process of counter storytelling is complex, however, as Merriweather-Hunn et al. (2006) tale of a white adult educator's involvement with the African Diaspora pre-conference of the Adult Education Research Conference illustrates.

Critical race theory argues for a curriculum that stresses the analysis of how white supremacy is permanently embedded in educational texts, practices and forms of student assessment. It places racism as the central factor of American life and requires adult educators to explore how their actions, and the field's organisation and practices, collude in its perpetuation. Although originated by scholars of colour in critical legal studies, the CRT perspective enjoins white adult educators to explore their own racism. Whites need to scrutinise publicly their own racial microaggressions such as regularly overlooking the contributions of students of colour, dismissing the jargon of some groups while employing that of the dominant white culture, citing examples and authors that are exclusively white or grading students of colour differently because they are held to lower expectations.

CONCLUSION

As this chapter demonstrates, it is important to acknowledge that rather than speaking of critical adult education theory, with its implication that there is a unified critical stance, we should talk instead about critical theories of education. My intention has been to examine theoretical work in the field that is critical of dominant ideology and inequities of power. The critical perspectives I have elaborated exclude other viable theoretical works in this area, purely because of space limitations. For example, I am unable to conduct a thorough analysis of post-structuralism, post-modernism or critical disability theory. For those looking to read an adult educational treatment of these other areas, I commend English and Mayo's (2012) introductory text.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T. W. (1973). *Negative dialectics*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Adorno, T. W. (2001). *The culture industry*. New York: Routledge.
- Alamo, S., & Hekmo, S. (Eds.). (2008). *Materialist feminisms*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Alcoff, L., & Potter, E. (Eds.). (1993). *Feminist epistemologies*. New York: Routledge.
- Allman, P. (1999). *Revolutionary social transformation: Democratic hopes, political possibilities and critical education*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- Allman, P. (2001). *Critical education against global capitalism: Karl Marx and revolutionary critical education*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- Allman, P. (2008). *On Marx: An introduction to the revolutionary intellect of Karl Marx*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Allman, P. (2010). *Critical education against global capitalism: Karl Marx and revolutionary critical education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Applebaum, R. P., & Robinson, W. I. (Eds.). (2005). *Critical globalization studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Belenky, M. F., Clinchy, B. M., Goldberger, N. R., & Tarule, J. M. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind*. New York: Basic Books.
- Benhabib, S. (1986). *Critique, norm, and Utopia: A study of the foundations of critical theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Benjamin, W. (1969). *Illuminations: Essays and reflections*. Berlin: Schocken.
- Bernard, D. E., & Brigham, S. M. (Eds.). (2012). *Theorizing afrocentricity in action: Who we are is what we see*. Black Point: Fernwood Publishing.
- Bettinger, T. V., Timmins, R., & Tisdell, E. J. (2006). Difficult dilemmas: The meaning and dynamics of being out in the classroom. In R. J. Hill (Ed.), *Challenging homophobia and heterosexism: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer issues in organizational settings*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Boal, A. (2000). *Theater of the oppressed* (3rd ed.). London: Pluto.
- Boal, A. (2001). *Games for actors and non-actors*. New York: Routledge.
- Boal, A. (2006). *The aesthetics of the oppressed* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Borg, C., Buttigieg, J. A., & Mayo, P. (Eds.). (2002). *Gramsci and education*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Brigham, S. M. (2013). Theorizing race in adult education: Critical race theory. In T. Nesbit, S. M. Brigham, N. Taber, & T. Gibb (Eds.), *Building on critical traditions: Adult education and learning in Canada*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Brookfield, S.D. (2003). Putting the critical back into critical pedagogy: A commentary on MacLaren's path of dissent. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 1(2), 17–20.
- Brookfield, S. D., & Holst, J. D. (2010). *Radicalizing learning: Adult education for a just society*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Carpenter, S., & Mojab, S. (2011). *Educating from Marx: Race, gender and learning*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Carpenter, S., & Mojab, S. (2013). What is critical about critical adult education? In T. Nesbit, S. M. Brigham, N. Taber, & T. Gibb (Eds.), *Building on critical traditions: Adult education and learning in Canada*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Charron, K. M. (2012). *Freedom's teacher: The life of Septima Clark*. Raleigh, NC: University of North Carolina Press.

- Closson, R. B. (2006). Righteous commitment: A portrait of Dr. Scipio A. J. Colin III. *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development*, 20(2), 50–56.
- Clover, D. E., & Shaw, K. (2010). Re-imagining consumption: Political and creative practices of arts-based environmental adult education. In J. A. Sandlin & P. McLaren (Eds.), *Critical pedagogies of consumption: Living and learning in the shadow of the 'shopocalypse'*. New York: Routledge.
- Clover, D. E., Jayme, B. D., & Hall, B. (2012). *The nature of transformation: Environmental adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Coben, D. (1998). *Radical heroes: Gramsci, Freire and the politics of adult education*. New York: Garland Publishing.
- Colin, S. A. J., III. (1998). The Universal Negro Improvement Association and the education of African American adults. Doctoral dissertation, Department of Adult Education, Northern Illinois University.
- Colin, S. A. J., III. (2002). Marcus Garvey: Africentric adult education for selfethnic reliance. In E. A. Peterson (Ed.), *Freedom road: Adult education of African Americans* (rev. ed.). Malabar, FL: Krieger.
- Colin, S. A. J. I. I. I., & Guy, T. A. (1998). An Africentric interpretive model of curriculum orientations for course development in graduate programs in adult education. *PAACE Journal of Lifelong Learning*, 7, 43–55.
- Cortina, R. (Ed.). (2014). *The education of indigenous citizens in Latin America*. Tonawada, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Davis, A. (2012). *The meaning of freedom: And other difficult dialogues*. San Francisco: City Lights Publishers.
- Davis, A. (2015). *Freedom is a constant struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the foundations of a movement*. Chicago: Haymarket Press.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- English, L. M., & Irving, C. J. (2015). *Feminism in community: Adult education for transformation*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- English, L. M., & Mayo, P. (2012). *Learning with adults: A critical pedagogical introduction*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- El-Ojeili, & Hayden, P. (2006). *Critical theories of globalization: An introduction*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Foley, G. (1999). *Learning in social action: A contribution toward understanding informal education*. London: ZED Books.
- Freire, P. (2000). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (2000a). *Pedagogy of the oppressed: 30th anniversary edition*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Freire, P. (2000b). *Cultural action for freedom*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review.
- Fromm, E. (1941). *Escape from freedom*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Fromm, E. (1956). *The sane society*. London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul.
- Fromm, E. (1965). The application of humanist psychoanalysis to Marx's theory. In E. Fromm (Ed.), *Socialist humanism: An international symposium*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Fromm, E. (1968). *The revolution of hope: Toward a humanized technology*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Gaventa, J. (1983). *Power and powerlessness: Quiescence and rebellion in an Appalachian valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

- Goldberger, N. R. (1996). Introduction: Looking backward, looking forward. In N.R. Goldberger, J.M. Tarule, B.M. Clinchy and M.F. Belenky (Eds.). *Knowledge, difference, and power: Essays inspired by women's ways of knowing*. New York: Basic Books.
- Grace, A., & Hill, R.J. (2004). Positioning queer in adult education: Intervening in politics and praxis in North America. *Studies in the Education of Adults*. 36(2), 156–167.
- Grace, A. P., Hill, R. J., & Wells, K. (2010). Art as anti-oppression adult education: Creating a pedagogy of presence and place. In R. J. Hill & A. P. Grace (Eds.), *Adult and higher education in queer contexts: Power, politics and pedagogy*. Chicago: Discovery Association Publishing House.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). Selections from the prison notebooks. Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith (Eds.). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Guy, T. (2004). Prophecy from the periphery: Alain Locke's philosophy of cultural pluralism and adult education. In, M. Hyams, J. Armstrong, and E. Anderson (eds.). *Proceedings of the 35th Annual Adult Education Research Conference*. Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee.
- Habermas, J. (1970). *Toward a rational society*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1971). *Knowledge and human interests*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1973). *Theory and practice*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1975). *Legitimation crisis*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1979). *Communication and the evolution of society*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1987). *The theory of communicative action: Volume two, lifeworld and system—A critique of functionalist reason*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Hammond, J. L. (1998). *Fighting to learn: Popular education and guerilla warfare in El Salvador*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Harding, (2003). *The feminist standpoint theory reader: Intellectual and political controversies*. New York: Routledge.
- Hart, M. (2005). Class and gender. In T. Nesbit (Ed.), *Class concerns: Adult education and socialclass*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hayes, E., & Flannery, D. (Eds.). (2000). *Women as learners: The significance of gender in adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hill, R. J. (1995). Gay discourse in adult education: A critical review. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 45(3), 142–258.
- Hill, R. J. (2004). Activism as practice: Some queer considerations. In R. St. Clair & J. Sandlin (Eds.). *Promoting critical practice in adult education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Hill, R. J. (2006). Queer challenges in organizational settings. In R. J. Hill (Ed.), *Challenging homophobia and heterosexism: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer issues in organizational settings*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Holst, J. D. (2002). *Social movements, civil society, and radical adult education*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- Holst, J. D. (2006). Globalization and the future of critical adult education. In S. Merriam, B. Courtney, R. Cervero, & G. McClure (Eds.), *Global issues and adult education: Perspectives from Latin America, Southern Africa and the United States*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- hooks, b. (2014). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.

- Hord, F.L., & Lee, J.S. (Eds.). (1995). *I am because we are: Readings in Black philosophy*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Horkheimer, M. (1974). *Eclipse of reason*. New York: Continuum.
- Horkheimer, M. (1995). *Critical theory: Selected essays*. New York: Continuum.
- Horkheimer, M., & Adorno, T. (1972). *Dialectic of enlightenment*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Horton, M. (1977). *The long haul: An autobiography*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Horton, M., & Freire, P. (1992). *We make the road by walking: Conversations on education and social change*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- James, A., & Brookfield, S. D. (2014). *Engaging imagination: Helping students become creative and reflective thinkers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Jubas, K. (2012). Critically minded shopping as a process of adult learning and civic engagement. In L. Munoz & H. S. Wrigley (Eds.), *Adult civic engagement in adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Kane, L. (2001). *Popular education and social change in Latin America*. Nottingham: Russell Press.
- Kirkwood, G., & Kirkwood, C. (2010). *Living adult education: Freire in Scotland*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Knowles, M. S. (1970). *The modern practice of adult education: From pedagogy to andragogy*. Chicago: Cambridge Press.
- Knowles, M. S. & Associates. (1984). *Andragogy in action: Applying modern principles of adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Marcuse, H. (1941). *Reason and revolution: Hegel and rise of social theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marcuse, H. (1964). *One dimensional man*. Boston: Beacon.
- Marcuse, H. (1965). Repressive tolerance. In R. P. Wolff, B. Moore & H. Marcuse (Eds.), *A critique of pure tolerance*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Marx, K. (1961). Economic and philosophical manuscripts (T. B. Bottomore, Trans.). In E. Fromm (Ed.), *Marx's concept of man*. New York: Frederick Ungar.
- Mayo, P. (1998). *Gramsci, Freire and adult education: Possibilities for transformative action*. New York: ZED Books.
- Mayo, P. (1999). *Gramsci, Freire and adult education: Possibilities for transformative action*. New York: ZED Books.
- Mayo, P. (2000). Marxism's impact on adult education. *Educational Practice and Theory*, 22(2), 95–110.
- Mayo, P. (2005). In and against the state: Gramsci, war of position, and adult education. *Critical Education Policy Studies*, 3(2).
- Mayo, P. (2013). *Echoes from Freire for a critically engaged pedagogy*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- McLaren, P. (1997). *Life in schools: An introduction to critical pedagogy in the foundations of education* (3rd ed.). White Plains, NY: Longman.
- McLaren, P. (2000). *Che Guevara, Paulo Freire, and the pedagogy of revolution*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Merriam, S. B., & Niseane, G. (2008). Transformative learning in Botswana: How culture shapes the process. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 58(3), 183–197.
- Merriweather-Hunn, L. R. (2004). Africentric philosophy. In R. St. Clair & J. Sandlin (Eds.), *Promoting critical practice in adult education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Merriweather-Hunn, L., Maglitz, E. and Guy, T. (2006). Who can speak for whom? Using counter-storytelling to challenge racial hegemony. *Proceedings of the 37th Annual Adult Education Research Conference*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.
- Mezirow, J. (1981). A critical theory of adult learning and education. *Adult Education*, 32(1), 3–27.
- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mezirow, J. (1998). On critical reflection. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 48(3), 185–198.
- Mezirow, J. & Associates. (2000). *Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mojab, S. (2005). Class and race. In T. Nesbit (Ed.), *Class concerns: Adult education and social class*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Motta, S. C., & Cole, M. (2014). *Constructing twenty-first century socialism in Latin America: The role of radical education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nash, R. J., & Viray, S. (2013). *Our stories matter: Liberating the voices of marginalized students through scholarly personal narrative writing*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Nash, R. J., & Viray, S. (2014). *How stories heal: Writing our way to meaning and wholeness in the academy*. New York: Peter Lang.
- O’Sullivan, E., Morrell, A., & O’Connor, M. A. (Eds.). (2002). *Expanding the boundaries of transformative learning: Essays on theory and practice*. New York: Macmillan.
- Pyrch, T. (2013). *Breaking free: A facilitator’s guide to participatory action research*. Retrieved from Lulu.com.
- Rehbein, B. (2011). *Globalization and inequality in emerging societies*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rocco, T. S., & Gallagher, S. J. (2006). Straight privilege and moral/izing: Issues in career development. In R. J. Hill (Ed.), *Challenging homophobia and heterosexism: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer issues in organizational settings*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Roy, C. (2002). The transformative power of creative dissent: The raging grannies legacy. In E. V. O’Sullivan, A. Morrell, & M. A. O’Connor (Eds.), *Expanding the boundaries of transformative learning*. New York: Palgrave.
- Ruddick, S. (1995). *Maternal thinking: Toward a politics of peace*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Scatamburlo-D’Annibale, V. (2010). Beyond the culture jam. In J. A. Sandlin & P. McLaren (Eds.), *Critical pedagogies of consumption: Living and learning in the shadow of the ‘shopocalypse’*. New York: Routledge.
- Schmelkes, S. (2011). Adult education and indigenous peoples in Latin America. *International Review of Education*, 57(1–2), 89–105.
- Sedgewick, E. K. (2008). *Epistemology of the closet*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Sheared, V., & Sissel, P. A. (2001). *Making space: Merging theory and practice in adult education*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- Shor, I., & Freire, P. (1987). *A pedagogy for liberation: Dialogues on transforming education*. Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey.
- St. Clair, R., & Sandlin, J. A. (2004). *Promoting critical practice in adult education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Steele, T., & Taylor, R. (2004). Marxism and adult education in Britain. *Policy Futures in Education*, 2(3–4), 578–592.

- Sue, D. W. (2010). *Microaggressions in everyday life: Race, gender, and sexual orientation*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Sue, D. W. (2015). *Race talk and the conspiracy of silence; Understanding and facilitating difficult dialogues on race*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Taylor, E. W. (2007). An update of transformative learning theory: A critical review of the empirical research. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(2), 173–191.
- Taylor, E. W., & Snyder, M. J. (2012). A critical review of research on transformative learning theory, 2006–2010. In E.W. Taylor & P. Cranton (Eds.), *The handbook of transformative learning: Theory, research and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Tisdell, E. J. (2000). Feminist pedagogies. In E. Hayes & D. Flannery (Eds.), *Women as learners: The significance of gender in adult learning*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Thompson, J. (1977). *Words in edgeways: Radical learning for social change*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education.
- Thompson, J. (2007). *More words in edgeways: Rediscovering adult education*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education.
- Ollis, T. (2012). *A critical pedagogy of embodied education: Learning to become an activist*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Welton, M. R. (1991). Shaking the foundations: The critical turn in adult education theory. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 5(1), 21–41.
- Welton, M. R. (1993). The contribution of critical theory to our understanding of adult education. In S. B. Merriam (Ed.), *An update on adult learning theory*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Welton, M. R. (Ed.). (1995). *Indefense of the lifeworld: Critical perspectives on adult learning*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Welton, M. R. (2000). Civil society as theory and project: Adult education and the renewal of global citizenship. In D. Wildemeersch, M. Finger & T. Jansen (Eds.), *Adult education and social responsibility*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Welton, M. R. (2001). Civil society and the public sphere. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 33(1), 20–34.
- Welton, M. R. (2003). Listening, conflict and citizenship: Towards a pedagogy of civil society. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 21(3), 197–208.
- West, C. (1982). *Prophesy deliverance: An Afro-American revolutionary Christianity*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press.
- Williams, R. (1977). *Marxism and literature*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Youngman, F. (1986). *Adult education and socialist pedagogy*. Beckenham: Croom Helm.
- Youngman, F. (2000). *The political economy of adult education and development*. London: Zed.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Stephen Brookfield holds the John Ireland Endowed Chair at the University of St. Thomas in Minneapolis-St. Paul (USA). He is interested in how adults learn to assimilate and challenge dominant ideology and the process of democratising adult education settings. He is a six-time winner of the Cyril O. Houle World Award for Literature in Adult Education by the American Association of Adult and Continuing Education.

From Radical Adult Education to Social Movement Learning

John D. Holst

Abstract Holst traces the changing nature of social justice-oriented adult education from the days of radical adult education to contemporary social movement learning. The chapter relates the changing descriptors of lifelong education and learning for social change to the changes in social movements themselves and the broader socio-political economic contexts in which they take place. The chapter argues that the concepts of new social movements and old social movements do not capture the nature of growing contemporary social movements among dispossessed sectors of society. Today, educators must have a clear understanding of the nature of polarization caused by neoliberal globalization in order to confront the challenges and understand the revolutionary potential for social movement learning in the new emerging movements.

Education and learning have always been and will continue to be central aspects of organized efforts for progressive, social democratic, or socialist transformation. Therefore, there is no need to justify adult education scholarship focused on social change as an area of theory and practice for our field, whether it falls under the descriptor of Radical Adult Education (Holst 2002), Critical Pedagogy (English and Mayo 2012), Critical Adult Education (St. Clair 2004; Sandlin 2007; Plumb 2009), Critical Revolutionary Praxis (Allman 1999, 2001), Social Justice Education (Hill 2011; Crowther 2013), Popular Education (Walters and Manicom 1996; Kane 2001; Crowther et al. 2005; Endresen 2013), or Social Movement Learning (Hall et al. 2012). Nevertheless, whether, how, and to what extent adult education scholars study or participate

J.D. Holst (✉)

Lifelong Learning and Adult Education, Pennsylvania State University,
305E Keller Building, University Park, PA 16802, USA
e-mail: jdh91@psu.edu

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_5

in these social change efforts tell us as much about ourselves and our field as it does about the nature of the relationship between education, learning, and social change. Let me give a personal example to illustrate this point.

A few years ago, I invited Nelson Peery to speak to a class I was teaching on critical pedagogy and social movements. As a class, we had read Peery's (2002) book *The Future is up to us: A Revolutionary talking Politics with the American People*. Those familiar with Peery (1995, 2007) through his memoirs will know that he played a very important role in a number of revolutionary organizations in the US from the second half of the twentieth century until his death in 2015.

The class session went very well as Nelson Peery was a very approachable and engaging working-class organic intellectual with an impressive ability to explain highly complex concepts with ample historical examples and in terms which are understandable to those unfamiliar with the vocabulary of revolutionaries. Towards the end of the session, we got to the question we were most anticipating. When we posed the question to Peery of how we as critical pedagogues should teach, he surprisingly, but very appropriately, turned the question on us. He challenged us as educators to live up to our own training and professional practice and to answer that question for him. Paraphrasing, I remember him saying, 'You are the teachers. I'm a revolutionary. You need to tell me how best to teach; to educate people on how to understand their own reality'. In other words, he was challenging us to bring our expertise to the movement. He was telling us that we had a vital role to play; that social change was not other people's responsibility.

For Peery (2013), the key element missing in the movement today is precisely revolutionary educators. Revolutionaries, like himself, can provide vision, analysis, and organizational skills, but given the context of social change today, Peery believed that there is a real need for those most skilled in pedagogy, those able to teach social justice fighters to be conscious revolutionaries.

I begin this chapter with this anecdote because I think it highlights important challenges for radical adult education scholarship today. As we continue to seek out examples of learning in social movements, as we should continue to do, and as we continue to theorize the nature of learning in social movements, which we need to do more of, we also need to consider our understanding of the nature of social movements, what our role is in and for social movements, and whether we are well equipped theoretically to be of relevant service to movements. Troubling, for example, is the fact that as revolutionaries such as Peery seek out revolutionary educators and effective, radical forms of teaching in social movements, we as a field focus increasingly on learning. As others have pointed out (Brookfield 2009; Biesta 2012), we seem ever more reluctant to focus on teaching and educating in favour of learning, and in this particular case, social movement learning.

A general assessment and outline of the current state of the subfield of education and social change must address several interrelated questions. First, what is the relationship between the changing descriptors we use to describe this subfield and the changing nature of the disciplinary traditions and practices

upon which we draw for our own scholarship? How and why, for example, have we gone from radical adult education to social movement learning? To what extent does the move from radical adult education to social movement learning follow changes in disciplinary traditions and epistemological outlooks within the field of adult education? Second, what is the relationship between the changing nature of social movements and the changing nature of our scholarship? Third, what is the relationship between our scholarship and the prevailing socio-political economic context within which we and social movement actors and organizations operate? Social movement learning has replaced radical adult education in our discourse at about the same time that lifelong learning has replaced adult education in the discourse of the field as a whole. Is there a relationship between the broader and hegemonic neoliberal forces and actors pushing ideas around lifelong learning and a greater focus on the learning rather than the educating aspects of social movements? Lastly, what is the general trajectory of where we are headed and where movements are headed? What can we anticipate as the major lines of struggle in the near future which we should be aware of in order to stay current with our scholarly theory and practice? All of these questions, must be seen in their historical development and in this chapter, I will generally limit my discussion to the post-World War II period with an emphasis on my own US context and the broader context of the Americas.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS TODAY

I think it is important to begin with some general comments about social movements today since in many places around the globe and, in my case, in the US, we are seeing new social subjects emerging as the cutting edge of social movements of a new type. In the latter half of the twentieth century, social movement scholars developed the dichotomous framework of old social movements (OSMs) and new social movements (NSMs). This OSM/NSM dichotomy is intended, among other things, to capture what are perceived to be the distinctive political projects of the two types of movements: OSMs are considered to advance working-class-based, social democratic or socialist political projects, while NSMs are considered to advance non-class-based or cross-class-based political projects oriented towards identify formation or autonomy.

Increasingly, however, movements today are not exactly NSMs nor OSMs even though they have constituents, some demands, and some organizational support or structures in common with both NSMs and OSMs. Major social movements in the US in the past few years have been the immigrant rights movement, the poor and low-wage workers movement, and the movement against police brutality. A major element that these movements have in common is that they are made up of some of the most marginalized sectors of society facing very difficult social and economic conditions, and it is precisely the development of these new social sectors within these new socio-political

economic conditions that make today's movements fall outside of the OSM/NSM dichotomy.

In the US, for example, the immigrant rights movement caught the Left by surprise. It was not uncommon for labour movement activists and scholars to lament the fact that the objective conditions of immigrant workers made them a social sector very difficult to organize. Nevertheless, by 2006, millions of immigrant workers organized the largest May Day rallies in the US since the 1930s. This movement literally revived May Day from the bin of OSM history. With some labour union support, but largely through their own community and work-based networks, immigrants organized themselves to become a major social movement force in the US. As the worldwide Anti-Globalisation or Global Justice movement and its accompanying Social Forums have waned in significance, the US Social Forum has been rejuvenated by social movement activists of poor people's movements. These movements of low-wage workers and poor and working-class communities have taken over the leadership in organizing the US Social Forums in Atlanta in 2007, Detroit in 2010, and in Philadelphia and San Jose in 2015. The most recent movements around police brutality are also based in working-class communities and have caught off guard the long-standing civil rights organizations which were not prepared or positioned to provide leadership for African American working-class communities across the US in rebellion against state authorities.

At the heart of these social movements are social subjects unfamiliar to many leftists. The movements have rather basic demands for legal rights, socially just treatment, and access to water and basic services such as housing, food, and health care, but not in terms of moral imperatives for others in need, but as burning necessities for their own immediate survival. I would argue that this is a qualitative distinction between these movements and the Occupy movement which very successfully raised the issue of economic inequality but was nevertheless generally not made up of the very social sectors most devastated by the socio-political economic polarization we are witnessing today.

These 'new' social subjects have their own organizational forms and new demands. While these new social subjects are not completely foreign to old and new social movements, they are part of the fundamental socio-political economic transformations which have taken place in the last 30 years in the US and around the globe. So, for example, poor people's movements are not new to US social movements and scholarship nor to social movement learning scholarship (Hamilton 2013), but they are emerging in and out of very different conditions today than in the late 1960s or during the 1930s Great Depression era. In the 1930s and 1960s, for example, it was possible to envision significant reform gains through a defence and expansion of federal government social policies of the New Deal or the Great Society/War on Poverty. Today, however, there are no such programmes on the horizon, and in fact, in the era of austerity it is quite the opposite.

The emergence and nature of these new social subjects and movements have not gone unnoticed by all scholars. A small but growing number of scholars

(see, for example, Davis et al. 1997; Shiva 2005; Davis 2007; Moody 2007; Bieler et al. 2008; Gonzalez and Katz-Fishman 2010; Dyer-Witheyford 2015; Srnicek and Williams 2015) understand like Antonio Gramsci (1977) that the ‘masses indicate the precise direction of historical development’ (p. 173). In other words, when, as these scholars have, we analyse the objective conditions of these new social subjects, we can see the outlines of qualitative changes which have taken place in the broader prevailing socio-political economic relations in particular contexts and generally across the global.

These new social subjects have been identified under various names. The United Nations-HABITAT (2003) uses the term ‘informal sector’. Mike Davis (2007) uses the phrase ‘planet of slums’ and says that ‘altogether, the global informal working class (overlapping with but non-identical to the slum population) is about one billion strong, making it the fastest-growing, and most unprecedented, social class on earth’ (p. 178). Bieler et al. (2008), in discussing the challenges of globalization for the classic old social movement of labour, use the terms ‘precarious and pauperized working class’ and state that this social sector ‘has risen from less than one-quarter to more than one-half of the global urban population’ (p. 266). For them, ‘mass unemployment and the increasing informalisation of work make the reconsideration of existing organizations of the working class imperative’ (p. 266). Lane (2010) uses the term ‘informal proletariat’ or the precarious proletariat (precariat). According to Munck (2011), the ‘social interest (not least to survive) puts’ this global precariat ‘in opposition to the dominant order’ (p. 16). Revolutionary activists in the US refer to this sector as the new class (Peery 1993) or the new poor. Willie Baptist (2010) says of these new poor that they constitute the majority of the world’s population of ‘every age, gender, educational background, ethnic group and colour’ (p. 262). He goes on to say that these 3.5–4 billion human beings living precariously ‘are unlike the poor in the past’ because they ‘live and die under new conditions shaped by the new information technology’ (p. 262). Marxist political economists such as David Harvey (2010) use the term ‘dispossessed’ to speak of this new sector. Feminists also speak of the dispossessed and the disproportionate impact on women of new enclosures of remaining commons in the Global South (Shiva 2005; Federici 2011). Latin American scholar/activist Gilberto Valdés (2006) uses the term ‘new historical subject’ to speak of the new organizational forms and movements emerging in Latin America. These new movements according to Raúl Zibechi (2005) ‘have been born on the “margins” of established society and have been led by the poorest...[B]y those “without”—without roof, without land, without work, without rights...These new protagonists have displaced the union movement...[and] have also displaced the left’ (p. 13).

In adult education literature, these new social subjects, when mentioned, are often discussed in terms of the informal economy (Mitra 2005). Madhu Singh (2005) says that by 1998, the informal economy consisted of 500 million people around the world. Recent data from the International Labour Organization (2015) suggest that nearly half of the world’s workers are

vulnerably employed, while at the same time, labour participation rates are declining and unemployment is rising. Shahrzad Mojab (2006), reflecting on the work of Davis (2007) and Donovan Plumb (2005), argues that it is ‘in the context of surplus humanity that we must consider the dominant notions of the field of adult education’ (p. 352).

If we take up Mojab’s call and look to the literature on social movements in adult education we find a dominant framework which does not capture well the politics of or the socio-political economic context for the social movements emerging from this ‘surplus humanity’. For some time now, social movement research in adult education has been framed by the distinction made between old and new social movements. This OSM/NSM framework was developed outside of adult education scholarship in the late 1970s and 1980s (Holford 1995) and began to influence research in the field at least as early as Finger (1989) and Welton’s (1993, 1995) work on learning and new social movements and Hall’s (1993, 1996, 1997) work on adult education and global civil society. My work in this area (Holst 2002) further solidified this framework as a way of depicting what I call ‘the politics of social movements’. While this framework has informed a significant amount of social movement research in the field of adult education (for example, Mayo 2005; Choudry 2007; Walter 2007; Sandlin and Walther 2009), it has also been criticized from antiracist feminist (Gouin 2009) and indigenous (Kapoor 2008) perspectives.

While the OSM/NSM dichotomy has served as a reference point for the growing body of research on social movements and adult education, I will argue in this chapter that the OSM/NSM dichotomy had fundamental flaws and no longer reflects qualitative changes in the socio-political economic realities (Davis 2003; Robinson 2004; Harris 2008; Smith 2010) out of which new cutting-edge social organizing is emerging; the dichotomy, therefore, is increasingly inadequate for framing the politics of social movements in social movement research in adult education. New political projects, demands, and organizational structures of social subjects and movements emerging across the globe, such as those described in the latter part of the introduction to this chapter, simply do not fit within the politics of social movements captured by the OSM/NSM framework.

THE POLITICS OF THE OLD AND NEW IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AND PRACTICE

Conceptualizing the OSM/NSM framework dialectically allows us to see the relationship between theory and practice in the politics of social movements. Championing NSMs was a practical/political act and a theoretical stance. In the same vein, the defence of OSMs was a defence of organizational forms and practices and a defence of the theoretical foundations of these forms and practices. We can see this dialectical relationship in the discussions around the newness of NSMs.

This discussion took place within the adult education literature and in the broader literature on social movements. In adult education literature, this discussion focused on what was seen to be the more authentically educational nature of NSMs. In other words, the ‘newness’ debate in adult education centred on the claim that NSMs were inherently more educational or transformational because they focused on personal and social identity through knowledge production (Holford 1995). This debate was going on at the same time that the field as a whole began to rename itself with early efforts to use the term Lifelong Education or Permanent Education quickly followed and overtaken by the term Lifelong Learning. A number of scholars (for example, Field 2001; Martin 2003; Crowther and Martin 2005; Centano 2011; Biesta 2012; Milana 2012) documented the nuances and contradictions in the triumph of Lifelong Learning over adult education, but to generally arrive to a somewhat similar conclusion as Boshier (1998); in other words, the triumph of the term Lifelong Learning is a marker or at least parallels the predominance of neoliberal thinking in the policy, practice, and perspectives within mainstream adult education.

I would argue that the subfield of radical adult education has not been immune to the rise of neoliberalism. The turn to new social movements, civil societarianism (Welton 2013), and what Carpenter (2015) calls the fetish of the local or the micro in radical adult education amounts to forms of what I have called ‘left-wing neoliberalism’ (Holst 2007). This is where the basic tenets of neoliberal thought become incorporated into radical adult education theory and practice. The state is downplayed as a potential progressive agent of change in favour of a vaguely defined civil society; non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are favoured over political parties as the most viable organizations for social change-oriented educational work; and a theory and practice of class is seen as just one more form of identity to be added to theories of intersectionality or multidimensional identity formations. So, today we speak of radical adult education with a nostalgic tone (Crowther and Martin 2005), while social movement learning, since at least Clover and Hall’s (2000) working Paper *In Search of Social Movement Learning*, is the dominant label for radical adult education. I do not want to overstate the argument here, as plenty of radical adult education scholarship can still be found alongside and within the new terminology of social movement learning; nevertheless, we do find ourselves increasingly referring to learning within social movements, rather than to the radical potential of educating for ‘really useful knowledge’.

On the practical side, there was the objective emergence of movements in the 1960s to the 1980s purportedly centring on issues of identity. These movements took organizational forms outside those of the working-class-based organizations of OSMs which developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Part and parcel of these new movements was the development of theoretical frameworks which tried to explain both why these movements emerged and how they were new. These explanations were generally framed in a dualistic and oppositional stance to OSMs. New Social Movement theory, then,

was generally oppositional to the theoretical underpinnings of old or working-class social movements. The oppositional aspects of NSM theory ranged from an outright hostility to OSM theory and practice—what we could call strong NSM theory—to efforts to merely provide explanations of the broader socio-political transformations for an understanding of how and why movements emerging in the 1960s were different. Most generally stated, the major axis of these debates was on the theory and practice of socialism.

The OSM/NSM debates developed and reached their apex in the 1980s and 1990s. In order to understand the reflection of these debates within adult education literature on social movement learning, it is essential to see these debates within the broader and global socio-political economic context of that time period. The interrelated processes of the period most central to these debates were the crisis and dissolution of most self-proclaimed socialist states, the rise and triumph of the political economic project of what came to be called neoliberalism, and the rise of postmodernist and civil society perspectives in the social sciences. For NSM theory, the dissolution of socialist states was a welcome event and a vindication of postmodernism and the importance of civil society as the operating terrain of new social movements. Grand theories such as socialism were wrong, dangerous, and outmoded theoretical outlooks of the fading period of the modernist twentieth century. The championing of NSMs was then both an effort to understand the objective emergence of fundamentally new movements and a political project to help push OSMs and its accompanying socialist theory further into the dustbin of history.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, OSMs were on the defensive as neoliberal policies devastated working-class organizations and movements. Theoretically, postmodernism called into question the very foundations of old social movement theory and, with weakening organizations and movements, it was hard to justify at the level of theory, a practice that seemed to be in mortal decline. OSM theory shared the fate of OSMs. Many OSM theorists and activists joined in the celebrations of the fall of self-proclaimed socialist states as a show of their distance from what were considered undemocratic and ultimately anti-worker policies and practices. Yet, beyond celebrating the fall of the Berlin Wall, OSM theory's response to the crisis seemed to consist mainly in a call to organize out of the crisis of OSMs. Most OSM theorists argued that neoliberalism, and its objective manifestation as globalization, was merely a political strategy of resurgent nation state-based capitalist classes and not the marker of fundamental socio-political economic transformations. Therefore, the way forward in a period of temporary setbacks, was to keep on doing what OSMs had always done but with doubled efforts. The general retreat of OSM theory and practice was evident in adult education literature as NSMs gained prominence in the social movement learning literature and workplace learning, with some exceptions, became increasingly framed by human resource development paradigms.

History, however, once again showed itself to be the greatest of teachers if one is willing to listen. Both NSM theory and OSM theory made valid points during this period. Yet, neither side in this debate seemed capable of actually

capturing the fundamental transformations at play during the period beginning roughly in the 1960s and continuing until today. Nor did either side really capture the full range and historical development of what fell under the labels of old and new social movements.

THE LIMITS OF THE OLD AND THE NEW IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AND PRACTICE

The dualism inherent in the OSM/NSM framework never accurately captured the full range and interconnectedness of the politics of social movements. The following four limitations emerged in the debates over OSMs and NSMs and also made their way into the adult education literature on social movement learning (for example, Holst 2002; Mayo 2005). First, even the chronological logic of new versus old often does not match the actual history of movements. New social movements often have a longer history than old social movements. The women's movement, for example, can be traced back in many countries at least to the early nineteenth century. The quintessential 1960s peace or anti-war movements also have long histories dating back to or even before the origins of the labour movement (Seymour 2011).

Second, the OSM/NSM framework fails to capture the tangled reality of new and old social movements. There are numerous activists who are involved in both old and new social movements at the same time or over the lifespan of their social activism. It is not uncommon, for example, for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, or Queer (GLBTQ) trade unionists to be active in both their union and organizations dedicated to GLBTQ rights. Coalition building across movements is possible and deemed necessary because activists involved across movements see and understand the interconnectedness of the various issues across movements. The rise of the global justice movement is frequently referred to as a 'movement of movements' made possible by trans-movement activists. Currently in the US, there are growing state-based and municipal-based movements emerging around budget austerity measures that include attacks on the right of public sector workers to organize in unions. These struggles and issues have been particularly acute in recent public school teacher strikes such as the 2012 strike in Chicago (Uetricht 2014). It is not lost on many activists in these battles that the attack on public sector budgets and workers is an attack on workers, women, and African Americans since the majority of public sector workers are women and the public sector is the number one employer of African American men.

Third, the tangled reality of old and new social movements has a long-standing history. Moreover, a part of the 'newness' aspect of the so-called NSMs emerging in the 1960s was a loss of the actual ties or historic memory of these ties between old and new social movements. For example, one of the 'new' aspects of the feminist movement of the 1960s was that it had lost a significant amount of its long-standing interconnectedness with the socialist

movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Probably the most enduring legacy of this tie is the continued global celebration of International Women's Day, a day first proclaimed by the Socialist Party in the US in 1909. As Young (2001) indicates, moreover, it was the protest wave initiated by the Bolsheviks' commemoration of International Women's Day in 1917 which culminated in the triumph of the Russian revolution later that same year. The loss of these ties was embodied in the life and work of Betty Friedan author of the famous mainstream feminist text, *The Feminine Mystique*. Friedan generally tried to downplay and not discuss her initial activism in and with the socialist movement in the 1940s (Coontz 2011).

Historic ties between new and old social movements are not limited to Western countries. The First Congress of the Peoples of the East held in Baku, Azerbaijan in 1920 under the auspices of the Communist International directly related the nationalist aspirations—what in NSM terminology would be an identity movement—of colonized countries with the struggle for socialism. Young (2001) argues that the delegates at this congress who were primarily from Asia, but also from Europe, and the Americas, forged an analysis that placed the NSM idea of identity politics—national self-determination as it is conceptualized in the socialist movement—as central to the struggle against capitalism in the era of imperialism. Moreover, with the presence of 55 women delegates, the congress presented an analysis of the interrelatedness of national, gender, and class oppression.

Fourth, the dualistic formulation of the NSM/OSM framework curtails dialectical thinking of the kind which produced the declarations of the Baku Congress. For this reason, the NSM/OSM framework does not capture well the politics of nationally oppressed peoples' or indigenous struggles. From a dualistic perspective, one can see how movements may have commonalities around which they can form temporary coalitions. When we think dialectically, however, and in terms of internal relations (Allman 2001), one can see how the existence of oppressor classes and nations is incumbent upon the existence of oppressed classes and nations; one pole of the dialectic cannot exist without the other because each is necessary for the existence of the other. Further, the overcoming of the situation of the oppressed necessitates the elimination of the objective conditions which allow for the existence of the oppressor. This was the theoretical perspective which allowed for the analysis of national and gender oppression in the declarations made at the Baku conference. It is also a perspective, I will argue below, that is necessary if we are to overcome the dualism of the OSM/NSM framework for a greater understanding of and a path forward for contemporary social movement theory and practice.

MOVING FORWARD FROM THE OLD AND THE NEW IN SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY AND RESEARCH

Thus far, I have tried to show the limits of the OSM/NSM framework. From here, however, I would like to begin to outline what I consider to be necessary theoretical elements we will need in order to move beyond the limits of the OSM/NSM framework. To begin this process, I will highlight the two aspects we should take with us from the OSM/NSM framework.

Ironically, as much as NSM theory downplayed political economy as *passé* and limiting in terms of capturing the fullness of reality, the NSM tenet of a fundamental shift in the late twentieth century has proven to be very accurate, particularly when considered from a political economic standpoint. The basic idea of NSM theory was that new movements themselves were considered to be markers of a new form of politics for a new social reality facing humanity and the planet. Coupled with this was the idea that globalization had made the nation state—the main political target of OSMs—obsolete, thus necessitating and signalling the rise of civil society as the essential terrain of political struggle. This line of analysis was an attack on the very essence of OSM theory, OSMs organized in the intersection of politics and economics. An essential idea of OSM theory was that the working class organized in order to use the state to transform society. Much of the theoretical response from an OSM perspective was to insist over and over again that globalization did not mark a fundamental transformation of capitalism or of the power of the nation state. Simply put, nothing had fundamentally changed in the late twentieth century, and therefore, OSMs were as relevant as ever; they were weaker, for sure, but nothing that redoubled organizing efforts and some tweaking of tactics couldn't fix. As the years wore on, however, the idea that nothing fundamentally had changed in the last 40 years is untenable. To move forward, it is essential to accept the fact that we are in an era of profound socio-political economic transformation.

While we need to accept that we are facing fundamental transformations, we also need to accept that we can only fully understand these transformations with the use of political economy. OSM theory was correct in terms of defending the importance of political economy, but not in terms of using it to insist on the lack of change. Here, the irony is that the whole point of political economy from a Marxist perspective is to have a set of analytical tools to see the constant motion and change of society, and yet a major thrust of OSM political economic analysis in the wake of NSM theory has been to do the opposite: to show how little social reality has changed in the recent period. This backwards use of political economy has actually delayed and curtailed the use of the analytical tools (Marxist political economy) associated with OSMs best capable to explain the significance and nature of the changing objective conditions.

Social movement learning research needs to consider the fundamental socio-political economic transformations that have sparked new organizational formations and demands of a new nature. Social movement learning research must understand that the new social subjects discussed at the beginning of this

chapter are emerging globally. While taking on locally and regionally specific characteristics, these new social subjects have demands that are often quite basic, yet objectively revolutionary given the qualitative socio-political economic transformations out of which they emerge. In other words, when the new social subjects demand access to the basics of life such as water or housing with no way to access them under the prevailing capital/labour relations, they raise demands that directly confront the existing order. Social movement learning research has to consider that the new social subjects are forming social movements of a new nature.

Paula Allman (2001) juxtaposed uncritical reproductive praxis and critical revolutionary praxis. Allman's analysis is relevant here because, for the most part, both OSM and NSM praxes were of a reproductive nature to the extent, as Allman outlined, it was a practice generally within the various prevailing relations. The goal of the labour movement, for example, has generally been to improve the conditions of workers within the employee/employer relationship; this form of praxis generally does not challenge the relation itself as would a critical revolutionary praxis. At the beginning of this chapter, I cited numerous people who have identified these new social subjects under various names. What I am adding to this line of argument, as are others (Peery 1997; Baptist 2010; Gonzalez and Katz-Fishman 2010; Munck 2011; Standing 2011), is that the new social subjects are objectively outside the prevailing relations; their movement for basic demands poses a challenge to the prevailing relations because they cannot be resolved within these relations.

The immiseration we are witnessing of what Zibechi (2005) calls the 'without' is a structural or permanent state which can no longer be alleviated through reforms (uncritical reproductive praxis), but only through a fundamental or revolutionary transformation of the prevailing relations. So, not only does social movement learning research need to consider that these new social subjects are forming movements of a new nature, but that the nature of these movements is objectively revolutionary. This does not mean that the new social subjects are automatically conscious of this fact. The movements are objectively revolutionary, but not inevitably revolutionary; education plays the key role here of making the movements subjectively revolutionary. In other words, the role of social movement learning in this context is to make people critically conscious of their own practice. This is why Nelson Peery, who I referred to earlier, argued so forcefully for the fundamental role of revolutionary pedagogy among the new social subjects. In an era of objectively revolutionary social subjects, one does not have to try to convince people in an abstract manner of the benefits that socialism could bring. Rather, socialism—distribution based on need and not on the ability to pay—moves from being an abstract ideal to a practical and necessary solution for the growing sector of humanity finding itself without work, or food, or housing and with no ability or future hope to be able to pay for these basic necessities.

KEY CHALLENGES FOR SOCIAL MOVEMENT LEARNING RESEARCH

Over two decades ago, Holford (1995) argued, ‘to study the organizational knowledge of social movements, is, in short, to study a key site of the interaction between learning, knowledge, and society’ (p. 105). By a way of conclusion, and in line with Holdford’s insights, I would like to pose what I see as key challenges for social movement learning research. First, can we develop a new framework for the politics of the new social subjects/movements that can be foundational to social movement learning research? I have briefly outlined some basic points for a theoretical consideration of the qualitatively new nature of emerging subjects/movements. I think it is time that social movement learning researchers begin to break new ground in developing conceptual frameworks for the politics of these new social subjects/movements. For too long now, social movement learning researchers have tailed or copied social scientists when we can contribute to these broader debates and advance our own work with our own theoretical work. While we should continue to strengthen our work with social movement researchers in other disciplines (Sawchuk 2011), as a practiced-based field, we can draw on our closeness to these new social subjects, so often involved in adult education programmes, so as to make our own contributions to a theoretical understanding of the politics of social movements in the era of new social subjects/movements.

Second, given the objectively revolutionary demands of these new movements, do we see a qualitatively different pedagogical praxis compared to OSMs and NSMs? We need research studies, informed by a theoretical understanding of the nature of new social subjects/movements, that investigate the pedagogical aspects and nature of these new movements. We now have a number of case studies of various social movements that fall under the OSM/NSM paradigm. With case studies of emerging new movements, we can begin to develop comparative analyses between the pedagogical praxis of the OSMs/NSMs and the movements of new social subjects.

Third, how do we understand pedagogically the objectively revolutionary demands that are not always understood subjectively as revolutionary? The argument here, as stated above, is that there are new social subjects emerging whose simple demands for survival can no longer be met within prevailing capitalist relations; the social location of these subjects makes them revolutionary in an objective sense. Assuming this is an accurate assessment, pedagogy becomes an essential component of movements based on the basic demands of these social subjects. Drawing on Paula Allman (2001), we can say that the demands of these social subjects provide the objective basis for a critical revolutionary practice, but they do not guarantee it. As these social subjects are increasingly outside the prevailing wage/capital relation, they cannot better themselves within the relation in an acritical and reproductive way (Allman 2001), although political forces may attempt to steer them in this direction. Education based in the real, lived realities of these social subjects is key to

making them aware of the revolutionary nature of their objective situation as a part of the development of a critical revolutionary practice. Many social movement learning researchers and activists do not have a lot of experience with this type of objective situation. Many OSM activists, for example, are skilled in a pedagogical practice geared towards extracting reforms from the system in what Allman would call an acritical reproductive practice. We need theory and examples of critical revolutionary practice in the service of the new social subjects/movements.

Fourth, can social movement learning research contribute to a pedagogical praxis that can propel the subjective understanding of the objectively revolutionary nature of demands emerging out of new movements? In other words, we need to put our expertise in social movement learning theory and practice to work to develop new theoretical tools in the struggle to help people critically understand their own lived reality. This was the starting point for the type of educational programming called for by Freire (2001) in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and developed by others in our own tradition. Today, however, we are confronting a new era of global polarization between the growing sector of the species described variously as the dispossessed, the without, the new class, etc., and a small fraction of global billionaires. The challenge for the field is to maintain our relevance by transforming our social movement learning research paradigms in order to contribute to the coming struggles in an increasingly polarized and potentially revolutionary juncture.

REFERENCES

- Allman, P. (1999). *Revolutionary social transformation*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Allman, P. (2001). *Critical education against global capitalism*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Baptist, W. (2010). A new and unsettling force: The strategic relevance of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s Poor People's Campaign. *Interface*, 2(1), 262–270. Retrieved from <http://groups.google.com/group/interface-articles/web/3Baptist.pdf>.
- Bieler, A., Lindberg, I., & Pillay, D. (2008). What future for the global working class? The need for a new historical subject. In A. Bieler, I. Lindberg, & D. Pillay (Eds.), *Labour and the challenges of globalization*. London: Pluto.
- Biesta, G. (2012). Have lifelong learning and emancipation still something to say to each other? *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 44(1), 5–20.
- Boshier, R. (1998). Edgar Faure after 25 years: Down but not out. In J. Holford, P. Jarvis, & C. Griffin (Eds.), *International perspectives on lifelong learning*. London: Kogan Page.
- Brockfield, S. D. (2009). On being taught. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of lifelong learning*. London: Routledge.
- Carpenter, S. (2015). The 'local'fetish as reproductive praxis in democratic learning. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 36(1), 133–143.
- Centano, V. (2011). Lifelong learning: A policy concept with a long past but a short history. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 30(2), 133–150.

- Choudry, A. (2007). Transnational activist coalition politics and the de/colonization of pedagogies of mobilization: Learning from anti-neoliberal indigenous movement articulations. *International Education*, 37(1), 97–112.
- Clover, D. E., & Hall, B. L. (2000). *In search of social movement learning: The growing jobs dor living project* (NALL Working Paper #18-2000). [ERIC Document # ED457 366]. Retrieved from <http://eric.ed.gov>.
- Coontz, S. (2011). Interrogating the feminine mystique. *Against the Current*, 151. Retrieved from <https://www.solidarity-us.org/site/node/3195>.
- Crowther, J. (2013). Adult education for social justice. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 45(1), 1–3.
- Crowther, J., & Martin, I. (2005). Is there any space left for ‘really useful knowledge’ in the knowledge society? In A. Bron, E. Kurantowicz, H. S. Olesen, & L. West (Eds.), *Adult learning*. Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe.
- Crowther, J., Galloway, V., & Martin, I. (Eds.). (2005). *Popular education: Engaging the academy*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Davis, J. (2003). Speculative capital in the global age. *Race & Class*, 44(3), 1–22.
- Davis, M. (2007). *Planet of slums*. London: Verso.
- Davis, J., Hirschl, T., & Stack, M. (1997). *Cutting edge: Technology, information, capitalism and social revolution*. London: Verso.
- Dyer-Witthford, N. (2015). *Cyber-proletariat: Global labour in the digital vortex*. London: Pluto.
- Endresen, K. (2013). Popular education in three organizations in Cape Town, South Africa. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 45(1), 27–40.
- English, L. M., & Mayo, P. (2012). *Learning with adults: A critical pedagogical introduction*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Federici, S. (2011). Women, land struggles, and the reconstruction of the commons. *WorkingUSA*, 14(1), 41–56.
- Field, J. (2001). Lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20 (1/2), 3–15.
- Finger, M. (1989). New social movements and their implications for adult education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 40(1), 15–22.
- Freire, P. (2001). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Gonzalez, B., & Katz-Fishman, W. (2010). New openings for movement and consciousness in the US. *Interface*, 2(1), 232–242. Retrieved from <http://interfacejournal.nuim.ie/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2010/11/Interface-2-1-pp232-242-Gonzalez-Katz-Fishman.pdf>.
- Gouin, R. (2009). An antiracist feminist analysis for the study of learning in social struggle. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 59(2), 158–175.
- Gramsci, A. (1977). *Selections from political writings, 1910–1920*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hall, B. (1993). Learning and global civil society: Electronic networking in international non-governmental organizations. *International Journal of Canadian Adult Education and Training*, 3(3), 5–24.
- Hall, B. (1996). Adult education and the political economy of global economic change. In P. Wangoola & F. Youngman (Eds.), *Towards a transformative political economy of adult education: Theoretical and practical challenges*. DeKalb, IL: LEPS Press.
- Hall, B. (1997). *Adult learning, global civil society and politics*. Keynote presentation at the 16th Annual Midwest Research-to-Practice in Adult, Continuing and Community Education Conference, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.

- Hall, B. L., Clover, D. E., Crowther, J., & Scandrett, E. (Eds.). (2012). *Learning and education for a better world: The role of social movements*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Hamilton, R. (2013). Did the dream end there? Adult education and resurrection city 1968. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 45(1), 4–26.
- Harris, J. (2008). *The dialectics of globalization: Economic and political conflict in a transnational world*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Harvey, D. (2010). Organizing for the anti-capitalist transition. *Interface*, 2(1), 243–261. Retrieved from <http://groups.google.com/group/interface-articles/web/3Harvey.pdf>.
- Hill, L. H. (2011). Health education as an arena for adult educator's engagement in social justice. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 130, 99–104.
- Holford, J. (1995). Why social movements matter: Adult education theory, cognitive praxis, and the creation of knowledge. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 45(2), 95–111.
- Holst, J. D. (2002). *Social movements, civil society, and radical adult education*. Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Holst, J. D. (2007). The politics and economics of globalization and social change in radical adult education: A critical review of recent literature. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 5(1). Retrieved from <http://www.jceps.com/archives/542>.
- International Labour Organization. (2015). *World employment social outlook: Trends 2015*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.
- Kane, L. (2001). *Popular education and social change in Latin America*. London: Latin America Bureau.
- Kapoor, D. (2008). Globalization, dispossession, and subaltern social movement (SSM) learning in the South. In A. A. Abdi & D. Kapoor (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Lane, M. (2010). Indonesia and the fall of Suharto: Proletarian politics in the 'planet of slums' era. *WorkingUSA*, 13(2), 185–200.
- Martin, I. (2003). Adult education, lifelong learning and citizenship: Some ifs and buts. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 22(6), 566–579.
- Mayo, M. (2005). *Global citizens: Social movements and the challenge of globalization*. London: Zed Books.
- Milana, M. (2012). Political globalization and the shift from adult education to lifelong learning. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 3(2), 103–117.
- Mitra, A. (2005). Training and skills development for decent work in the informal sector: Case studies from South India. In M. Singh (Ed.), *Meeting basic learning needs in the informal sector*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Mojab, S. (2006). Adult education without borders. In T. Fenwick, T. Nesbit, & B. Spencer (Eds.), *Contexts of adult education: Canadian perspectives*. Toronto: Thompson Educational Publishing.
- Moody, K. (2007). *US labour in trouble and transition*. London: Verso.
- Munck, R. (2011). Beyond North and South: Migration, informalization, and trade union revitalization. *WorkingUSA*, 14(1), 5–18.
- Peery, N. (1993). *Entering an epoch of social revolution*. Chicago: Workers Press.
- Peery, N. (1995). *Black fire: The making of an American revolutionary*. New York: The New Press.
- Peery, N. (1997). The birth of a modern proletariat. In J. Davis, T. A. Hirschl, & M. Stack (Eds.), *Cutting edge: Technology, information capitalism and social revolution*. London: Verso.

- Peery, N. (2002). *The future is up to us: A revolutionary talking politics with the American people*. Chicago: Speakers for a New America.
- Peery, N. (2007). *Black radical: The education of an American revolutionary*. New York: The New Press.
- Peery, N. (2013). We need a different organization [Video file]. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=78i_r1epIko.
- Plumb, D. (2005). *The learning city in a planet of slums*. Paper presented at the 24th Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education. London: University of Western Ontario.
- Plumb, D. (2009). Critical adult education in Canada in the time of CASAE. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 124, 5–14.
- Robinson, W. I. (2004). *A theory of global capitalism: Production, class, and the state in a transnational world*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Sandlin, J. A. (2007). Popular culture cultural resistance, and anticonsumption activism: An exploration of cultural jamming as critical adult education. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 115, 73–82.
- Sandlin, J. A., & Walther, C. S. (2009). Complicated simplicity: Moral identity formation and social movement learning in the voluntary simplicity movement. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 59(4), 298–317.
- Sawchuk, P. H. (2011, June). *Social movement theory and adult education: A challenging partnership*. Paper presented at the Joint Meeting of the Adult Education Research Conference and the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Seymour, R. (2011). *American insurgents: A brief history of American anti-imperialism*. Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- Shiva, V. (2005). *Earth democracy: Justice, sustainability, and peace*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.
- Singh, M. (2005). Introduction. In M. Singh (Ed.), *Meeting basic learning needs in the informal sector*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Smith, M. E. G. (2010). *Global capitalism in crisis: Karl Marx and the decay of the profit system*. Halifax: Fenwood Publishing.
- Srnicek, N., & Williams, A. (2015). *Inventing the future: Postcapitalism and a world without work*. London: Verso.
- Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat*. London: Bloomsbury.
- St. Clair, R. (2004). Teaching with the enemy: Critical adult education in the academy. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 102, 35–43.
- Uetricht, M. (2014). *Strike for America: Chicago teachers strike against austerity*. London: Verso.
- UN-HABITAT. (2003). *The challenge of slums: Global report on human settlements*. London: Earthscan Publications.
- Valdés, G. (2006). *El Sistema de Dominación Múltiple. Hacia un Nuevo Paradigma Emancipatorio en América Latina*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Instituto de Filosofía, La Habana.
- Walter, P. (2007). Activist forest monks, adult learning and Buddhist environmental movement in Thailand. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(3), 329–345.
- Walters, S., & Manicom, L. (Eds.). (1996). *Gender in popular education*. London: Zed.
- Welton, M. (1993). Social revolutionary learning: The new social movements as learning sites. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 43(3), 152–164.

- Welton, M. (1995). In defense of the lifeworld: A Habermasian approach to adult learning. In M. Welton (Ed.), *In defense of the lifeworld: Critical perspectives on adult learning*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Welton, M. (2013). *Unearthing Canada's hidden past: A short history of adult education*. Toronto: Thompson Publishing.
- Young, R. J. C. (2001). *Postcolonialism: An historical introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Zibechi, R. (2005). Subterranean echoes: Resistance and politics 'Desde el Sótano'. *Socialism and Democracy*, 19(3), 13–39.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

John D. Holst is an Associate Professor at The Pennsylvania State University in Pennsylvania, USA. His research focuses on adult education and social change both in terms of pedagogical practices and the nature of learning and education in social movements. He is a Co-editor (with Nicola Pizzolato) of *Gramsci: A Pedagogy to Change the World* (Springer, 2017).

Adult Learning and Communicative Rationality

Palle Rasmussen

Abstract In recent years the concept of learning has been used widely in education policy discourse, often replacing the concept of education. This has provoked criticism and attempts to restate the humanist ideas of the concept of education. This paper discusses the relations between the two concepts of learning and education, including the criticism of learning voiced by some philosophers of education, the significance of the German tradition of *Bildung* and comprehensive concepts of learning developed by Knud Illeris and others. The paper further presents and discusses contributions to this comprehensive approach from two critical social theorists, Jürgen Habermas and Oskar Negt. These contributions substantiate the interactive dimension of learning as well as the links between individual learning processes and the complex forms and conditions of life in contemporary societies.

INTRODUCTION

During the last 2 decades, the concept of learning has been widely adopted by researchers, policymakers and practitioners. Earlier, the predominant themes in discourses on education concerned questions of curriculum, teaching and control in primary and secondary schooling. The focus was on educational institutions, on ‘the school’, and on the practices of teachers in this institutional context. Today much interest is also taken in learning and acquisition of skills outside school, in training schemes, on the job or in other areas of life. This represents a change in both policy and educational theory, a change that has sometimes misleadingly been labelled ‘from education to learning’. However, it

P. Rasmussen (✉)

Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University, Kroghstræde 3,
9220 Aalborg Øst, Denmark
e-mail: pallas@learning.aau.dk

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_6

is not a question of giving up the concept of education; it is a question of seeing institutional education as one element (and a vital element) in processes of learning that also include other elements. Policies are also being developed that do not focus primarily on educational institutions but rather on learning in different settings over the life course. The popularity of the word ‘learning’ and its inclusion in the rhetoric of policymakers does not help clarify the implications of the concept. But in my view, a comprehensive concept of learning represents an important paradigmatic change in the conceptualisation of educational phenomena and the implementation of educational practices.

In this paper, I argue for such an understanding of learning and try to substantiate it with reference to selected critical social theories. The first section of the paper discusses relations between the two concepts of learning and education, especially dealing with the way education has been presented as a humanist alternative to learning, for instance by Gert Biesta. The second section presents a comprehensive approach to learning, inspired by Knud Illeris and others. The third and fourth sections present and discuss contributions to this comprehensive approach from two critical social theorists, Jürgen Habermas and Oskar Negt. These contributions substantiate the interactive dimension of learning as well as the links between individual learning processes and the complex forms and conditions of life in contemporary societies.

LEARNING AND EDUCATION

The widespread use of the concept of learning, especially in policy texts, has tended to marginalise the concepts of teaching and education. Most often this has happened through not referring to or downplaying the concept of education and the role of institutionalised teaching, but in some cases it has also involved explicit criticism. An example is a book with the title ‘Turning Learning Right Side Up: Putting Education Back on Track’ (Ackoff and Greenberg 2008), where the authors argue that schools are restricting learning because work in classrooms is based on traditional forms of teaching and curricula are organised around disciplines. This closes many of the connections to the world outside schools, undermines student motivation and actively suppresses creativity. Schools seem to be run more for the benefit of those employed in the system than to enable students to learn. The fact that the authors do not have a background in educational research may be one reason why they argue so directly, but their reservations towards institutionalised education capture much of the sentiment in the turn ‘from education to learning’.

This turn has provoked debate and opposition. Critical contributions have often drawn on Foucault’s concept of governmentality, seeing lifelong learning as part of a reorganisation of the relationship between states and citizens (see for instance the contributions in Fejes and Nicoll 2008). As part of this approach, Tuschling and Engemann (2006) argue that the concept of lifelong learning implies a totality where individuals and not institutions become the centrepiece

of learning and where everything becomes potential learning content. The mandate for education shifts partly to the learning individuals, who become responsible for their own educational outcomes and careers. The authors discuss whether this implies a radical de-institutionalisation of education (which for instance the contribution of Ackoff and Greenberg could suggest), but argue that it does not. Rather, it implies more flexible institutions and frameworks that can facilitate the movement of individuals between the myriad of contexts for learning. The learning individual ‘..is configured as an inter-institutional entity traversing situations and institutions, obliged to strategically show knowledge and skills’ (Tuschling and Engemann 2006: 460). The authors do not explicitly assess the quality of this compared to education, but it is clear that they see it as degenerate form.

A more explicit argument is made by Gert Biesta in his article with the striking title ‘Against Learning’ (Biesta 2005, also in Biesta 2006) where he argues that the language of learning has made important aspects of education very difficult to articulate. He gives some striking examples of the language of learning; among them are quotes from the website of the educational service ‘learndirect’ established in UK and also the following quote from a European Commission policy document:

..the established framing of pedagogic practices in most formal contexts has privileged teaching rather than learning... In a high-technology knowledge society this kind of teaching-learning loses efficacy; learners must become proactive and more autonomous, prepared to renew their knowledge continuously... (Biesta 2006: 16)

Among several trends he sees as contributing to the rise of this language, Biesta focuses especially on the erosion of welfare states, which has weakened the idea of social redistribution through public provision, and has changed the relationship between governments and citizens from a political relationship to an economic relationship between provider and consumer. The new language of learning reflects this, says Biesta, because it

...has facilitated a redescription of the language of education in terms of an economic transaction, that is a transaction in which (1) the learner is the (potential) consumer, the one who has certain ‘needs’, in which (2) the teacher, the educator or the educational institution is seen as the provider (...) and (3) education itself becomes a commodity – a ‘thing’ to be provided or delivered. (Biesta 2006: 19–20)

It is true that the rhetoric of ‘learndirect’ and similar initiatives lends itself to this economic interpretation, but in the European Commission document quoted above it is hard to see that the initiative and autonomy of learners should represent an economic rationality. I would claim that although the concept of learning has often appeared in education policy papers and such papers very

often contain arguments for the economic value of education (and the necessity of producing education as cheaply as possible), economic rationality in the sense described by Biesta—as a trade of commodities between consumers and providers—has not generally been connected with learning in the policy discourse, partly because there is no logical link between them.

Biesta argues that the economic model of learning directs attention exclusively to technical questions of educational processes and that this kind of economic logic cannot be transferred to education, because educational needs have a special quality, and students and parents need help from professional educationalists to clarify these needs. But in fact consumer–provider relations have a long history in education, as evidenced for example in markets for vocational education and training courses in many countries and markets for study programmes and courses in many universities. In these markets, educational institutions offer a wide range of courses, often described attractively but with limited substantial information, and potential students are expected to be able to know what they need and choose on that basis. This is reflected in the literature on student consumerism (Saunders 2014). Biesta is right in arguing that to leave answers to questions about the purpose and content of education to the market ‘...deprives us of the opportunity to have a democratic say in the educational renewal of society’ (Biesta 2006: 23), but he seems to forget that this is exactly what educational decision-makers and institutions have often done, and they have not needed the language of learning for that.

As an alternative to the omnipresent language of learning, and especially to the economic model of learner/consumer and educational provider, Biesta argues for reinventing a language of education. Not in the sense of traditional educational theory but as a set of three interlocking concepts (Biesta 2006: 25–30): trust, which makes it possible to engage in educational relationships even though the results are risky and incalculable; violence, in the sense that education and educationalists must challenge and even violate students in order to show them who they are and where they stand; and responsibility, even though as educator you can never know from the outset what you take responsibility for. These concepts certainly capture vital elements in educational relationships, but they share a limitation with much philosophically based educational theory. The focus is on an ideal–typical relationship between an educator and a student, without taking account of the social and institutional structures that educational relations are embedded in. Trust is important in educational relationships, but the ability to have or mobilise this trust depends very much on the social and cultural resources of students and on the character of the educational institutions they encounter. Educationalists are not just individual persons; they are embedded in and employed by educational institutions, and their trustworthiness depends for the most part on the character of the institutions. When Biesta argues that needs for learning must be clarified with the help of education professionals, he displays the helping side of professionalism; but as documented in much social science research, it can also have a controlling and authoritarian side (Larson 2012). Biesta’s concept of violence

as a helpful challenge in the process of education has a sociological parallel in Bourdieu's concept of repressive symbolic violence as a means of reproducing and legitimising educational inequality (Bourdieu and Passeron 1990).

It is important to note that this discussion refers only to those contributions by Biesta where he contrasts the concepts of learning and education. In other contributions, he uses the concept of learning analytically and attempts to develop a cultural theory of learning (Hodkinson et al. 2008) that seems to include at least some of the qualities he also ascribes to the concept of education.

In line with many other European educationalists (see for instance Masschelein and Ricken 2003; Siljander et al. 2012), Biesta sees the German tradition of 'Bildung' as an important reference point for a concept of education transgressing narrow technical or economic models and focusing on 'the humanity of the human being' (Biesta 2006: 99). He underlines that Bildung is not to be taken as a stable tradition that can and should be restored today, but rather it must be seen as contextual responses to educational challenges over a long historical period; the task for educationalists today is to draw on this tradition in responding to contemporary challenges. The history of 'Bildung' ranges from the Greek city states over Roman culture to the Enlightenment and to modern Western education. Biesta argues that an important step in this history was '...when the acquisition of particular contents became itself recognised as a constitutive aspect of Bildung. Since then Bildung has always been understood as self-Bildung' (Biesta 2006: 101). This cultivation of the human being is closely connected to the kind of society that the human being exists in and acts in. Kant's understanding of Bildung in terms of rational autonomy, for instance, was a call for people who could think and act for themselves in an emerging civil society in Prussia. Kant established a link between education and individual freedom but Biesta points out that this freedom was strongly circumscribed, because Kant only allowed for one definition of what it meant to be human (Biesta 2007: 28).

In drawing on the concept of Bildung, it is important to be aware that the social group which most clearly embraced Bildung in German society during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was the 'Bildungsbürgertum' or the educated bourgeoisie. This was a class of wealthy non-noble people that emerged in the major cities, gaining material wealth and social positions and distinguishing themselves through the cultural capital of literature, art and humanities knowledge (Ringer 1969). This class had a key role in developing German education (especially the university system), science and public intellectual life, but it also had a strong impact on the concept of Bildung, linking it closely to the social elite. The version of cultivating the human being inscribed in the concept of Bildung mainly represents the life of the non-noble social and cultural elite; it never reached the great majority of the population being educated in the primary school or in apprenticeships.

The concept of Bildung represents an important historical ideal for education and educational relations; its focus on the humanity of human beings can inspire ideas about the purposes of education today and contribute to countering the

narrowly instrumental concepts of education that often dominate education policy discourse. But the concept should be used with the awareness that it is not socially and culturally neutral, but marked by its close links with social elites.

In sum, while the concepts of learning and lifelong learning have often been used in ways that neglect or gloss over important issues, the response to this should not be to mobilise the concepts of education and *Bildung*, ascribing to them humanistic qualities that their histories do not confirm. Rather the response should be continued development of comprehensive and critical concepts of learning.

LEARNING AND LIFE

Learning can be defined as a process of creating change through the accumulation of knowledge and competence. This process is cognitive as well as emotional and social, and it goes all through the human life course. Learning takes place both in educational institutions and in many other contexts, and the interaction and coordination of different learning contexts is very important to the quality of learning.

Illeris (2007) has conceptualised this broad approach to learning in the claim that all learning will involve three dimensions, which he calls the content, incentive and interaction dimensions. The first two of these dimensions draw on the traditional concepts of cognitive and affective learning, but significantly redefines them. According to Illeris, the *content* dimension concerns what is learned, not just knowledge and skills, but also such elements as opinions, values and ways of behaviour. The content of learning is ultimately the capacities needed to deal with the practical challenges of personal and social life. The *incentive* dimension, including such elements as feelings, emotions and motivation, provides and directs the mental energy in learning processes. Processes in the content as well as the incentive dimension are embedded in the social contexts and interaction that individuals always exist in. This is the *interaction* dimension, providing the impulses for learning processes through experience, imitation, activity and participation and developing the sociality of the learner.

Illeris' insistence that learning always involves all three dimensions is a crucial point; it is perhaps especially relevant to adults, who exist in and have moved through multiple life situations, in families, in work, in education and in public and political settings, each with their tasks and social contexts. Such a broad approach to learning (for other examples, see Jarvis 2006; Hodkinson et al. 2008) provides a basis for understanding and mapping the role of adult education institutions and their educators in relation to other sites where adults learn.

A key aspect of the comprehensive theory of learning is that it places the learner and his/her interests, background and potential at the centre of attention for research, practice and policy. Educational theory has often implicitly assumed that the responsibility for developing the knowledge, skills and identity of students rests with the educator or the educational institutions. This is in fact

the case for distinct types of educational theory. In theories of 'Bildung', the driving actor is often the mature and knowledgeable educator or teacher, who represents and embodies the qualities of humanity and culture as well as civilised and responsible judgement, and learning happens through the student's exposure to and interaction with the educator. In theories of situated learning and professional learning (Schön 1990; Lave and Wenger 1991), the settings are generally not educational institutions but different types of work organisations, but in many cases the main type of learning portrayed is induction in the community of practice through close interaction with a single master practitioner. The theory of learning changes the focus; it presents the student as the core actor, the person driving his or her own learning, while institutionalised education and its educators are parts of the framework for and input to this learning. This approach is fundamentally in line with constructivist cognitive science as developed by Piaget and later researchers in the same tradition, but as noted above, it has a much broader view of learning.

Conceptualising the learner as the core actor does not mean that learners are always active and proceed from clear ideas about their purposes and capacities. Learners often do not know what they need or want, and in many educational contexts, learners may be unwilling to take learning initiatives on their own. Learners have different backgrounds, experiences, resources and life perspectives, and for many of them, the experience of schooling has not served to develop their capacity for active learning. What seeing the learner as core actor means is that for significant learning to happen, the learner must actively drive the process, and the primary contribution of educators is to empower learners to do this.

The widespread acceptance and use of the concept of lifelong learning confirms the relevance of the comprehensive concept of learning. To be sure the concept is most often used in a restricted sense, covering programmes and practices in adult education and training that have generally existed on the margins of educational systems. But the logic of lifelong learning implies that learning takes place not only within institutionalised education at all stages from pre-school to adult education but also in many different contexts outside institutionalised education. Sociological theories and analyses of modernisation (for instance Beck 1992) indicate that learning in this sense is a crucial element in present-day societies because of the increasing demands on individual flexibility and navigation in changing work situations as well as in civil life. Even though modernisation is no linear process and its consequences may be very different for different social groups, there is much evidence that learning is in fact an increasingly important element in modern societies.

Learning does not only change individuals but through the individuals it also affects and changes the organisations and institutions that the individuals are part of. The fact that 'learning organisations' (Argyris and Schön 1978) have emerged as an idea and a model in management theory and practice is a sign of this, even though the concepts of learning drawn on are sometimes limited.

Another example is the concept of learning cities and regions (Morgan 1997) which have had considerable impact in regional development policies.

A comprehensive concept of learning is necessary for understanding the complex processes of learning in modern societies, their significance for adults and the ways that institutionalised education can contribute. Although learning is a word often encountered educational literature and in education policy discourse, there is little consensus on the concept. Learning is still often narrowly defined as a process of cognition and skills development, not only by critical educationalists distancing themselves from the concept but also by policymakers and educational researchers. An example is the work of John Hattie (2009) on visible learning, which has enjoyed considerable influence in recent years. Hattie's research focuses on primary and secondary schooling, and through comprehensive meta-analysis of empirical research he tries to find the institutional arrangements and pedagogical methods that are most efficient in producing learning in students. The scope of Hattie's work is impressive, and in some ways his understanding of learning recognises the learner as core actor, for instance when he recommends feedback as one of the most efficient pedagogical methods. But his understanding of learning is focused on the content dimension, on students' acquisition of the knowledge and skills specified for the different levels of school education. This—as well as other examples—shows that the conceptualisation of learning is still an important issue in educational research. In the rest of this chapter, I will present two important contributions to this conceptualisation. They are different in many ways, but they share an origin in German critical theory and a continuing attempt to identify challenges and possibilities for human existence in modern societies.

LEARNING AND COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

While the concept of learning in principle places the learner in the centre of attention, it is true that learning is often seen as value-neutral, dissociated from ideas about human well-being and social needs. This makes it possible for policymakers to mobilise the concept for questionable purposes, like one-dimensional concepts of competitiveness and economic growth. I will argue here that a concept of learning can in fact have normative foundations, and that the theory of communicative action developed by Jürgen Habermas offers a possible theoretical framework for this.

In Habermas' conceptualisation of modern society, which he has presented most comprehensively in the 'Theory of Communicative Action' (Habermas 1984–1987), different types of rationality are embedded in cultural and social contexts and are reproduced through different types of action. Communicative rationality, which has the potential to humanise the social order, is anchored in the life-world and upheld through communicative action. Reflexive learning is an important part of this process.

The concept of rationality is a controversial one in social theory. It has often been denounced as an obsolete residue of idealist philosophy. Habermas,

however, maintains that a critical theory of society must include a theory of rationality, because the world we live in is still in many ways determined by the process that Max Weber called 'the disenchantment of the Western world'. Social theory must be able to grasp this process of rationalisation.

Habermas argues that while early critical theory, most clearly represented by Theodor Adorno and Max Horkheimer, developed a strong case for and steps towards a theoretical, interdisciplinary social science, it stopped on the way. Adorno and Horkheimer (2002) saw the increasing predominance of instrumental rationality as an integrated element in the development of Western civilisation, driven by the expansion of market economies and the logic of commodification. They concluded that a true understanding of man and society could not be achieved by scientific methods and analytical thinking, because these modes of thought were infected by instrumental rationality. As an alternative, Adorno in particular pointed to the intuitive understanding of man and nature that could find expression and be experienced through different forms of art. To Habermas, Adorno's conclusion signals the inability of early critical theory to realise the project of a theoretical, interdisciplinary social science. He finds the main reason for this failure in a paradigm of subjectivity and consciousness that early critical theory inherited from idealist philosophy. In this paradigm, the subject is confronted with a world of objects, towards which it may relate in two ways: understand them or master them. Habermas maintains that subjectivity must be conceived differently: the subject is not just confronted with a world of objects; it is also in contact with other subjects, with whom it may communicate over ways to relate to the world of objects. The development of rationality is an inter-subjective learning process.

To link the notion of communicative rationality with the analysis of society, Habermas develops a typology of social action. In his early works, he distinguished between goal-oriented action and communicative action. In the theory of communicative action, he further develops these categories, for instance sub-dividing communicative action in the three types: conversation, norm-regulated action and dramaturgic action. In working out the characteristics of communicative action, Habermas draws on the theory of speech acts (Austin 1975), and especially on the vital concept of illocutionary force. The illocutionary force is the kind of act we perform when we utter a sentence. It should be distinguished from its locutionary force (the referential or cognitive meaning) and also from its perlocutionary force (the intended function or result). The illocutionary force indicates mutual relations between the partners of communication and conditions for the validity of these relations. For instance, norm-regulated action is dominated by the illocutionary component and has the basic form: 'I promise you, that...'. The criterion for evaluating norm-regulated action is justification, and the evolution of a differentiated system of linguistic communication increasingly provides interaction partners with the option of confirming or denying each other's claims to validity. This is the reason why illocutionary force has the potential for creating durable social relations.

In this perspective, the inter-subjective learning of communicative rationality must be seen as a continuous process where participants improve their competence in offering and responding to communicative acts, and at the same time confirm their attachment to the same community. The availability of communication ‘artefacts’, mainly in the form of linguistic systems of communication, makes it possible to stabilise the outcomes of learning, both in social organisation and in the minds of subjects. In Habermas’ theory, the ‘place’ of this stabilised learning is the life-world.

The concept of life-world was originally developed within phenomenological philosophy and sociology. It signifies the horizon of communication, the frame of reference which is common to speaker and listener, and which enables them to understand each other. Thus, the life-world mainly consists of ‘tacit knowledge’ founded in everyday life, and it is continuously reproduced through communicative action. If distortion of communication takes place, for instance through obscure blending of communicative and strategic acts, it threatens the reproduction of the life-world. Because of changes and crises in social life, communicative rationality is not something learned once and for all; it will often have to be recontextualised and re-learned.

Habermas’ concept of society is two-faced. Society is conceived not only in terms of the life-world but also in terms of social systems. This is because the organisation of social life is not only achieved through mutual understanding between individuals. Many social processes are coordinated through standardised media (such as money) and organised as systems. In developed Western societies, the social systems have often come to dominate or undermine the processes of rationalisation in the life-world. This is what Habermas calls the ‘colonisation of the life-world’ and it implies a systematic distortion of communicative learning.

As a contrast to the many concepts and complex arguments in the theory of communicative action, it is worth noting Habermas’ more informal statements about the mission of the work. For instance, he has said in an interview (Habermas 1985: 202) that the work had been driven by the idea of giving words to the possibility and the experience that people can live together in a satisfactory balance between autonomy and dependency, without giving up the cultural, social and economic differentiations made possible by modernity.

An example of Habermas’s approach is his discussion of the origins and perspectives of the German model of the university as a unified institution for research and teaching (Habermas 1987). This was worked out by idealist philosophers like Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Schleiermacher in the early years of the nineteenth century. They emphasised the unity of research and teaching; the process of constructing scientific discourse could not be separated from the process of lecturing. And a central element in lecturing was discussion with students, preferably in small groups which allowed an egalitarian form of communication.

Thus, according to Habermas, the idea of the university within German idealism implied a notion that the university as an autonomous microcosm

could anticipate a society of free and equal individuals. There was a certain lack of realism in this, and the gap between the idealist university idea and the ‘facts of life’ in university and society became increasingly obvious over the years. Academic credentials became a mechanism for establishing and demarcating class in the form of a ‘Bildungsbürgertum’, and the empirical sciences broke away from the idealist foundations of scientific unity.

In modern society, most branches of science and higher education are organised as large-scale systems, with a high degree of specialisation, closely connected to the material reproduction of society. This leads Habermas to question whether universities should in fact be understood as systems of instrumental and strategic action, integrated with the larger systems of modern society. However, he rejects this interpretation with reference to the fact that the increasingly differentiated functions of research and study are still organised within one institution: the university. The connection to a common life-world has counteracted the institutional consequences of functional specialisation.

In Habermas’ opinion, the German university idea still has some truth in it. Universities produce vocational skills and expert knowledge, but they also produce political and moral arguments about the quality of individual and social life. They do this not because they are rooted in a common ideal or set of goals, but because scientific work and thinking is fundamentally communicative, and this connects the learning processes in university settings with the life-world.

In sum, Habermas sees the development of rationality as a continuous inter-subjective learning process. Participants improve their competence in offering and responding to communicative acts, and at the same time confirm their attachment to the same community. Through the system of language communicative action is connected to the life-world, which it reproduces. This reproduction is however threatened by an over-riding tendency of social systems to colonise the life-world, leading to a systematic distortion of communicative learning.

The theory of communicative action gives an important contribution to a comprehensive concept of learning, especially perhaps to what Illeris calls the interaction dimension and its links to the content dimension. Another contribution from German social theory, especially linking the incentive and the content dimension, is that of Oskar Negt.

THE CRITICAL POTENTIAL OF EXPERIENCE

The development of principles and practices of critical adult education, built on the foundations of different types of critical social science or philosophy, has been an ambition of many educationalists in recent decades (for an overview, see Brookfield 2005, 2017). Since the start of his career in the 1960s, Negt has continuously studied, theorised and commented on the trends and contradictions of modern society, the problems confronting individuals in this society, and the ways of learning to handle and transgress these problems. In contrast to

Habermas, Negt has emphasised the role of work in modern society and made it a core concept in his theory and his approach to learning and education.

Negt's approach to work and its role in society can be seen as an attempt to mediate between on the one hand classical Marxism, which pictured work as a potentially positive force providing societies with wealth and individuals with welfare, dignity and opportunities for self-realisation, and on the other hand the critical theory of Adorno, Horkheimer and others, who pictured work as a main area of alienation and instrumentality. The fundamental assumption in Negt's analysis is that all work builds on the basic human skill of self-regulation, and that work is the continuous reshaping of this skill. Work processes produce not only goods or services, but also needs and experiences. Within the context of capitalist wage labour, only some of these needs and experiences may find legitimate expression, others remain unexpressed and homeless.

Negt's understanding of work is presented several works, including comprehensively in a massive and complex book written in collaboration with Alexander Kluge (Kluge and Negt 2014, originally published 1981). Here they argue that Marx developed a theory of the political economy of capital, but this theory needs a counterpart, a theory of the political economy of labour power. The book is an attempt to contribute to such a theory (see also Olesen 2013). As mentioned above, Negt and Kluge link the human work potential to the capacity for self-regulation, which they see as the ability to maintain relevant actions and natural relationships in complex worlds of objects and men—worlds which are many-sided and rich in relationships. On the basis of this very general concept of work, they trace the historical forms and development of work in capitalist society, especially in the German context. They point out that capitalism contains two different economies: one which looks like an automaton, following e.g. the 'laws' of markets; and the connected, raw economy, which does not adhere to such rules. Labour process results in two products, of which capitalists and economists only see one. One product is the result of the exchange of capitalist production and wage labour; the other originates in the inner exchanges in labour itself, between the commodity of labour power and human nature. Disciplined, instrumental work cannot take place without the co-work of instinctual self-regulation. But this process is hidden in our culture; the history of self-regulation is only visible through the history of its disruptions (Kluge and Negt 2014: 125).

In later works, Negt has continued this line of argument, and related it to contemporary issues. An important example of this is his analysis of the question of a general shortening of work hours, which was a key demand of the German trade unions in the 1980s (Negt 1984). In a section of this book, Negt confronts Max Weber's analysis of work and rationality. He maintains that Weber made the error of seeing the development and social shaping of work too much from the angle of the 'iron cage' and came to wonder if the human spirit could survive at all in this environment. But in mature capitalism, things have turned out to be different. When living labour is becoming completely consumed by dead labour through processes of mechanisation and automation, the 'iron

cage' loses its character of fate and it becomes possible to react towards it. At the same time, work has not lost its place in the culture and values of modern society; on the contrary, vocational activity is a central medium of social recognition, of social contacts and the development of individual identity (Negt 1984: 43–44).

For Negt, the concept of work is closely related to the concept of experience. The world of work is a predominant framework for experience in modern societies, and the opportunities for active experience are also a criterion for judging the quality of work. Negt interprets experience as a comprehensive process of cognition, acquisition and transformation, through which humans relate to the reality surrounding them. Experience is not just a question of sensory cognition, but it is a process of interaction with the surrounding world.

Trade union education was a prominent theme in Negt's early work. For some years during the 60s, he was affiliated with the educational division of the German metal workers union, which led him to formulate a thorough criticism and revision of the principles of trade union education. This was presented in his book 'Sociological imagination and exemplary learning' (Negt 1968). Here Negt criticises the existing educational programmes for trade union officials and activists, maintaining that they do not communicate knowledge of the practical nature that had earlier characterised Marxist social theory, in which categories like surplus value, capital and wage labour were scientifically based but also political–practical concepts. Negt finds it typical of current trade union education that theory and practice are separated. On the one hand, technical and instrumental knowledge is taught in a number of subjects, like labour law and business studies. The teaching of these subjects draws mainly on mainstream social and technological sciences, which do not question the existing social order, and knowledge is communicated in a formal and analytical language. On the other hand, the programmes offer general political knowledge, for instance about the history of the labour movement. This teaching tends to become ideological with few consequences for practical trade union work. One result of this problematic division of knowledge is that learning and motivation difficulties are encountered in many of the courses.

Negt's solution to these problems is that trade union education should draw much more on the experience of workers. Everyday experience will be ripe with contradictions. The main contradictions in a capitalist society are located in the economy, but they will be echoed in all life areas. Negt uses Mills' (1959) concept of the sociological imagination to describe the ability to structure and generalise collective experience; this must be an overriding goal of trade union education. Curriculum and teaching must be designed to be exemplary; it is not a question of transmitting a certain 'sum' of knowledge, but of choosing certain topics and problems which are suited to the development of sociological imagination. They must allow the linking of collective experience with scientific (but critical) knowledge about modern capitalist society. Negt outlines how teaching in areas like labour law or technological development may be reorganised along these lines. He emphasises, however, that it is not the task of the

curriculum or teachers to present the participants with ready-made solutions and strategies. The learning process must be based on the situation of the workers and their interpretation of it.

Negt developed the concept of experience-based exemplary adult education early in his career, before his major works on experience, public spaces, work and culture. In subsequent contributions to educational theory, he kept the basic principles, but gradually integrated them with his general work in social theory. In a more recent contribution to the theory of adult education, Negt restates the idea of exemplary learning (Negt 2010: 186–240). The basic argument is still the same: learning has to build on the workers' experience of contradictions in work and other contexts, and these experiences can then be explained with reference to systematic knowledge about present-day society. Conversely, this means that general knowledge, as well of history as of economics and politics, only gains educational value when it is made translatable back in the horizon of workers' own experience. In this contribution, Negt focuses more on the competencies to be learned. He poses the question: 'What does a worker need to know, if he is to know what is happening in the current situation of crisis, and what possibilities has he to improve his life conditions in solidarity and cooperation with others?' Negt does not recommend a curriculum in the form of given disciplines or theories; this would also be in discord with his view of knowledge as dynamic and responsive to social change. Instead, he indicates a number of key competencies that should be the general goals of trade union education. Examples of these competencies are 'Care in the handling of people and things (ecological competence)' and 'the work of balancing threatened and fragmented identities'. The first draws on the recognition of the links between human action and the erosion of the natural environment but integrates this in a more general approach—a caring and non-destructive approach—to both material objects and people. The second refers to the fact that stable identities today are the exception rather than the rule because of social divisions and fragmentation, especially in the labour market and the world of work.

In a contribution to the debate on the crisis of the EU, Negt has argued that a more open and active European civil society is necessary if the EU is to develop towards a real transnational democracy (Negt 2012). Democracy must be founded 'from below', through processes of collective political learning drawing on the experiences and the hopes of citizens; and the traditions of adult education have much to offer for this work.

Critical adult education, as envisaged by Negt, is a learning space that allows individuals (not least workers) in present-day society to develop their impressions and thoughts from the world of work and other contexts into actual experiences by connecting them to knowledge and critical concepts of the social world. In this way, adult education can promote forms of culture and work that honour the creative potential of human labour power.

CONCLUSION

Given the fact that the concept of learning has tended to become ‘omnipresent’, being used widely but with different meanings in educational research and education policy discourse, it is understandable that critical objections to the concept have come from different quarters in educational theory. Such critical discussion is crucial to research communities and the quality of the knowledge they produce. But some of the critical arguments construct impoverished versions of the concept of learning—for instance, seeing learning as modelled on economic rationality—that have limited basis in social reality; and conversely they construct idealised versions of the concept of education that neglect important elements. The concept of *Bildung* is often mobilised in these arguments, and it does in fact represent an important and inspiring ideal for education and educational relations; but its meaning and its inventory of desirable human characteristics is marked by its close historical links with the culture and the educational institutions of social elites. This limits its potential for conceptualising and guiding education and learning in contemporary societies.

Life in the modern world confronts people with opportunities, risks and contradictions in many situations. To cope, to navigate risks and to seize opportunities involves learning; and education can improve people’s ability to learn and acquire relevant skills and knowledge. These are basic reasons for adopting a comprehensive concept of learning, as presented for instance by Illeris’ model involving three dimensions, which are always present and combine when learning occurs. A key aspect of this approach is that it places the learner and his/her interests, background and potential at the centre of attention for research, practice and policy.

I have tried to show that critical social theories, in this case the theories of Habermas and Negt, can improve the understanding and conceptualisation of what Illeris calls the interactive dimension of learning, the embedding of learning persons in society and the co-production of knowledge, skills and social communities. The presence of communicative rationality and collective experience indicates types of learning much different from the narrow economic models.

Educationalists and educational institutions are still crucial to processes of learning. Much experience in organising and supporting processes of learning has been accumulated in educational institutions, and institutions in other areas of social life (such as workplaces) have tended not to take responsibility for learning in more than a very narrow sense. But educational institutions and teachers will increasingly have to use their professional knowledge and experience in new and more versatile ways; in supporting learning in the context of the whole life course, and in the interaction of schools, workplaces and other sites, they are increasingly called on to not only teach, but also to supervise, coach, plan, mediate and coordinate.

REFERENCES

- Ackoff, R., & Greenberg, D. (2008). *Turning learning right side up: Putting education back on track*. New Jersey: Prentice Hall.
- Adorno, T. W., & Horkheimer, M. (2002). *Dialectics of enlightenment. Philosophical fragments*. Redwood, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Argyris, C., & Schön, D. A. (1978). *Organizational learning: A theory of action perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Austin, J. L. (1975). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. London: Sage.
- Biesta, G. (2005). Against learning. Reclaiming a language for education in an age of learning. *Nordisk Pedagogik*, 25(1), 54–66.
- Biesta, G. (2006). *Beyond learning. Democratic education for a human future*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Biesta, G. (2007). The education-socialisation conundrum or ‘Who is afraid of education’. *Utbildning & Demokrati*, 16(3), 25–36.
- Bourdieu, P., & Passeron, J. (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture*. London: Sage.
- Brookfield, S. D. (2005). *The power of critical theory for adult learning and teaching*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Brookfield, S. D. (2017). Critical adult education theory. In M. Milana, et al. (Ed.), *The palgrave international handbook on adult and lifelong education and learning*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fejes, A., & Nicoll, K. (Eds.). (2008). *Foucault and lifelong learning: Governing the subject*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Habermas, J. (1984–1987). *The theory of communicative action* (Vol. 1–2). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Habermas, J. (1985). *Die Neue Unübersichtlichkeit*. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Habermas, J. (1987). The idea of the university: Learning processes. *New German Critique*, 41, 3–22.
- Hattie, J. (2009). *Visible learning. A synthesis of over 800 meta-analyses relating to achievement*. London: Routledge.
- Hodkinson, P., Biesta, G., & James, D. (2008). Understanding learning culturally: Overcoming the dualism between social and individual views of learning. *Vocations and Learning*, 1(1), 27–47.
- Illeris, K. (2003). *Three dimensions of learning: Contemporary learning theory in the tension field between the cognitive, the emotional and the social*. Florida: Krieger.
- Illeris, K. (2007). *How we learn: Learning and non-learning in school and beyond*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2006). *Towards a comprehensive theory of human learning*. London: Routledge.
- Kluge, A., & Negt, O. (2014). *History and obstinacy*. New York: Zone Books.
- Larson, M. S. (2012). *The rise of professionalism: Monopolies of competence and sheltered markets*. Piscataway, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Masschelein, J., & Ricken, N. (2003). Do we (still) need the concept of Bildung? *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 35(2), 139–154.
- Mills, C. W. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Morgan, K. (1997). The learning region: Institutions, innovation and regional renewal. *Regional Studies*, 31(5), 491–503.
- Negt, O. (1968). *Soziologische Phantasie und Exemplarisches Lernen*. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt.
- Negt, O. (1984). *Lebendige Arbeit, enteignete Zeit*. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Negt, O. (2010). *Der Politische Mensch*. Göttingen: Demokratie als Lebensform Steidl.
- Negt, O. (2012). *Gesellschaftsentwurf Europa*. Göttingen: Steidl.
- Olesen, H. S. (2013). Beyond the current political economy of competence development. *RELA—European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 4(2), 153–170.
- Ringer, F. (1969). *The Decline of the German mandarins: The German academic community, 1890–1933*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Saunders, D. B. (2014). Exploring a customer orientation: Free-market logic and college students. *The Review of Higher Education*, 37(2), 197–219.
- Schön, D. A. (1990). *Educating the reflective practitioner*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Siljander, P., Kivelä, A., & Sutinen, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Theories of Bildung and growth. Connections and controversies between continental educational thinking and American pragmatism*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Tuschling, A., & Engemann, C. (2006). From education to lifelong learning: The emerging regime of learning in the European union. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 38(4), 451–469.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Palle Rasmussen is Professor of Education and Learning Research in the Department of Learning and Philosophy, Aalborg University, Denmark, where he directs the Centre for Education Policy and Evaluation Research. His research areas include education policy, lifelong learning and evaluation methodology and he has published extensively in these fields. He is a member of the Danish National Research Council for Communication and Culture and of the scientific board of the COST association.

Adult Education and the ‘Learning’ Turn

Terri Seddon

Abstract In the 1990s, the terms ‘adult education’ and ‘lifelong education’ began to be displaced by a novel discourse of ‘lifelong learning’. This learning turn in education policy affirmed ‘learning as performance’ but also discounted the established world of adult and lifelong self-development. In that moment, the meanings of ‘adult education’, ‘lifelong learning’ and ‘lifelong education’ became unclear. But what is being entangled here and with what effects on knowing and doing adult education? I use the concept of ‘analytic borderlands’ to understand change in global transitions and report on research that traced the learning turn in Australian adult education through three different historical contexts. Re-reading empirical case study research, I show how these historical contexts intersected in ways that transformed publicly provided Technical and Further Education (TAFE) into mixed economy Vocational Education and Training (VET). I argue that these three concepts of ‘lifelong learning’, ‘adult education’ and ‘lifelong education’ are historically specific forms of more general political rationalities, institutionalised spaces and necessary utopias.

INTRODUCTION

Since the 1990s, the term ‘adult education’ has been displaced by a novel discourse of ‘learning’ that prioritises learning as performance over the holistic educational formation of a person. The codification of this learning turn produced discourses of ‘lifelong education’ and ‘lifelong learning’ that also referenced a ‘learning society’, ‘knowledge economy’ and the ‘learning self’. The effect of these learning discourses has produced a distinctive learning ethic:

T. Seddon (✉)
School of Education, La Trobe University,
Bundoora, VIC 3086, Australia
e-mail: t.seddon@latrobe.edu.au

‘perpetual learning’. As Johanna Wyn (2009: 1) explains, this learning imperative means ‘all stages of life require education and educating, and all areas of life are learning opportunities’.

In this chapter, I ask why this learning turn occurred and with what effects on adult education. I begin by reflecting on the history of adult education in Australia and the shift towards a lifelong learning order that occurred in the 1990s. This example of educational change, I suggest, raises questions and methodological complexities that justify an ‘entangled historical sociology of education’. I then outline the concept of ‘analytic borderland’ and how I approached entangled research through a re-disciplining strategy. I illustrate this methodology by analysing ‘adult education’, ‘lifelong learning’ and ‘lifelong education’ as intersecting cultural material trajectories that play through historical contexts and their particular entanglements: places of contestation and change that also define and limit the current re-spatialisation of education. I conclude by offering definitions of the three terms and suggesting why they are each significant in the politics of education reform.

FROM ADULT EDUCATION TOWARDS A LIFELONG LEARNING ORDER

Adult education developed rapidly in Australia. The 1788 British settlement of the new Southern colonies immediately confronted a skills shortage and skilled labour was able to ‘extract a premium’ for their labour (Ryan 2014). The first apprenticeships began in New South Wales in 1805 followed by a Mechanics Institute in 1827 but, while technical education was a priority in this settler society, there was also a strong liberal adult education tradition that encouraged people towards holistic self-development (Goozee 1993). The constitutional division of powers, when the six Australian colonies federated to form the Commonwealth of Australia in 1901 meant adult education, recognised in 1974 as part of public education, became a responsibility of each State. This ‘Technical and Further Education’ (TAFE) sector was organised through a bureaucratic-professional institutional design, and with access Commonwealth funding.

But in the 1990s, that historic model of technical and further adult education turned towards ‘lifelong learning’. The space of adult education that had developed alongside industrial capitalism and its associated struggles for citizen rights and democratic politics was restructured as a training market and re-cultured by affirming ‘learning’ rather than education. The State of Victoria committed to five strategic directions for reform:

From TAFE to VET – the maturing of the vocational education and training system, made up of a diverse range of providers which combine competitiveness with cooperative action in meeting the demands of their clients;

From Supply to Demand Driven – emphasis on the needs of our clients and the greater orientation of the system to a more client-focused culture based on the relationships between providers and their clients. Improved responsiveness in

the supply of vocational education and training will be driven by industry, enterprise and student demand rather than past patterns of supply;

From Activity to Outcome – focus on performance, both in terms of efficiency and effectiveness. Best practice will be the goal for all parts of the system and will largely direct where resources flow in years to come;

From Quantity to Quality – our products and processes, in particular curriculum, the skills of teaching staff, and accreditation and regulation are critical to the ongoing relevance of the system. Continual improvement of these is integral to the system's success;

From Control to Devolved System – the strength of our system rests on the responsiveness of providers to their clients. The relationship between individual providers and enterprises and students will be a central focus of the system. This can best be achieved through independent and accountable providers. The management relations of the system must facilitate this, not hinder it.

(State Training Board, Victoria 1994)

These strategic directions for reform mark a significant moment of educational change in the remaking of TAFE as VET. I reference Australia in this chapter but parallel patterns of change also occurred in other places around the world. But why did this learning turn occur and with what effects on adult education?

Understanding Educational Change

Answering this question is methodologically complex because training reform re-spatialises education in ways that destabilise established terminologies and meanings that define the object of study. As the editors of this Handbook note,

Adult education, lifelong education and lifelong learning are entangled activities that have differentially captured academic, political and practical attention over time and space. As a result, time and again scholarly work ... refers to these activities as either synonyms or distinctive. This frequently results in intangible conceptual tensions ... which affect the very object of scientific enquiry, and its investigation. (Holford et al. 2015)

When the key terms in a field of research cannot be specified with any certainty, the possibility of research is compromised because there is no basis for agreement on what is being studied or how it can be known. This problem is not specific to educational research but is a feature of contemporary debates across the social sciences. The challenge for researchers is to define concepts and methodologies that can grasp the current period of history as a 'liquid modernity' (Bauman 2000). This means developing concepts that can cut through the effects of economic and cultural globalisation and proliferating transcultural engagements that remake, re-spatialise and rescale established patterns of social organisation and political ordering that were historically premised on nation states.

In my research, I puzzle over these issues. I am investigating how twentieth-century public education is moving towards a lifelong learning order with effects that, in the early twenty-first century, create an unstable condition of ‘liquid learning’. But the project proved difficult because I found myself sliding between discourses as I tried to pin down the object of study and the intersecting effects of policy, practice and politics. To address these issues, I found the ‘re-disciplining’ of research to be a key step (Bonnell and Hunt 1999).

I approached this melting and morphing of adult education from the vantage point of comparative historical sociology, building on Bauman’s historical move and using a time dimension to review my detailed empirical research on Australian adult education. This methodological strategy offered insights into the sociological processes that were un-making and remaking education in Australia but without being locked into either the discourses of public education or lifelong learning. Introducing the time dimension made it possible to trace cultural mediations between social context and social action. Using qualitative research longitudinally made it possible to link big picture social and educational change and ‘detailed *textures* of social life—the subjective meanings and active crafting of social relationships, cultural practices and personal identities and pathways’ (Neale and Flowerdew 2003: 192, emphasis included).

The discipline of history is helpful because the time dimension defines the relation between history and historiography as a methodological choice about the boundaries of inquiry. Historical writing is premised on a methodological rupture between what is past, which is dead and gone, and the present, where the process of producing historical writing occurs. This intellectual movement between past and present creates a space for inquiry, which is filled by ‘recapitulating the past as a form of knowledge’ (de Certeau 1988: 5). Research develops as the researcher is recruited into a particular place, takes up analytical procedures and engages in inquiry. The process of writing is the intellectual, scientific, work that produces knowledge as a text and embodies the research narrative triangulated between ‘place, procedure and text’ (Spiegel 2007: 6).

The idea of ‘historical entanglement’ provides a point of departure when making decisions about these methodological choices by also spatialising time and social relations as historical contexts. As Burson (2013: 3) explains,

The notion of historical entanglement is the manner in which an “object” of historical study (for example, a concept, discourse, or identity) is constituted at the meeting point or intercrossing among various historical contexts as opposed to its being considered in only one isolated discursive context. Entanglement may be considered to operate on at least three levels: multicultural entanglement (the intercrossing of synchronous cultures); transdiscursive entanglements (the intercrossing of theological, scientific or ethico-political debates, for example); and diachronic entanglement (the arguably inevitable way in which scholarly analysis interjects itself into, and alters, the past by the very process of attending to the first and second entanglements).

The historical entangling of space, time, social relations, institutional and discursive practices, and their materialisation as agency and effects complicate research on contemporary educational change. But once the principle of entanglement is recognised, it becomes possible to delineate the tangles that will be addressed in a particular project. Codifying the entangling dimensions provides an entry point to more detailed sociologies of locality where macro-micro relations can be interrogated. I approach this multi-contextual research through the study of specific 'analytic borderlands'. From this perspective, it is possible to identify three distinct historical contexts that each locate socio-material trajectories and intersect in ways that constitute the learning turn.

ANALYTIC BORDERLANDS

The idea of 'analytic borderlands' gives historical sociology a tangible focus relative to space, time and social relations. It is a concept that pushes back against the idea of globalisation as an ever-increasing fluidity or borderless space which, in education, sits behind the learning turn and its ethic of perpetual learning. Instead, the borderland reveals 'place' as an intersection; not essentialised relative to a particular system of representation (e.g. presuming education to be intrinsically national, or for children) but, rather, as an analytic moment tensioned between two or more systems of representation, such as global-national discursive orders.

Seeing the borderland in terms of an intersection means it is possible to hold open the border for purposes of analysis, rather than letting the border collapse into itself as a single dividing line. Treating the border as a borderspace or boundary zone cuts through the assertion of a single narrative about lifelong learning and re-surfaces discursively constructed silences and absences. As Sassen (2003: 169) argues,

... analytic moments when two systems of representation intersect ... are easily experienced as spaces of silence, of absence. One challenge is to see what happens in those spaces, what operations (analytic, of power, of meaning) take place there ... these spaces of intersection [are] what I have called analytic borderlands. Why borderlands? Because they are spaces that are constituted in terms of discontinuities; in them discontinuities are given a terrain rather than reduced to a dividing line.

Sassen (2003: 169, 2007) explains that giving discontinuities a terrain shows how intersections pivot on tangible 'circuits for the distribution and installation of economic operations'. These circuits are made up of a wide range of workers, activities, cultural understandings and authority relations that sometimes seem to occupy centre stage and, other times, simply disappear with the narrative of globalisation. In a similar way, the narrative of lifelong learning centres attention on the 'learner' while simultaneously occluding the 'teacher' or treating

teachers as mere infrastructure: delivery mechanisms with more or less quality, efficiency and necessity.

Focusing on the discontinuities in borderlands offers researchers a means of stepping outside narrow mainstream definitions and hegemonic portrayals of ‘the’ economy or education. It makes it possible to see how visible and invisible circuits of labour that install economic or educational activity contribute to the making and remaking of a particular place, such as the educational space-time of 1990s reform when TAFE was remade as VET. These processes of socio-material formation constitute contexts as platforms for action that also make futures.

Researching Contexts

My interest in contexts began when I came to Australia. As a newcomer facing an unfamiliar context, I turned to history and sociology focused by theories of the state to understand Australian education. This line of inquiry into the relation between past, present and future led me towards studies of context that, in the 1980s, were tensioned between structuralism and culturalism (Seddon 1986, 1993). According to structuralist Marxism, social contexts determined social action in ways that were mediated by class location but this analytical frame also created insider–outsider methodological problems: how you could know different sociologies if you were just an outsider who could read structures or just an insider who read interactions.

Through the 1980s, these two sociologies (Dawe 1970) were turned through cultural and historical research. Cultural sociology examined how social relations were mediated through cultural practices (Sapiro 2011). The idea of a text–context relation was interrogated by scholars such as Lukács as a form of text analysis anchored in collective consciousness or social networks. Political sociology focused on the study of social conditions that showed how specifically articulated institutional–individual forms mediated governing practices through the production, distribution, circulation and reception of cultural products (Gramsci 1971). These debates surfaced the cultural politics of education and their deep embedding within social and political orders (Bourdieu 1998).

Systematising these analyses revealed the spatialising effects of social organisation and how spaces of reproduction and possibility emerged within social fields. For example, Raymond Williams (1965: 145) troubled the notion of education as a simple context for students’ learning and teachers’ work. He questioned the idea of ‘education’ as ‘a fixed abstraction, a settled body of teaching and learning ... as if the only problem it presents ... is that of distribution’. Instead, he argued that education was an effect of conscious and unconscious choices about ‘organisation’ and ‘content’ that constituted education as an institutionalised space that realised ‘an active shaping to particular social ends’. Education acts as a ‘context’ for learning because that space entangles organisation and content, the ‘particular selection from culture’, in ways that are designed as means to ends, where the end is making identities that materialise futures.

Historical sociology extends and grounds this contextual perspective on social action as a way of understanding change. Re-reading social and cultural trajectories through the temporal dimension in human affairs shows how action unfolds on the basis of antecedent civilizational complexes: those 'forms of society, culture, polity, religion and economy that ordinarily envelop human beings throughout their lives' (Mandalios 2003: 65). This social and cultural infrastructure means that all action occurs in a 'context': a particular social 'milieu, institutional matrix and medium of meaning' (Seddon 1993: 6). History is therefore made and remade as an effect of 'what people do in the present as a struggle to create a future *out of* the past, of seeing that the past is not just the womb of the present but the only raw material out of which the present can be constructed' (Abrams 1982: 8).

This sociology of becoming recognises that people make history but in different circumstances, from different positionings, and through different networks and narrativity. Struggles to make futures unfold through a space-time as individuals, networks and collectivities engage in bordering and ordering their social spaces and their temporalities. This unfolding makes worlds as humans express gregariousness that takes on 'various colourations according to time, space, symbolism, corporeality, affect structures and long-term social learning processes' (Mandalios 2003: 65).

The challenge in these diverse processes of making spaces for living and expression lies in coordination and cooperation. To address these challenges, societies of all types and scales generate forms of state and develop particular practices of governing. This means every social order also generates its own political order: a social organisation of knowledge and authority that sediments explicit institutional rules and social conventions. These arrangements frame the exercise of coercive, discursive and enabling forms of power (Allen 2003).

Spaces of Governing

I approach analytic borderlands through these practices of governing that colour everyday patterns of coordination and cooperation. From this perspective, a 'context' is a space of governing: a unit of reference that establishes a structural frame within which action and subjective experience unfolds. Practices of governing border and order spaces, making specifically spatialised identities—entities, relationships and cultures (Massey 2005)—as effects of symbolic and social boundary work.

Symbolic boundaries are conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize people, practice, and even time and space. They are tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality... Social boundaries are objectified forms of social difference manifested in unequal access to and unequal distribution of resources (material and non-material) and social opportunities. (Lamont and Molnar 2002: 168)

I use three motifs to elaborate this analytical framework:

Space is relational because it is made through the effects of boundary politics that are anchored by specific material conditions and social relations of domination-subordination. In this respect, a ‘relation’ is a relation of power that systematically frames and forms historical contexts, social organisation and subjectivities; it is not just interactional processes that play through relationships between people. The idea of a ‘class relation’ or ‘gender relation’ is an analytical concept that rests on a methodological choice to reference specifically spatialised historical phenomena that bind disparate and seemingly disconnected events together. In this way, class and gender are not ‘structures’, nor ‘categories’ but something that becomes visible and happens in human relationships.

We cannot have love without lovers, nor deference without squires and labourers. And class happens when some men, as a result of common experiences (inherited or shared), feel and articulate the identity of their interests between themselves, and against other men whose interests are different from (and usually opposed) to theirs. (Thompson 1963: 9)

Social space is made through the practical mediation of worlds constructed through representations and the materialities of ‘real space’ (Lefebvre 1991). This interspace is lived intellectually and practically through a trialectics of space that is tensioned between the space of representations; our perceptions of material space; and lived space that is experienced, felt, and known subjectively and affectively. Massey (2005: 9) summarises her case for space in three propositions. First, space is ‘the product of interrelations’ and is constituted through interactions, ‘from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny’. Second, seeing space relationally means recognising many forms of interaction, multiple voices, logics and directions. Spaces therefore locate ‘multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality’, ‘co-existing heterogeneity’ and ‘distinct trajectories’. Finally, space is always under construction. ‘Without space, no multiplicity; without multiplicity, no space ... Multiplicity and space as co-constitutive’.

An analytic borderland is the entangled ‘sum of the stories-so-far’ (Massey 2005: 9) and ‘place’ is the specific space-time or lived moment where those stories intersect, are contested and contribute to making futures.

Socialities are globalising as historic human relationships embedded in industrial societies melt and morph with effects on social and symbolic borders and orders. Bauman captures this ‘seemingly “novel” phase in the “history of modernity”’ by referencing the industrial revolution as a means of understanding how this ‘liquid modernity’ differs from the antecedent ‘solid modernity’. He argues that the solids now melting are:

the bonds which interlock individual choices in collective projects and actions - the patterns of communication and co-ordination between individually conducted life policies on the one hand and political actions of human collectivities on the other’. (Bauman 2000: 6)

These effects of globalisation reveal national borders as a privileged classificatory system; it defined the space of governing and the infrastructure for imagining within solid modernity. These logics of bordering and ordering produce nation states with their particular 'border regime' that presumed a certain national knowledge culture and ordering of authority. As these national borders melt and become differently permeable, ruptures and new imaginaries appear. Novel forms of bordering and new kinds of spaces materialise and are now both physical and digitised, as well as spaces in-between (Sassen 2007).

These shifting spatialities and differentially permeable border regimes become aligned in various ways with global webs of borders, which exist alongside national border regimes. Each bordering locates particular forms of authority. Public authority was organised through national state-citizen relations, while forms of supra- and sub-national 'private' authority materialised as firms, families, faiths, policy-research networks and social movements. Now these shifting spatialities are de-nationalising national territories, re-culturing national social spaces and dis-embedding national border regimes from their historic national networks of interest, mindsets and the institutional carapace that defined particular nation states.

Geographies of narrativity arise with social spaces and their practices of governing. The historic engaging of peoples through the formation of nation states produced particular social organisation (Brenner 1999) and national knowledge cultures and forms of reasoning (Somers 2008). These geographies manifested through the multiplicity of 'stories-so-far' that were prompted by the bordering and ordering effects of prevailing geometries of power (Massey 2005). National stories rested on particular territorial bordering and ordering of narrativity. These narratives realised and materialised social epistemologies: them-us relations and processes of storying that took tangible form with the construction of 'constellations of relationships (connected parts) embedded in time and space, constituted by causal emplotment' (Somers 1994: 616). The effects of this distinctive kind of cultural-political work' is how:

... we come to know, understand, and make sense of the social world, and it is through narratives and narrativity that we constitute our social identities ... whether [or not] we are social scientists or subjects of historical research, but that all of us come to *be* who we *are* (however ephemeral, multiple, and changing) by being located or locating ourselves (usually unconsciously) in social narratives *rarely of our own making*. (Somers 1994: 606)

Somers (1994) identifies four types of narrativity that congeal to create geographies of narrativity. Framed by specific space-times, individuals produce 'ontological narratives' as they become individuated identities. 'Public narratives' emerge as collective entities (e.g. Nations, organizations, inter-subjective networks) which construct themselves by storying and claiming their knowledge and practice. 'Metanarratives' are produced indirectly, rather than directly, as ontological, public and conceptual narratives circulate through and are

appropriated into another ‘de-narrativised’ forms. De-narrativisation occurs when a narrative is disconnected from the terms and conditions of its formation. Popularised for everyday use, the metanarrative can become a master narrative: governing ‘truths’ that regulate the ‘conduct of conduct’ (Dean and Hindess 1998).

A conceptual narrative differs from the other three types because it uses abstraction and invokes explanatory schema to generate concepts and vocabularies. Knowledge building processes are disciplined by epistemic communities, their procedures and rules of evidence. These networks are a type of ‘private authority’, where knowledge-authority orders become integral to forms of state. This is because their forms of narrativity devise vocabularies that ‘reconstruct and plot over time and space the ontological narratives and relationships of historical actors, the public and cultural narratives that inform their lives, and the crucial intersection of these narratives with the other relevant social forces’ (Somers 1994: 620). Conceptual narrativity informs, sustains and also renews spaces of governing. It is central to the politics of knowledge that currently tension analytic borderlands.

REMAKING TAFE AS VET

Investigating educational boundary politics is a way to understand the shifting practices of governing that are remaking twenty-first-century education (Seddon, forthcoming). I have approached this longitudinal qualitative research project by focusing on the 1990s as a decade of major educational reform in Australia and reflectively reviewing my empirical research to understand changes in adult education policy and practice. This research design means I approach educational spaces as analytic borderlands and, examine how places are tensioned and transformed by the relation between global and national policy–practice trajectories. I focus this work by examining teachers’ work and, to echo Sassen, how circuits for the distribution and installation of educational operations are being re-bordered and reordered through these analytic borderlands where people struggle remake practices of governing, work and learning in ways that secure futures.

I grasp the analytic borderland of TAFE-VET by analysing ‘hotspots of change’ in the global–national reform trajectory (Dürschmidt and Taylor 2007). This methodology provides ‘boreholes’ that offer insights into different historical contexts that entangle established spaces and places of adult education. I illustrate this approach in the next section by re-reading detailed empirical case studies that show how the policy-research space of governing was remade through the discourse of ‘lifelong learning’ and the space of ‘adult education’ in Australia, with effects on the TAFE-VET borderspace, which I illustrate with reference to Streeton Institute of TAFE in Melbourne. Analysing these synchronic entanglements separately and also together in the light of their diachronic effects reveals how boundary politics have effects on the remaking of TAFE as VET.

I use Burson's codification of entanglements to organise this analysis. First, the trajectory of transdiscursive entanglements produce the novel idea of 'learning as performance' that justifies the institutional redesign of adult education and drives change through processes of problematisation and policy learning. Multicultural entanglements shape how this reform agenda recontextualised the space of adult education and affirmed 'learning' as competent performance that referenced employment more than self-development. These contextual narratives reconstruct discursive surfaces and platforms for action with effects on adult educators, their visions of 'lifelong education' and their scope for bounded autonomy. Tracing the diachronic entanglements that played between these terms and conditions reveals novel spaces and places that textured the remaking of TAFE as VET through its institutional arrangements, vocabularies and meanings. Given constraints of word length I limit historical detail in order to foreground the relation between synchronic and diachronic entanglements.

'LIFELONG LEARNING': TRANSDISCURSIVE ENTANGLEMENTS

The discourse of 'lifelong learning' prioritises 'learning' over historic national discourses of 'education' and secures it as governing knowledge in debates about social change. This transdiscursive entanglement unfolded as social scientists developed conceptual narratives to account for societal trends. For example, Donald Schön (1971) advocated reflexive learning to address the 'end of the stable state'. Robert Hutchins (1970) argued for university education that would not prepare people for fixed social orders but encourage more flexible learning processes. This discourse became 'governing knowledge' (Fenwick et al. 2014) as global policy agencies and governments picked up these ideas to imagine twenty-first-century learning as *The Treasure Within* (Delors 1996).

The discourse of 'learning' anchors this transdiscursive entanglement. The Delors Report, published by UNESCO, conceptualised 'lifelong education' as a 'necessary utopia' anchored by four pillars—learning to live together, learning to know, learning to do and learning to be. As the authors explained:

In confronting the many challenges that the future holds in store, humankind sees in education an indispensable asset in its attempt to attain the ideals of peace, freedom and social justice. As it concludes its work, the Commission affirms its belief that education has a fundamental role to play in personal and social development. The Commission does not see education as a miracle cure or a magic formula opening the door to a world in which all ideals will be attained, but as one of the principal means available to foster a deeper and more harmonious form of human development and thereby to reduce poverty, exclusion, ignorance, oppression and war. (Delors 1998: 11)

But this learning turn became 'the learning turn' as humanist narratives were recontextualised through economic discourses that referenced the global

knowledge economy. These conceptual narratives positioned learning as an economic resource in a re-narrated economic history of the world. For example, an OECD conference on the Knowledge Economy spoke past compartmentalised national histories of firms and forms of education and instead presented ‘learning’ as the motor of change. The performance of learning was the fundamental ‘spiral movement, where tacit is transformed into codified knowledge, followed by a movement back to practice’ (Foray and Lundvall 1996: 22). This knowledge production realised innovation when ‘learning’ went hand in hand with ‘forgetting’: the ‘crucial and necessary element in the process of creative destruction. Unless we can forget the old ways of doing things, new procedures will be blocked’ (Foray and Lundvall 1996: 19).

Travelling Ideas

Codified ideas like ‘learning’ travel easily, being taken up by different epistemic communities and spread across national borders. But travelling also fuels conceptual and political debates. Recontextualising education as ‘learning’ shifts definitions of the ‘actor’, institutional rules that define a ‘context’, and how those rules create positive and negative sanctions to steer change. Rational actor theory assumes individuals are motivated by self-interest and choose courses of action that benefit them in terms of their desires for economic gain (e.g. money, goods, the enjoyment of services) or social acceptance (e.g. status, regard, affection, gratitude) (Pettit 1996). By contrast, other social and political theories saw individuals as institutionally grounded and culturally embedded social actors. Their action is not only a consequence of rational choices but also dialogue around historical traditions, loyalties, norms and values that enable the formation of collectives in organised social life (Granovetter 1983).

These policy-research debates introduce two novel ideas: first, ‘competence’ or the tangible effect of ‘learning’ as performance; and second, the possibility of reimaging rational institutional design (Kuhn 2007). These debates between old and new institutionalisms tensioned different understandings of neoliberalism as a political rationality that governs the relation between state and market. These debates unfolded through specific geographies of narrativity. As Lundvall (2010) argues, the individualism of Anglo-American market theorists overlooks the significance of institutions and institutional embeddedness. Market individualism presumes a neoliberal political rationality that subordinates states to individual market choice, while European neoliberalism pursues the idea of a socially embedded but governable social market (Lemke 2001).

The translation of these travelling ideas into implementation processes unfold through but also differentially entangle Anglosphere and Eurosphere geographies of governing. This has produced three alternative logics of institutional redesign:

Designed markets: Market design orders education using two questions: the supply question, ‘who should deliver training and how?’; and the demand question, ‘who should buy training, and why?’ (Cooney 2008). These questions apply to market design irrespective of what is traded and simplify design

processes by making rational actor assumptions about the way buyers and sellers behave. The challenge in market design is to establish 'rules of the game' that establish incentives and sanctions, and account for risk in ways that can secure coordination and cooperation (Karmel et al. 2009).

Networks and governance: Market design encourages contracts that dictate precise terms and efficiencies that favour simple products, but contractualism is limited by complex problems (Considine et al. 2009). Recognising institutional embeddedness shows how institutional redesign is secured through networks, trusted social ties and social capital (Putnam 1993). Organised partnerships permit coordination but depend on cooperation. They offer 'democratic anchoring' but also unpredictable effects because, without privileged authority, cooperation depends on networking multiple voices, considerable cultural diversity and a variety of decision-making centres (Rhodes 1996).

Knowledge-based regulation: Governance frameworks designed to manage complex networks can address limits of market coordination and unpredictable networks (Kickert et al. 1997). This 'post-bureaucratic' design logic secures coordination and cooperation not through command, but agreements where trust and legitimacy are negotiated through open and transparent information exchanges between stakeholders (Maroy 2012). The design of the governance framework materialises knowledge-based regulatory instruments—targets, standards and evidence—and steer work and learning towards specified service, process, and governance outcomes (Considine et al. 2009). This exercise of 'soft power' constitutes actionable spaces but also bounds participant's autonomy within their predefined parameters (Lawn 2006).

These transdiscursive entanglements unfold as policymakers turn problems towards actionable solutions but they also diversify as ideas travel across different geographies of policy translation.

'ADULT EDUCATION': MULTICULTURAL ENTANGLEMENTS

The trajectory of adult education shifts from TAFE to VET as transdiscursive entanglements materialise through governing knowledge, reform agenda and institutional change. But governmental discourses come up against multicultural entanglements as different networks deploy epistemic and experiential vocabularies to secure their political interests. 'Lifelong learning' became the global-national form of governing knowledge, but these travelling ideas were debated, translated and dispersed by distinct networks anchored in technical education and more feminised further education that occupied the Australian space of adult education and its state-federal politics.

The development of TAFE as a space-time fixed, resourced and cultured a boundary zone tensioned between education and work. Its institutional mandate targeted education and training for younger and older adults who had left school but did not attend universities. It combined manpower planning for economic development and an educational and social approach, which focused on people as individuals, their development with reference to job opportunities,

and how education enabled them to earn a livelihood (Fleming 1994: 50). This vision of ‘learning to be’ through practice underpinned TAFE territory and its imagined form of ‘lifelong education’. But in the 1980s, Australia looked to Europe for solutions to global transitions that limited social democratic government.

Remaking Educational Knowledge

Facing free market Thatcherism, Reaganism and conservative Australia, the Labor Commonwealth government (1983–1996) negotiated an Accord between governments, industry and unions. This corporatist move involved union and industry in a fact-finding mission to Western Europe that examined how medium-sized vulnerable economies were dealing with the pressures of globalising economies. Supported by Trade Minister John Dawkins, the Commonwealth committed to *Australia Reconstructed* (ACTU/TDC 1987): a consensus-based approach to economic reform, with education implicated through active labour market policies and wages policy.

The National Training Reform Agenda in Australia translated ‘lifelong learning’ into actionable effects through the idea of ‘learning’ as competence. The Deveson Review (1990: 89) into the costs of training defined ‘competence’ as ‘the ability to perform the activities within an occupation or function to the standard expected in employment’. The element of competence ‘describes what can be done: action, behaviour or outcome, which a person should be able to demonstrate’. The unit of competence is the bundle of elements that ‘make sense to and are valued by employees and employers’. The effect of these definitions was to position ‘skill’, the ‘ability to perform a task’, as pivotal in a social democratic politics focused on economic development that also aimed to secure a social safety net.

This cultural–material nexus between education and training, and industry, wages and social reform made the redesign of education thinkable, but also challenged established Australian mindsets. It was tackled through activist government that moved towards a form of network governance through a novel ‘national space’ of education policy (Rizvi and Lingard 2010).

Remaking Educational Governance

This trajectory of institutional redesign has the effect of linking economic and educational reform through governing knowledge. The idea of ‘competence’, subsequently ‘learning outcomes’, normalised institutional practices, re-cultured common sense and remade spaces of education. The reform agenda was implemented through knowledge-based regulatory technologies (e.g. Australian Qualifications Framework; Australian and New Zealand Standard Classifications of Occupations; and international benchmarking via the Program for International Assessment).

Australia was not just a policy borrower. 'Learning' became governing knowledge through transdiscursive entanglements that were compounded by mobilities and flows across national borders. One 'indigenous foreigner' (Popkewitz 2000: 10), symbolically bridging and normalising global–national entanglements, was Labor Minister John Dawkins. He is identified as a 'major policy entrepreneur', participating as the Trade Minister in the OECD's 1984 *Competence and cooperation* conference and sponsoring the mission that produced *Australia Reconstructed* as a blueprint for reform (Ryan 2014: 8). As the Education Minister (1987–1991), Dawkins' global–national entanglements facilitated the generalisation of 'learning' across all sectors of Australian education and training (Dawkins 1988a, b).

But recontextualising educational space with reference to the global knowledge economy rather than nation states intensifies struggles over implementation of reform. The Commonwealth worked towards a national governance framework through contentious negotiations between industry, unions and state–federal government networks, which thrust government agencies into unfamiliar intergovernmental spaces. Faced with state–federal and industry–education conflicts, states fiercely defended their education systems despite pressures for institutional redesign. A competency-based approach was formalised, along with proposals for participation targets and key competencies, but a 1992 proposal for federal take-over of the TAFE sector failed. Where 'the Commonwealth pictured its proposal as a technical efficiency enhancement, ... state ministers invoked states' rights and spoke of "East German style central planning"' (Ryan 2014: 12).

Multicultural entanglements undid the implementation of transdiscursive global–national governing knowledge. Negotiated resolutions meant educational concerns were relayed through state governments within a model of 'executive federalism' (Ryan 2014). But each state translated these educational concerns in the light of their own problems in navigating global transitions, and established histories and educational cultures, in which party political alignments were significant. This incomplete governance framework meant TAFE became VET because of pragmatic State and Territory politics, federal funding regimes and 'improvement logics' mainly focused on lifelong economic roles and responsibilities, rather than lifelong long political duties and entitlements (Wyn 2009).

'LIFELONG EDUCATION': DIACHRONIC ENTANGLEMENTS

The trajectory towards lifelong learning and its incomplete institutionalisation as a governance framework produces an unfinished transition, unstable historical contexts and persistent pragmatic politics. But these transdiscursive and multicultural entanglements also diversified politics as lifelong learning reforms were relayed and re-imagined by individuals and organisations, such as TAFE Institutes, across Australia. In the State of Victoria, executive federalism combined with an activist Liberal–National (i.e. Conservative) Government (1992–1999), creating governing knowledge that drove market reform in the TAFE sector.

At Streecon Institute of TAFE in metropolitan Melbourne, Director Barry Klein faced decentralisation and public sector reform, and intensified demands for competitive market reform and industry responsiveness. Barry addressed government demands for annual productivity gains by pursuing an aggressively entrepreneurial approach. He adjusted TAFE's way of doing business by extending the market design imposed by government to Streecon's internal organisation. It avoided '12 staff out the door tomorrow' by

... empowering the people to do the job ... what it actually means in real life is that we have a contract with each of the departments and divisions in this place to deliver numbers of student contact hours which the government fund. We also allow them to do any business they like in the way of utilising their resources and they keep the profit out of that business. ... It's been successful to the point that each one of the divisions cuts each other's throat to survive.

Disturbing Work

But this market vision challenges the TAFE imaginary of lifelong education and, at Streecon, 'learning to be' became a force for collective action. Identity politics coalesced through networks shaped by historic technical and adult education traditions, TAFE staff's own work biographies and as staff learned-through-working to make sense of their workplace, its hierarchies and attitudes to the emerging entrepreneurial culture.

Commercialisation meant changing roles. Harry Urqhart, associate director of Engineering, recalled that heads of department used to teach and manage, but the restructure stripped teacherly connections from managerial roles. Harry experienced increased pay, administrative support and status, but Geoff Ingham lost status as a humanities teacher when the humanities department closed. Harry supported Streecon's new directions, but Geoff was scathing about the entrepreneurial culture:

... 'we're not here because we want to be salespeople. We're here because many of us want to be *Teachers*. Now you're asking us to become commercial, to look at the cost-benefits and all that sort of thing - to balance the sheets, and that's not what we're here for, that's not where our mentality lies.

Them-us divisions intensified with market-based redesign and staff read change in the light of their own industry and educational identifications. John Munro worked with a private engineering firm and public research organisation before joining Streecon, but could see how managers and teachers understandings of their work differed.

According to [managers], teachers are a pack of work-shy no-hopers that couldn't hold down a job in industry. Look, I've had it said to me by the director ... at the time, I was running myself ragged at the weekend [and] couldn't have coped with

any more industry work ... but that is their perception of us ... they're always using that word, 'teacher culture' but, to my mind, there is a teacher culture and [it] is professional. We're here to give education, not training; education to kids, or adults.

Gender divisions institutionalised in TAFE through the 1974 reforms had propelled technical education identities into management, consolidating an influential network. Barry Klein's entrepreneurial culture meant both engineering and art had excess teaching capacity. But the restructure supported Engineering to extend fee-for-service and international work, while permanent art staff faced redundancies. Ursula Norris in Art joked: 'There's an engineer. We'll slot him in here. There's an artist—Oh look, no slot! Right. Cut the funding!'

Re-imagining Knowledge-Based Regulation

Networks at Streecon created workplace divisions and decentralised centres of power. But the governance framework rested on governing knowledge defined by the competitive market structure and management hierarchy. This historical context meant staff experienced different patterns of bounded autonomy and limited institutional cooperation necessary for effective coordination of the Streecon space and its educational operations.

However, this governance context also unlocked existing relationships and organisation and, through knowledge-based regulatory tools, made novel cultural resources available. Where them—us divisions troubled the legitimacy of teacher and manager networks, some departments found ways of materialising these emergent terms and conditions as workplace innovations. For example, Lisa Gordon, in hairdressing, was enthusiastic because her department had abandoned traditional classrooms and renovated the space as a model salon.

We want it to be like industry. We don't want this insular little classroom where you have twelve little students all doing twelve little things all at the same time. That's not what they're doing on a salon floor. This classroom is as close to a salon as we can humanly get. It's got the noise. It's got the activity. It's got the multi-activity as far as different services going on.

It was funding cuts and reduced staff that prompted innovation in the animal care department. With only three permanent teachers left, most teaching was by sessional staff who also worked in the animal care industry. They had little experience of pedagogy but brought up-to-date industry experience into the department. Jim Stevens, the assistant head of department, used these epistemic and experiential resources to navigate the restructure as 'an educator ... not an external statistician'. Staff shared educational expertise by computerising teaching resources and assessment strategies, and turned industry expertise to their advantage: opening up pedagogical discussions with sessional staff and identifying opportunities to build relationships with the wider industry.

In this way, Streecon's restructure provided an infrastructure for re-imagining lifelong education that reconciled educational and entrepreneurial ethics. A teacher noted, the department

... *has* become a business ... to survive you have to [provide] education to the client who, from a policy point of view, is industry, but from the educator's point of view is the people that come in here on a daily basis. I think it's wrestling with that - trying to keep industry happy but making sure that we treat our customers not as customers or as clients, but ... in a broad sort of educational perspective. I mean, we really do see them as people and, sure, we have to justify our existence under policy, but they are still people with problems, people with issues, and, from an educational perspective, that's just as important as meeting the demands of industry. (Emphasis included)

TOWARDS SUSTAINABLE LIFELONG EDUCATION

In this chapter, I suggest 'adult education', 'lifelong learning' and 'lifelong education' each represents a cultural-material trajectory within the larger politics of social change. These trajectories all occupy space and time, unfolding through relational spaces where networks, forms of reasoning, and patterns of social and cultural boundary work govern the sum of the stories-so-far. It is the entanglements between these trajectories and their boundary politics that establish contexts: platforms for action and infrastructures for imagining that form identities and how they engage with the ongoing work of making educational spaces for the future.

These entangled trajectories are governed by geometries of power. They are anchored by lived histories of class and gender, and processes of social positioning that secure particular ways of knowing from somewhere. These different ways of being a policy maker, manager or educator frame how, and with what effects, these inhabitants manage uncertainties, secure livelihoods and cultures, and realise societies that show radically different opportunities for sustainability and social justice.

Each of these cultural material trajectories takes on particular meanings and plays a different part in the remaking of contemporary adult education. Investigating the effects of these trajectories with reference to analytic global-national borderlands, the contemporary form of adult education in de-nationalising nation states, reveals the meanings of three concepts as follows:

'Adult education' is the institutionalised space of education for adults, where space-time boundaries are contingent on a particular governing-learning regime. Adult education is no longer necessarily national or separated from the world of work but is unfolding as globally distributed spaces of working and learning. The space of adult education operates through standalone organisations and also organisational forms integrated into workplaces, community settings and social webs, through cultures that are increasingly transnational, and manifest at different national, supra-national, sub-national scales.

'Lifelong learning' is the political rationality that steers policy problem making and institutional design that distinguishes the late twentieth century learning turn in education policy. It emerged alongside debates between rational actor theories and understandings of institutional embeddedness but also morphed as the limits of market design and the methodological discounting of institutional embeddedness became apparent. While rational actor assumptions still prevail in the late 2010s, the locus of governing has shifted away from strict market coordination to also address challenges of cooperation and legitimacy.

'Lifelong education' identifies a 'necessary utopia' in the realisation of adult education and in politics where political rationalities of institutional redesign are negotiated. The idea of lifelong education articulated through the Delors report seemed to get lost in the negotiations that remade adult education framed by the 'lifelong learning' turn in education policy. Instead market imaginaries prevailed and, in Australia, the discursive politics of market individualism made it difficult to surface normative projects.

This entangled history of adult education and its emergent drive for perpetual learning is now forming identities that will make our future. This historical trajectory raises questions about the limits of *educational* space-times: how, to what extent and in what ways can the necessary utopia of lifelong education shift away from the normative project of 'learning to be' and still be considered 'education'?

REFERENCES

- Abrams, P. (1982). *Historical sociology*. Shepton Mallet: Open Books.
- ACTU/TDC. (1987). *Australia reconstructed: ACTU/TDC mission to Western Europe*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Allen, J. (2003). Power. In J. Agnew, K. Mitchell, & G. Toal (Eds.). *A companion to political geography*. Malden: Blackwell.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bonnell, V. E., & Hunt, L. (1999). *Beyond the cultural turn*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1998). *Practical reason: On the theory of action*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Brenner, N. (1999). Beyond state-centrism? Space, territoriality, and geographical scale in globalization studies. *Theory and Society*, 28, 39–78.
- Burson, J. D. (2013). Entangled history and the scholarly concept of enlightenment. *Contributions to the History of Concepts*, 8(2), 1–24.
- Considine, M., Lewis, J. M., & Damon, A. (2009). *Networks, innovation and public policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cooney, M. (2008). *A better design of the market for vocational education and training in Australia? A discussion*. Melbourne: PerCapita.
- Dawe, A. (1970). The two sociologies. *British Journal of Sociology*, 21(2), 207–218.
- Dawkins, J. (1988a). *Higher education: A policy statement*. Canberra: AGPS.
- Dawkins, J. (1988b). *Strengthening Australia's schools*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Dean, M., & Hindess, B. (1998). *Governing Australia: Studies in contemporary rationalities of government*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- de Certeau, M. (1988). *The writing of history*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Delors, J. (1996). *Learning, the treasure within: Report to UNESCO of the international commission on education for the twenty-first century*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Deveson, I. (1990). *Training costs of award restructuring*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service. Available from: NCVER [15/11/15].
- Dürschmidt, J., & Taylor, G. (2007). *Globalization, modernity and social change: Hotspots of transition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fenwick, T., Mangez, E., & Ozga, J. (2014). *Governing knowledge, world yearbook of education 2014*. London: Routledge.
- Fleming, P. (1994). The Kangan report: Context, philosophy and strategies. In P. Kearns & W. Hall (Eds.), *Kangan 20 years on*. Adelaide: NCVER.
- Foray, D., & Lundvall, B.-A. (1996). The knowledge-based economy: From the economics of knowledge to the learning economy. *Employment and growth in the knowledge-based economy* (pp. 11–32). Paris: OECD.
- Goozee, G. (1993). *The development of TAFE in Australia*. Adelaide: NCVER.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Granovetter, M. (1983). The strength of weak ties: Network theory revisited. *Sociological Theory*, 1, 201–233.
- Hutchins, R. M. (1970). *The learning society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Karmel, T., Beddie, F., & Dawe, S. (2009). *Competition in the training market*. Adelaide: NCVER.
- Kickert, W. J. M., Klijn, E.-H., & Koppenjan, J. F. M. (1997). *Managing complex networks*. London: Sage.
- Kuhn, M. (2007). *New society models for a new millennium*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Lamont, M., & Molnar, V. (2002). The study of boundaries in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 167–195.
- Lawn, M. (2006). Soft governance and the learning spaces of Europe. *Comparative European Politics*, 4(2–3), 272–288.
- Lefebvre, H. (1991). *The production of space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lemke, T. (2001). “The birth of bio-politics”: Michel Foucault’s lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality. *Economy and Society*, 30(2), 190–207.
- Lundvall, B.-A. (2010). *National systems of innovation toward a theory of innovation and interactive learning*. London: Anthem Press.
- Mandalios, J. (2003). Civilizational complexes and processes. In G. Delanty & E. F. Isin (Eds.), *Handbook of historical sociology*. London: Sage.
- Maroy, C. (2012). Towards post-bureaucratic modes of governance. In G. Steiner-Khamsi & F. Waldow (Eds.), *Policy borrowing and lending in education, 2012 World Yearbook of Education*. London: Routledge.
- Massey, D. (2005). *For space*. London: Sage.
- Milana, M., Webb, S., Waller, R., & Jarvis, P. (Eds.). (forthcoming). *Handbook of adult and lifelong education and learning*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Neale, B., & Flowerdew, J. (2003). Time, texture and childhood: The contours of longitudinal qualitative research. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 6(3), 189–199.
- Pettit, P. (1996). Institutional design and rational choice. In R. E. Goodin (Ed.), *Theory of institutional design*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Popkewitz, T. S. (2000). *Educational knowledge: Changing relationships between the state, civil society and the educational community*. New York: SUNY.
- Putnam, R. (1993). *Making democracy work*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

- Rhodes, R. A. W. (1996). *New governance: Governing without government* (pp. 652–667). XLIV: Political Studies.
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. London: Routledge.
- Ryan, R. (2014). *How VET responds: A historical policy perspective*. Adelaide: NCVER.
- Sapiro, G. (2011). Comparativism, transfers, entangled history. In A. Behdad & D. Thomas (Eds.), *Companion to comparative literature*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Sassen, S. (2003). Analytic borderlands: Economy and culture in the global city. In G. Bridge & S. Watson (Eds.), *A companion to the city*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sassen, S. (2007). *Sociology of globalization*. New York: Norton.
- Schön, D. A. (1971). *Beyond the stable state*. London: Maurice Temple Smith.
- Seddon, T. (1986). Education and social change: A critique of contextualism. *Australian Journal of Education*, 30(2), 150–167.
- Seddon, T. (1993). *Context and beyond: Reframing the theory and practice of education*. London: Falmer.
- Seddon, T. (forthcoming). *Liquid learning and educational work: Boundary politics in global transitions*. London: Routledge.
- Somers, M. R. (1994). The narrative constitution of identity: A relational and network approach. *Theory and Society*, 23, 605–649.
- Somers, M. R. (2008). *Genealogies of citizenship*. New York: Cambridge University.
- Spiegel, G. M. (2007). Revising the past/revisiting the present: How change happens in historiography. *History and Theory*, 46, 1–19.
- State Training Board. (1994). *Strategic directions for vocational education and training*. Melbourne: State Training Board.
- Thompson, E. P. (1963). *The making of the English working class*. London: Victor Gollancz.
- Williams, R. (1965). *The long revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Wyn, J. (2009). *Touching the future: Building skills for life and work*. Melbourne: ACER Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Terri Seddon Professor, sociologist and passionate adult educator, believes in education as a fundamental human right and enabler of change in everyday life. Joint editor of the *Routledge World Yearbook of Education*, which has focused on the globalisation of education since 2006, she approaches adult learning and changes in work and education through a global–national frame of reference. She recently published “Sustainable development and social learning: Re-contextualising the space of orientation” (*International Review of Education*, 62(5), 563–586, 2016).

Limit Situations. Adult Education and Critical Awareness Raising

Danny Wildemeersch

Abstract Awareness raising has often been a major ambition in adult education practices. Participants are expected to become critical about societal and political issues, as a result of educational interventions. However, in such practices, inequality rather than emancipation is often achieved. Rancière's notion of 'equality of intelligence' is presented as a possible way out of this paradox. When the assumption of equality of intelligence is taken as a point of departure in the educational process, the participants have the opportunity to take their emancipation in their own hands. Adult education practices, inspired by such approach, inevitably include an important degree of insecurity. Such uncertainty is not necessarily unfavourable. On the contrary, it can be considered as an inevitable feature of 'good' critical practices.

INTRODUCTION

Awareness raising has been one of the major concerns of many adult education practices. These concerns are often related to issues articulated by various social movements, such as workers movements, environmental movements, women's movements, literacy movements, and civil rights movements. It has often been taken for granted, in adult education circles, that these movements have brought emancipation and that adult education can contribute to the positive effects. Awareness raising has also, for a long time, been part of many policy initiatives to foster active and responsible citizenship, reduce poverty, stimulate rural development, and organize urban planning, and so on. International agencies such as the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural

D. Wildemeersch (✉)
KU Leuven, Laboratory for Education and Society,
Vesaliusstraat 2, B 3000 Louvain, Belgium
e-mail: Danny.wildemeersch@ppw.kuleuven.be

Organisation (UNESCO) and the World Bank have increasingly adopted the discourse of participation as a mean to empower people and take responsibility for their own lives. In these policy initiatives, adult educators have often played a role as facilitators of participatory processes. I personally have engaged in such participatory activities throughout my professional career as an adult education practitioner and researcher. In recent years, however, the optimism about the emancipatory effects of such initiatives and about discourses of awareness raising has been questioned. The doubts also influenced my own thinking and research practice. The increased uncertainty about some of the taken-for-granted positive effects has created, what Paulo Freire called, a limit situation. In his view, limit situations are ‘not the impossible boundaries where possibilities end, but the real boundaries where all possibilities begin’ (Freire 1972: 71)¹. Taking this hopeful perspective as a point of departure for this contribution, I engage in this chapter in an exploration of some of the assumptions that have often directed emancipatory practices in general and my own research practices in particular in different parts of the world. Paulo Freire and Jacques Rancière are key informants in this reflection, whereby their commonalities as well as their differences are examined. The point of departure of these investigations is some of my own attempts as an action-researcher to contribute to practices of critical awareness raising. In the next step, I explore why some of these emancipatory ambitions did not work out as expected. Rancière helps to understand this when pointing to the counterproductive effects of awareness raising practices, be they educational, artistic or political of nature. The main paradox he identifies is that, in spite of the good intentions, in many of these practices a ‘master explicator’ installs dependency and inequality rather than emancipation and equality, with ‘stultification’ of the participant as a consequence. A way out of this paradox is a practice that does not aim to achieve emancipation at the end of the process, but takes emancipation as an assumption from the start. And by emancipation, Rancière understands ‘equality of intelligence’ between the facilitator and the participant. With this idea of emancipation Rancière distances himself from many ‘modern’ pedagogues, even progressive ones. These insights create a radical new perspective on practices of awareness raising in the North as well as in the South. In the final section of this contribution, I argue that emancipatory practices inevitably include an important degree of contingency, when the emancipation of the participant is assumed as a point of departure, rather than an end term, in the practice of adult education.

READING THE WOR(L)D

Paulo Freire has situated his theory and practice of literacy education mainly in the context of the so-called developing countries during the 60s, 70s and 80s. He related his pedagogy to analysis of the oppressive mechanisms in society and wanted his educational work to contribute to the liberation of the victims of this oppression. To him, a critical interpretation of the spoken and written word and

of the world together with an active exploration of alternative ways of speaking and acting, was an essential part of literacy education. ‘To surmount the situation of oppression, men must first critically recognize its causes, so that through transforming action they can create a new situation—one which makes possible the pursuit of a fuller humanity’ (Freire 1972: 24). Inspired by these ideas, I engaged in the beginning of the eighties in an action-research initiative focusing on the living conditions in a poor neighbourhood in Leuven (Belgium). In this context, together with an urban planner, I invited a small group of inhabitants to form a street committee and to reflect together on the living conditions inside and outside their houses. The action research was meant to bring about a conscientisation process among the participants, in line with Freire’s ideas. To him conscientisation is a process of awareness raising that also involves the analysis of the broader, structural mechanisms behind the experienced limitations and contradictions.

When men lack a critical understanding of their reality, apprehending it in fragments which they do not perceive as interacting constituent elements of the whole, they cannot truly know that reality. To know it truly, they would have to revise their starting point: they would need to have a total vision of the context in order to subsequently separate and isolate its constituent elements and by means of this analysis to achieve a clearer perception of the whole. (Freire 1972:76)

Following further Freire’s methodology, we engaged in an action-research process for several months. The inhabitants were invited to discuss and make proposals for neighbourhood improvements. Simultaneously we gathered various kinds of information (through interviews and participatory observation) about how the participants experienced their living conditions and about the awareness raising process. Many individual and group stories were recorded as part of a ‘thematic investigation’, and thereafter codified in discussion posters. Codifications are, according to Freire, representations of the way people interpret their world. They also include ‘generative themes’ that help to bring deeper layers of analysis to the stories. In a next stage of the action-research process, the discussion posters were presented to the members of the street-committee and we spent some meetings on the so-called de-codification of the posters. The aim of that step in the process was to deepen and broaden the analysis for the participants ‘to achieve a clearer perception of the whole’, as suggested in Paulo Freire’s quote mentioned above. The participants were expected to connect their own stories to the housing and urban planning policies in a critical way, thereby engaging in an emancipatory process of reflection and action. In spite of the fact that there was a continued commitment of the participants in the initiative over a longer time, the de-codification process did not really meet the expectations of the researchers. I came to the following conclusions (Wildemeersch 1985: 386).

- The participants of the street committee hardly realized that the discussion posters were based on their narratives collected during the previous months, since the design of the posters had been a solitary activity by the researcher; the opportunity was missed to involve the participants actively in the design process.
- The selection of the themes was mainly based on quantitative rather than on qualitative criteria which created an overload of information on the posters.
- We had hoped that the re-ordering of the themes through the codification and decodification process would have enough problem-posing potential, which apparently was not the case.
- The discussion posters stirred little controversy because of the scrupulous attempts of the researcher/ animator to remain 'objective' (neutral), whereas Freire framed his research in the normative frame of oppression.
- The objective to raise 'critical awareness' or 'emancipation' among the participants was not achieved, at least not in the way the organizers had expected.

Following the Leuven experiment, an intensive new project took place in 1982–1983 in 'the Rupelstreek', a region in Flanders, struggling with industrial decay and intensive environmental problems. Together with community organizations, a vast group of volunteers, and a group of filmmakers, a video film was made about the past, the present and the future of the region. The process took 8 months. The production, called 'The Rupelstreek between anger and hope', was again inspired by the Freirian pedagogical vision and methodology (Wildemeersch 1984). The video film was conceived as a large codification of the narratives of inhabitants of the region. From the beginning till the end some sixty volunteers collaborated in the project, as interviewers, interviewees, co-producers, co-designers, debaters, raconteurs, and so on. The editing of the film took place on the premises of a community centre and some inhabitants took the opportunity to co-direct this process. The project finished, with viewing sessions at several occasions and in different places, which were again conceived as moments of decodification. The main findings about the process of this initiative were the following (Wildemeersch 1985: 454–471, *passim*):

- The video film thematised the many contradictions in the region regarding the interpretation of future solutions (industrial vs. ecological scenarios).
- The collaboration was intense, participatory, committed and loyal, in spite of the divergent opinions and interests.
- The process eventually appeared to be more important than the product; the video film was not really used as an awareness raising instrument in the communities, after the final presentation; the awareness raising had mainly taken place during the process, in combination with various other actions of community organization.

- From a scientific point of view, this time, there was less concern about the ‘objectivity’ of the research activities, since the researchers were less scrupulous (than in the Leuven case) about remaining neutral.

However, also in this case, some limitations both about the process and the product of the initiative emerged. The academic context of the action research had some consequences. There was a continuous, however, latent uncertainty about the extent in which the course of the research could be influenced by the subjects of the research. Also, the pedagogic orientation of the research had some limitations. It was not obvious to engage in a ‘real’ Freirian dialogue, renouncing in practice the traditional role of the master organizer of process and outcome. Apart from that, it was not so evident to create a direct link between the pedagogic action and the social action. Thus, most tensions were related to, on one hand, the commitment to objectifying research, whilst at the same time being loyal to the emancipatory ambitions of critical pedagogy. Such tensions and limitations are probably experienced by all researchers who are prepared to work ‘with’ the people, rather than ‘on’ the people or ‘for’ the people.

PARADOXES OF EMANCIPATION

Some of these findings kept on puzzling me the years after I finished that research. The doubts were also expressed by other authors, particularly from the eighties and nineties onwards. An influential paper to me in this respect was one by Ellsworth (1989), questioning some of the assumptions and practices of critical pedagogy. She wondered why she herself failed to realize empowerment as one of the crucial dimensions of a critical, anti-racist pedagogy. Her teaching paradoxically seemed to bring about new forms of exclusion and dependency rather than emancipation.

I found myself struggling against (struggling to unlearn) key assumptions and assertions of current literature on critical pedagogy, and straining to recognize, name and come to grips with crucial issues of classroom practice that critical pedagogy cannot and will not address. (1989: 303)

She even concluded that some of these key assumptions about critical awareness raising functioned as ‘repressive myths’. Also, Usher and colleagues (1997) influentially contributed to this debate. In line with the French post-structuralists, they examined the humanistic and enlightenment assumptions of traditional adult education approaches.

For many, the experience of Reason’s Dream has been a matter of disillusionment and disconfirmation with the Dream becoming a nightmare. The humanistic project of education is itself questionable for manifestly the ‘grand narratives’ which provide its rationale benefit the few with the cost being paid most obviously by women, black people and the poor. (Kosmidou and Usher 1992: 88)

However, this critical questioning did not result in a rejection of emancipatory practices, but rather implied an invitation to move beyond the limits and to engage in a dialogue about the core concepts of adult education theory such as ‘progress’ and ‘emancipation’. ‘As such, we cannot simply step out of them by an act of will or by analytical argument. The message therefore is that we should open ourselves to the humanistic tradition and engage in critical dialogue with it in order to recognize what is still of value whilst understanding that its emancipatory message often becomes another version of the search for certainty and control with oppressive consequences’ (ibid.: 88–89).

Since that time, both the more classical and the more sceptical perspectives on critical pedagogy have continued to inspire theorists and practitioners of adult education. We brought these perspectives together in an intensive discussion and in a book on ‘adult education and social responsibility’ (Wildemeersch et al. 2000). Authors like Jarvis (2000) and Welton (2000) defended the classical emancipatory role of adult education, in close connection with social movements and institutional provision. Others like Edwards and Usher (2000) and Masschelein (2000) presented more sceptical views. However, these contributions did not result in a critical dialogue as Usher had suggested. Various authors, such as Henry Giroux (1988) and Peter McLaren (1993) who considered themselves to be the custodians and innovators of Freirian teaching, particularly in the US, continued to disseminate concepts of ‘critical pedagogy’ without critically questioning some of the paradoxes related to their own practices. On the other side, there were sometimes fierce critiques on these positions. An echo of those critiques was recently formulated by Savage, a young Australian pedagogue, mainly working with adolescent people. According to him texts of authors as Giroux and others generate

a kind of Mr. Fix-it attitude towards everyday cultural life, which reeks of condescension, but also obscures the dialectic relationship between individuals and their cultures, *devalues* rather than celebrates, and arrogantly understands critical pedagogues as the central locus of educational change. (2010: 111)

Savage’s sharp critique essentially argues that many of the critical pedagogical theories and their related practices, often reflect a deficiency orientation, taking the deficits of the participants as a point of departure for the practices of awareness raising. We previously expressed a similar concern as follows:

On one hand, opportunities for social participation, personal development and self-help are in the present set-up largely dependent on the appropriate qualifications to cope with our ‘economized’ society. From that perspective, adult education cannot but underline the importance of qualification for the livelihood of its target groups, and adjust its programmes to meet the needs and motives formulated by the participants. On the other hand...it thus (re)produces and individualizes at the same time (new) forms of social inequality and exclusion, even when including personal development into its qualification processes. After all, it confirms the dominant criteria for socially useful knowledge, attitudes and skills

when it refers to the underprivileged categories' lack of it, and thus 'explains' their lower social position. Based on that *deficiency orientation*, a *categorical, negatively formulated social identity* is attributed to them. (Jansen and Wildemeersch 1996: 332–333)

Recently, Maarten Simons and Jan Masschelein came to a similar conclusion. The exclusion of various groups in society, as defined by experts, 'is not a manifestation of a 'wrong', but is translated into deficiencies causing a temporal lack of inclusion. Inclusion then is the target of expert programs on participation and counselling (e.g. empowerment), learning (e.g. employability), or ethics communication (conflict management). The experts of inclusion regard each conflict or form of exclusion as a temporary condition of an individual (or group) in need of special support, and are therefore, part of the 'social hygiene' of the consensus society' (Simons and Masschelein 2011: 86).

THE RISE OF NEO-LIBERAL AND NEO-MANAGERIALIST DISCOURSES

This deficit approach has been questioned by many and was often linked to the rise of the neo-liberal and neo-managerialist discourses. An economic reframing of adult and continuing education policies and practices became prominent, meaning that the market was expected to play the dominant role in the creation of wealth and prosperity. In line with this, the 'responsibilisation' of the individual to take his/her own life into her own hands became a central element of the political agenda. 'Emancipation' was increasingly substituted by 'empowerment', the latter notion articulating this emphasis on individual responsibility, autonomy and employability. Following Foucault's ideas on governmentality, Tom Inglis argued that empowerment had obtained the following meaning:

Instead of producing docile, amenable, regulated bodies through external forms of control...there has been a shift to more subtle forms of control. Through an ongoing process of externalizing, problematizing and critically evaluating one's being, actions and thoughts, a critically reflective self is constituted. This self becomes the centre of control. (Inglis 1997: 7)

In line with this, also the way nation states in Western societies began to govern their citizens strongly changed. Inspired by Michel Foucault's 'governmentality' concept, researchers studied the way in which new technologies of power were introduced in order to make the governed fulfil better the expectations of the governors. Methods that previously had an emancipatory function, now were increasingly used as technologies of the self. Lemke (2001) relates this change to the crisis of Keynesianism and the reduction in forms of welfare-state intervention, leading to the

reorganization or restructuring of government techniques, shifting regulatory competence of the state onto 'responsible' and 'rational' individuals. Neo-liberalism encourages individuals to give their lives a specific entrepreneurial form.

It responds to stronger ‘demand’ for individual scope for self-determination and desired autonomy by ‘supplying’ individuals and collectives with the possibility of actively participating in the solution of specific matters and problems which had hitherto been the domain of state agencies specifically empowered to undertake such tasks. This participation has a ‘price tag’: the individuals themselves have to assume responsibility for these activities and the possible failure thereof. (Lemke 2001: 202)

Some authors such as Nikolas Rose (1999) and Mitchell Dean (1999) who have studied this shift in the use of the social technologies formulate, just like Lemke, doubts about the emancipatory potential of such practices. Bill Cooke and Uma Kothari (2004) discuss these new technologies in connection with the participation discourse. They argue that the call for participation has become a new tyranny. ‘Power to the people’ is no longer a slogan of radicals wanting to drastically change the power relationships in favour of the oppressed. It now has become an important instrument of marketeers, quality controllers, community developers, world bankers, politicians, managers, consultancy bureaus and so on. They all have introduced various direct democratic procedures which should bring the voice of the citizen, the customer, the student, the peasant and the audience to the fore. When some decades ago, direct participation was still a subversive wish, now participation is everywhere. In line with Foucault, Cooke and Kothari consider many of these participatory practices to be part of new technologies of persuasion, normalisation, and inclusion. The ‘hidden agenda’ of such participatory practices is actually that they ‘teach’ the participants to define themselves as self-directed agents in an ‘active society’.

My own research on social learning related to diverse participatory practices such as youth policy planning and multi-stakeholder collaboration on environmental issues in different parts of the world can be reinterpreted in accordance with these insights (Janssens et al. 2001; Wildemeersch 2007, 2014). Therefore, my initial enthusiasm about the social learning potential of participatory procedures has somewhat cooled down and resulted in a more nuanced picture of the pros and the cons of these collaborative practices. First, I observed that many of the participatory practices ended up with ambiguous results. Participation sometimes produces strong commitment of the actors involved, but also at other occasions, lots of refusal, resistance, and sometimes resignation when eventually the procedures of collaboration turn out to be complex, bureaucratic, and expert-driven. Similar reports come from the world of development projects in the South, where participatory planning is nowadays very mainstream and made concrete by procedures such as rapid rural appraisal, participatory rural appraisal, and goal-oriented intervention planning. Originally, such methods were invented to reduce the power of technicians, experts, and policy makers and to create conditions for ‘putting the first last’ (Chambers 1997). However, the traditional experts are now being replaced by procedural experts who sometimes tend to ‘impose’ rather than ‘give’ the opportunity to participate (Quaghebeur et al. 2004; Tessier et al. 2004).

Therefore, it is important to realize that participation, as a social-learning process, is not necessarily equal to the application of techniques of co-governance. On the contrary, interesting and relevant social learning often comes about in situations where the actors actually do not (or no longer) engage in such formalized procedures and start questioning the rules of the game. In such cases, the social learning is actually ‘confrontational’ rather than ‘consensual’. It is dividing rather than binding. It takes place in situations and contexts where the joint enterprise is interrupted rather than smoothly continued (Wildemeersch 2014).

INTERRUPTING THE SENSES

Rancière (2005) interprets this development as the tendency whereby policy-makers, with the help of experts, try to achieve as much consensus as possible in the ‘police order’. And since, according to him, democracy is basically about dealing with dissensus, the consequence is that democratic practices are curtailed and that issues that should be debated in the public sphere are relegated to the private sphere and to individualized responsibilities. ‘The spontaneous practices of any government tend to shrink the public sphere, making it into its own private affair, and in so doing, relegating the inventions and sites of intervention of non-state actors to the private domain. Democracy, then, far from being the form of the life of individuals dedicated to their private pleasure, is a process of struggle against this privatization, the process of enlarging this sphere’ (Rancière 2005: 55). In contrast with these privatizing tendencies, Rancière conceives of the democratic process as ‘the action of subjects who reconfigure the distributions of the public and the private, the universal and the particular’ (ibid.: 62). In other words, he rejects the tendency of the police function of the state that assigns citizens to definite places in the social strata and classifies them according to particular features (the poor, the unemployed, the non-actives). In distinction to this, he identifies politics as a movement in which political subjects reject/revoke the places and names that are imposed upon them.

Rancière not only situates dissensus in the political realm. He is a border crosser who theorizes and interconnects developments in diverse fields such as education, arts and politics. The binding factor between these different domains is his understanding of aesthetics. He relates aesthetics not simply to the domain of arts, but situates it in the ‘order of the sensible’ (Rancière 2010). The order of the sensible refers to the way human beings make sense of their lived reality, and this in different domains. Hence, in his view, politics, as well as education and arts are aesthetic because they relate to (the questioning of) this order of the sensible. Therefore, changes in aesthetic regimes are often signals or symptoms of changes in the way we understand the social, cultural and political order. In line with his broad concept of aesthetics, Rancière considers dissensus ‘not a designation of conflict as such, but it is a specific type, thereof a conflict between *sense* and *sense*. Dissensus is a conflict between a sensory presentation and a way

of making sense of it, or between several sensory regimes and/or ‘bodies’ (2010: 139). Dissensus creates an interruption of the ‘order of the sensible’, or a distribution of what can be seen, thought and done (Rancière 2009b: 47).

It is ‘a rupture in the relationship between sense and sense, between what is seen and what is thought, and between what is thought and what is felt. What comes to pass is a rupture in the specific configuration that allows us to stay in ‘our’ assigned places in a given state of things. These sorts of ruptures can happen anywhere and at any time, but they can never be calculated’. (Rancière 2010: 143)

Important here is that the effects of the interruption can neither be calculated nor predicted. And exactly the predictability of the outcomes is one of the major concerns of many professionals with classical emancipatory vocation, be they educators, policy makers, and even critical artists. In Rancière’s view also many critical artists still have a ‘pedagogical’ view on the way their works of art are expected to influence the viewers. ‘This logic posits that what the viewer sees... is a set of signs formed according to an artist’s intention. By recognizing these signs, the spectator is supposedly induced into a specific reading of the world around us, leading, in turn to the feeling of a certain proximity or distance, and ultimately to the spectator’s intervening into the situation staged by the author’ (2010: 136). Rancière distrusts such interventionists, whom he calls ‘master explicators’ (1991), who install dependency and inequality rather than emancipation and equality.

This again raises the issue of awareness raising. The research I referred to above, particularly the policy oriented types, were expected to develop insights on how the minds and habits could be changed instrumentally, in order to turn people into better active citizens, more employable workers, or responsible self-directed students. Rancière argues that many of these practices, because they start from the assumption of inequality (between the teacher and the student, the expert and the lay-person, the policy-maker and the citizen), often is the cause of (unintended) stultification. In his view,

the stultifier is not an aged obtuse master who crams his student’s skulls full of poorly digested knowledge, or a malignant character mouthing half-truths in order to shore up his power and the social order. On the contrary, he is all the more efficacious because he is knowledgeable, enlightened and of good faith...Such is the concern of the enlightened pedagogue: does the little one understand? He doesn’t understand. I will find new ways to explain it to him, ways more rigorous in principle, more attractive in form—and I will verify that he has understood. (1991: 7–8)

This reconnects us to the deficit approach that we observed in many attempts, also in ours, to (re-)educate adults in different sectors of education, social welfare, the struggle against poverty, and so on. Rancière argues that in these cases, participants are often not taken seriously. In a critique of certain theatre practices intending to make people critically aware of particular kinds of

injustice, Rancière notices that the well-intentioned dramatists treat their audience often as ignorant, passive people who undergo the manipulative actions that determine their lives and who first have to be activated in order to be able to respond critically to these influences. He claims that this attitude vis-à-vis the spectator is very similar to what can be observed in many educational practices. The first thing that is taught in such cases is the inability of the spectator or the student: she does not understand her own condition, and hence, has to be educated before she can engage in action. Such a practice of pedagogic stultification ‘constantly confirms its own presupposition: the inequality of intelligence’ (2009b: 9).

In reply to his critical appraisal of this paradox of emancipation, Rancière develops a radical alternative to which he refers as ‘the competence of the incompetent’, or ‘the capacity of anybody to judge the relations between individuals and the collectivity, present and future’ (2006: 83). He thereby departs from the presupposition of ‘equality of intelligence’ and sees the same kind of intelligence at work among a wide variety of people, ‘from the ignoramus, spelling out signs, to the scientist who constructs hypotheses’ (2009b: 10). He refers to this intelligence as the ‘poetic labour of translation’. His point of departure is that all human beings dispose of ‘an intelligence that translates signs into other signs and proceeds by comparisons and illustrations in order to communicate its intellectual adventures and understand what another intelligence is endeavouring to communicate it’ (ibid., p. 10). And, coming back to the position of spectators, he claims that they are not the presupposed passive participants but both distant spectators and active interpreters. ‘Spectators see, feel and understand something in as much as they compose their own poem, as, in their way, do actors or playwrights, directors, dancers or performers’ (ibid., p. 13).

In Rancière’s view, it is important to assume that in education, as well as in arts and in politics, all actors are initially capable of engaging intelligibly in one or other way with what is presented in the class, on the scene, or in the domain of politics. They are all potential translators of signs into other signs, of creating linkages between what they see, hear and what is being done. By consequence, equality is not the outcome of the process, but an assumption with which the process begins.

Equality exists insofar as someone asserts that equality exists. More accurately, equality exists to the extent that some subject acts and speaks on the assumption that equality exists. In either case, equality can neither be planned nor accomplished. It can only be practiced and through this practice verified. This is the main intuition underpinning Rancière’s philosophy: ‘there is not, on one hand ‘theory’ which explains things, and on the other hand, practice educated by the lessons of theory. There are configurations of sense, knots tying together possible perceptions, interpretations, orientations and movements. (Rancière 2009a: 120)

In addition, it is important to recall that in Rancière’s approach it is not only equality of intelligence that matters, but also the role that ‘the will’ plays in his

view on the educational encounter (Rancière 1991, *passim*). The will and the intelligence are together at play in the act of learning. And, it is the will of the emancipated subject that gives direction to his/her intelligence. It is not the intelligence that serves the will, but the will that serves the intelligence. Or, in other words, meaning is the work of the will of the emancipated subject. This is ‘the secret of those we call geniuses: the relentless work to bend the body to the necessary habits, to compel the intelligence to new ideas, to new ways of expressing them; to redo on purpose what chance once produced, and to reverse unhappy circumstances into occasions of success’ (ibid.: 56). In connection with this, the emancipatory master does not give direction to the intelligence of the participant, yet s/he may give direction to his/her will, by requiring concentration and attention for the task at hand. ‘A person...may need a master when his own will is not strong enough to set him on track and keep him there. But that subjection is purely one of will over will. It becomes stultification when it links an intelligence to another intelligence’ (ibid.: 13).

EDUCATION FOR CRITICAL AWARENESS RECONSIDERED

In a recent contribution co-authored by a scholar from South Africa, we questioned the emancipatory value of a community arts experiment (Wildemeersch and von Kotze 2014). The experiment was set up by a community organizer and an arts educator, with the help of several artists. They invited children and adults to get acquainted with modern art in integrated projects stimulating the participants to explore the qualities of recycling materials and use them to, individually and collectively, create works of art. My colleague thought these initiatives to be interestingly anti-systemic, but missing enough quality to call them emancipatory. ‘I am not certain that the politics of the entire experiment—the power relations and choice of materials, the collaborative creation and final exhibition—were analysed and reflected on critically’ (ibid.: 13). The discussion between us eventually unfolded into a comparison of the Freirian perspective and the Rancièrian perspective on emancipation. And, this comparison helped me to articulate better some of the ambivalences in Freire’s understanding of the educational process and responses in Rancière’s work.

The main ambivalence in Freire’s work, and in that of many of his followers, is that on one hand, in his dialogical approach, the teacher and the student, are an equal footing, while on the other hand, the students are still believed to be in need of enlightenment. So, how can there be a true dialogue, when one of the partners is still considered not really emancipated by the other? In a contribution to ‘the image in critical pedagogy’, Lewis (2011) argues that Paulo Freire’s pedagogy of the oppressed indeed re-enacts the paradox of spectatorship that Rancière found in particular arts practices. He demonstrates that Freire ‘misses how art is political not simply because of its intended message...but rather in its ability to produce new ways of seeing the world, new sensations, new sensorial disruptions through the pensive juxtaposing of regimes of expression’ (ibid.: 8). Or, in other words: how arts is able to create ‘dissensus’. In Freire’s approach,

the practice of liberating pedagogy should result into an emancipated person (or critical consciousness) at the end of the process, carefully guided by the educator. In contrast with this, Rancière takes the assumption of competence, intelligence and emancipation of the spectator, the student and the citizen as a point of departure. This does not mean that the educator is now superfluous. His/her role is not to make participants think the way s/he thinks, but to invite them to develop a personal or singular response to the material presented, and in doing so, engage in a process of subjectivation.

In line with this perspective, a new conception of ‘critique’ and awareness raising has been developed. This new conception is informed by the experience that, for many challenges we face today, there are neither clear answers, nor straightforward solutions. Many important ‘life political’ issues (Beck 1992) create uncertainty and ambivalence, even among experts. Such issues confront us often with ‘limit situations’ that oblige us to stand still, and to create time and space for further exploration. Various authors indeed associate education with moments of interruption (Biesta 2006, 2010), of suspension (Masschelein and Simons 2011), or of disruption (Fejes and Dahlstedt 2013). As mentioned before, these moments relate to situations where the preconceived perspectives fail and unprecedented solutions have to be examined. Such limit situations can be democratic moments, particularly because the familiar hierarchies between expert and layperson, teacher and student, leader and follower, vanguard and masses, lose their meaning, since all of them are somehow insecure about the possible solutions, and therefore inevitably engage in an educational encounter that can be considered ‘a beautiful risk’ (Biesta 2013b). In this approach, the process is not directed by the ‘knowing’ of the expert, but rather by the collective ‘will’ of everyone engaged in the process. This could be called a ‘pedagogy of contingency’ that understands ‘teaching and learning work that challenges the formal frame rather well—a pedagogy that emerges/evolves through the participation of the public and the concerns that bring them together. It responds /is responsive to the particulars of a given moment/place’ (Wildemeersch and von Kotze 2014).

The notions of interruption, suspension or disruption also suggest that (adult-)education distances itself from the ‘logic of productivity’ (Simons and Masschelein 2011). Education is not a site of production—the production of competencies, of critical awareness, of the good citizen and so on. It rather is an activity that creates opportunities to develop singular responses to situations of uncertainty and complexity. And such activity needs spaces where people can experience ‘free time’, ‘a time that is not yet occupied and transformed into a ‘productive time’” (ibid.: 89). Also, Rancière emphasizes the need for alternative spaces or ‘forms of organization of the material life of society that escape the logic of profit; and the existence of places for discussing collective interests that escape the monopoly of the expert government’ (2006: 83). It could be relevant for adult education to revitalize such places or spaces that Foucault calls ‘other spaces’ or ‘heterotopias’. In his view, these are:

...real places—places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society—which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted. Places of this kind are outside of all places, even though it may be possible to indicate their location in reality. Because these places are absolutely different from all the sites that they reflect and speak about, I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias. (Foucault 1986)

In the past, adult education has often created such heterotopias or counter-sites where the dominant logic was questioned. And today the existence of such spaces that escape the logic of profit, or the monopoly of the expert government, are needed more than ever. However, Rancière teaches us that, in such spaces, the emergence of critical awareness is not in the first place the result of a cleverly organized trajectory by the ‘master explicator’. It rather are spaces where the educator invites participants ‘to venture into the forest of things and signs to say what they have seen and what they think of what they have seen, to verify it and have it verified’ (Rancière 2009b).

IN CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF COMMITMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

In this chapter, I have wandered along some of the pathways of my former years as academic researcher and practitioner in the field of adult education. I have recalled the commitments that I thought to be important throughout that period. Awareness raising and emancipation have definitely been words that directed my actions. However, across the years my initial understanding of these notions have changed in connection with the changing times, the changing discourses and the limit-situations that I experienced, together with friends, colleagues and inspiring authors. The conditions in which I had to work, the dependencies, but also the degrees of freedom at certain moments, both disabled and enabled me to think critically about my own practices and understandings and their wider contexts. They disabled me, because the pressure of productivity that increasingly directs academic research, often inhibits in-depth critical thinking and self-criticism. They enabled me because, in spite of this, the university can, to a certain extent, still be a place of critical investigation and debate. An important condition then is that we are able to create ‘free and profane spaces’ (Masschelein and Simons 2011). ‘A condition of profane time, space and matter is not a space of emptiness, but a condition in which time, space and things are disconnected from their regular use (in the family, society...) and hence it refers to a condition in which something of the world is open for common use’ (ibid.: 158). In Patricia Gouthro’s terms, this requires opportunities for ‘slow learning’ where someone can halt urgency, take time, and concentrate. ‘This suggests that as educators we need to consider the types of work and activities that we find meaningful, even if it seems to slow us down. It may be the only way we can keep moving forward’ (Gouthro 2012: 375).

The process of slowing down has helped me to clarify some of the limit-situations we experienced throughout the years of study, research and practice. The main limit-situation I struggled with was the paradox of emancipation. Since many of us have been socialized and trained to become experts in education, training and development, we are inclined to consider the ones we work for, be it the students or the participants in the community, to be deficient in one way or another. And, in so doing, we tend to promote ourselves as the ones that are able to remedy their shortcomings. With regard to the teaching of concrete, practical skills this may indeed be a valid attitude. However, regarding complex social, ethical, or political matters, reserve on behalf of the expert is recommended. When looking back at various initiatives of ‘awareness raising’, I have come to the conclusion that such actions indeed often strengthen the deficit perspective, even when one authentically strives to promote emancipation. This finding necessitates another view on the ‘social commitment’ of the adult educator. H/she no longer takes the position of the expert who knows the true answer to complex matters and who develops ways for unconscious people to come closer to this truth. He or she rather is someone who finds relevant ways to present what, to him or her, is a matter of importance, and invites participants to articulate in various ways responses to this. In doing so, the educator creates opportunities for dissensus, or for ‘ruptures between sense and sense’. These are also opportunities for people to make those things public which are often relegated to the privatized domain of individual concerns, or to the realm of consensus. Such approach is not in contradiction with Freire’s view on dialogue. ‘It is in speaking their word that men transform the world by naming it, dialogue imposes itself as the way in which men achieve significance as men. Dialogue is thus an existential necessity’ (1972: 61).

However, Rancière, together with the colleagues who directed my attention to his work, taught me that the good intentions of the expert educator often have stultifying effects and that there is no necessary causal relationship between the intelligent articulation of the truth of the critical educator, the committed artist or the well-intentioned policy-maker, and the way the ‘receiver’ of the message moves on with it. This kind of understanding also relativizes the power of the expert. It is the acceptance of his/her own limitations that creates spaces and places for the so-called incompetent to demonstrate their competence. Such acceptance is based on the assumption of equality of intelligence between participants and facilitators in the process. And it is by creating such ‘pedagogy of contingency’ that adult educators, together with participants, create opportunities for democratic practice, accepting emancipation as a point of departure, rather than as the outcome of the educational process. The insecurity that goes together with this contingency is not necessarily an unfavourable characteristic. On the contrary, it can be considered as an inevitable feature of ‘good’ adult education, and hence ‘a beautiful risk’. Taking all this into consideration I come to the conclusion that the committed adult educator is someone who creates time and space for people to subjectively and publicly respond to matters of concern. This time and space should enable people to make their own

translation, or their own poem, in response to what is being presented. This can only be based on the assumption of equality of intelligence. And the answer to the question to what extent such undertaking results into critical awareness is best based on the continuous reflection and dialogue between everyone involved in this process.

Note

1. Freire took this definition from Professor Vieira Pinto, to whom he refers in a note. In this note there is probably a spelling mistake, where ‘impassible boundaries’ probably should be ‘impossible boundaries’.

REFERENCES

- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. London: Sage.
- Biesta, G. (2006). *Beyond learning: Democratic education for a human future*. Boulder: Paradigm.
- Biesta, G. (2010). A new logic of emancipation: The methodology of Jacques Rancière. *Educational Theory*, 60(1), 53–59.
- Biesta, G. (2013a). Learning in public places: civic learning for the 21st century. In G. Biesta, M. De Bie, & D. Wildemeersch (Eds.), *Civic learning, democratic citizenship and the public sphere*. Berlin: Springer.
- Biesta, G. (2013b). *The beautiful risk of education*. Boulder: Paradigm.
- Chambers, R. (1997). *Whose reality counts? Putting the first last*. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.
- Cooke, B., & Kothari, U. (Eds.). (2004). *Participation: The new tyranny?* London: Zed.
- Dean, M. (1999). *Governmentality: Power and rule in modern society*. London: Sage.
- Edwards, R., & Usher, R. (2000). Modern field and post-modern moorland: Adult education bound for glory or bound and gagged. In D. Wildemeersch, M. Finger, & T. Jansen (Eds.), *Adult education and social responsibility*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Ellsworth, E. (1989). Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59, 297–324.
- Fejes, A., & Dahlstedt, M. (2013). *The confession society. Foucault, confession and practices of lifelong learning*. London: Routledge.
- Foucault, M. (1986). Of other spaces, heterotopias (J. Miskowicz, Trans.). *Diacritics*, 16 (1), 22–27, Retrieved June 18, 2012, from <http://foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/foucault.heteroTopia.en.html>.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Giroux, H. (1988). *Teachers as intellectuals: Toward a critical pedagogy of learning*. Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey.
- Gouthro, P. (2012). Editorial: Slow learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31, 373–375.
- Inglis, T. (1997). Empowerment and emancipation. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 48(1), 3–17.

- Jansen, T., & Wildemeersch, D. (1996). Adult education and critical identity development. From a deficiency towards a competency approach. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 15, 325–340.
- Janssens, C., Van Duffel, K., & Wildemeersch, D. (2001). Policy planning as social learning. In M. Schemmann & M. Bron (Eds.), *Adult education and democratic citizenship IV*. Krakow: Impuls Publisher.
- Jarvis, P. (2000). The education of adults as a social movement: A question for late modern society. In D. Wildemeersch, M. Finger, & T. Jansen (Eds.), *Adult education and social responsibility*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Kosmidou, C., & Usher, R. (1992). Experiential learning and the autonomous subject. In D. Wildemeersch & T. Jansen (Eds.), *Adult education, experiential learning and social change*. The Hague: Vuga.
- Lemke, T. (2001). The birth of bio-politics: Michel Foucault's lecture at the Collège de France on neo-liberal governmentality. *Economy and Society*, 30, 190–207.
- Lewis, T. (2011). The Future of the Image in Critical Pedagogy. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 30 (1), 37–51.
- McLaren, P. (1993). *Schooling as a ritual performance*. London: Routledge & Kegan.
- Masschelein, J. (2000). In defence of education as problematisation: Some preliminary remarks on a strategy of disarmament. In D. Wildemeersch, M. Finger, & T. Jansen (Eds.), *Adult education and social responsibility*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Masschelein, J., & Simons, M. (2011). The hatred of public schooling. In M. Simons & J. Masschelein, (Eds.), *Rancière, Public education and the taming of democracy*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Quaghebeur, K., Masschelein, J., & Nguyen, H. H. (2004). Paradox of participation: Giving or taking part. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 14, 154–165.
- Rancière, J. (1991). *The ignorant schoolmaster: Five lessons in intellectual emancipation*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Rancière, J. (2006). *Hatred of democracy*. London: Verso.
- Rancière, J. (2009a). A few remarks on the method of Jacques Rancière. *Parallax*, 15, 114–123.
- Rancière, J. (2009b). *The emancipated spectator*. London: Verso.
- Rancière, J. (2010). *Dissensus: on politics and aesthetics*. London: Continuum.
- Rose, N. (1999). *Powers of freedom: Reframing political thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Savage, G. C. (2010). Problematizing 'public pedagogy' in educational research. In J. Sandlin, B. Schulz, & J. Burdick (Eds.), *Handbook of public pedagogy: Education and learning beyond schooling*. New York: Routledge.
- Simons, M., & Masschelein, J. (2011). Governmental, political and pedagogic subjectivation. In M. Simons & J. Masschelein (Eds.), *Rancière, public education and the taming of democracy*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Tessier, O., Van Keer, K., Quaghebeur, K., Masschelein, J. Nguyen Hoai, H., Ho Ly, G. et al. (2004). Giving or imposing the opportunity to participate? In As. Neef (Ed.), *Participatory approaches for sustainable land use in Southeast Asia*. Bangkok: White Lotus Publishers.
- Usher, R., Bryant, I., & Johnston, R. (1997). *Adult education and the postmodern challenge. Learning beyond the limits*. London: Routledge.

- Welton, M. (2000). Civil society as theory and project: adult education and the renewal of global citizenship. In D. Wildemeersch, M. Finger, & T. Jansen (Eds.), *Adult education and social responsibility*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Wildemeersch, D. (1984). *De Rupelstreek tussen argwaan en hoop. Zoektocht naar een vormingsmethodiek* [The ‘Rupelstreek’ between anger and hope. In search of an educational model]. Leuven: Acco.
- Wildemeersch, D. (1985). *Ruimtelijke ordening in het perspectief van vorming en samenlevingsopbouw* [Urban planning in view of education and community organization]. Doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Psychology and Educational Sciences, KU Leuven.
- Wildemeersch, D., Finger, M. & Jansen, T. (Eds.), (2000). *Adult Education and Social Responsibility. Reconciling the Irreconcilable?* Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Wildemeersch, D. (2007). Social learning revisited. Lessons learned from North and South. In A. Wals & T. van der Leij (Eds.), *Social learning towards a more sustainable world*. Wageningen: Wageningen University Press.
- Wildemeersch, D. (2013). Transitions in a life-world. Looking backward and forward after forty-five years of social-pedagogical research and teaching in Leuven. *Education Policy Analysis and Archives*, 21(38), 1–18.
- Wildemeersch, D. (2014). Displacing concepts of social learning and democratic citizenship. In G. Biesta, M. Debie, & D. Wildemeersch (Eds.), *Civic learning, democratic citizenship and the public sphere*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Wildemeersch, D., & von Kotze, A. (2014). Multiple interruptions: Creative encounters in public art and public pedagogy, A North-South dialogue. *Studies in Art Education*, 55, 313–327.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Danny Wildemeersch is a Professor Emeritus of Social and Cultural Pedagogy at the University of Leuven in Belgium. He is connected to the KU Leuven Laboratory for Education and Society. His research focuses on a variety of themes such as intercultural pedagogy, citizenship education, democratic practices, and adult education. He is a joint editor of the *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults* (ESREA). He recently co-edited (with G. Biesta and M. Debie). *Civic Learning, Democratic Citizenship and the Public Sphere* (Springer, 2014).

Revisiting Paulo Freire: Adult Education for Emancipation

Emilio Lucio-Villegas

Abstract Lucio-Villegas presents a short review of Paulo Freire's life and works. After that, the chapter develops some Freirean key concepts addressed to build an adult education for emancipation: culture, dialogue, literacy method, the duality oppressor/oppressed, conscientisation, and the role of the educator. Deriving from these key concepts, Lucio-Villegas considers the importance to recuperate a liberating approach to adult education as opposed to the policies and practices of Lifelong Learning which mainly focus on the labour market. Conclusions are an attempt to update the relevance of Paulo Freire's thought in the current social and educational scenario, providing a new sight about the legacy of the author of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in the path for shaping an adult education for emancipation.

INTRODUCTION

It is very difficult to both imagine and understand education and adult education in the last 60 years without considering the historical figure and Paulo Freire's works. His works began in the 1950s and continued until the end of the century. His influence is decisive in the international scenario possibly because Freire is not an educator in a narrow sense, but rather, we could consider him more as a community and cultural worker committed to education as a way of liberating people. This connection, between adult education and community work, means that 'it is not exaggeration to suggest that Freire was the seminal architect of introducing critical theory into contemporary pedagogical discourse' (Dale and Hyslop-Margison 2012: 1). It is possible to consider him as

E. Lucio-Villegas (✉)

Dept. of Teoría e Historia de la Educación y Pedagogía Social, University of Seville,
C/ Pirotecnia s/n, 41013 Seville, Spain
e-mail: elucio@us.es

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_9

151

the most impressive representative of Radical Adult Education or Popular Adult Education: a kind of educational struggle for Social Justice. This is a crucial element in Freire's work. Its relevance is unquestionable in a moment in which the right to citizenship is in doubt—the situation of refugees from Syria, Libya, and other countries in the Middle East and the response given by the European Union, for instance—and when inequalities among people seem unstoppable, while injustice and the neglect of people are a common landscape in our societies. In addition, the emergence of a narrative justifies every lack of solidarity as a common thing in our societies.

In this sense, I think that this chapter may help us to rethink adult education beyond the narrow walls that Lifelong Learning policies and practices are imposing as a form of hegemonic view of adult education that is, at the same time, a poor view in both conceptual and useful—for common people—terms. In the last 17 years, I have witnessed how these policies have narrowed adult education to a worker and consumer education, but not to a citizenship education, forgetting the ancient desire—coming at the least from the French revolution—of an education for a better life that enables individuals to understand and change the world. Freire's thought (amongst other important contemporary thinkers such as Ettore Gelpi or Raymond Williams, for instance) can help academics, adult and community educators, and practitioners to overcome the loss of autonomy and creativity force by Lifelong Learning, and rebuild the dream of an adult education which focused on providing educational responses to people's needs and wishes.

First, I want to present in this chapter a short review of his life and works. I think that a short narrative on Paulo Freire's life can shed some light on his significance. Later, I am going to focus on those that I consider central concepts in his thought: culture, dialogue, literacy method, the oppressor and the oppressed, conscientisation, and the educator. My last point is an attempt to connect these ideas with the current situation. Basically, I will try to answer the question: what is the relevance of Paulo Freire's thought at the present time? The chapter is an invitation to reflect on the current social, cultural, and educational inequalities assuming Freire's contributions, but in a critical way.

Prior to analysing his work, I feel that it is important to stress that Freire's philosophical background is very diverse and—perhaps—very hybrid. For that, it is possible to find works connecting Freire with other thinkers, such as the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (see Allman 1988; Coben 1998; Mayo 1999). Other works tried to connect Freire to the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas (see Welton 1995; Torres and Morrow 2002) and to the Russian philologist Bakhtin (Rule 2002). Feinberg and Torres (2001) stress the relationships between Dewey and Freire when talking about democracy and citizenship. Dale and Hyslop-Margison (2012) suggested influences derived, at very least, from Marx, Sartre, and Aristotle. In a less explicit way, there is a growing work connecting Freire and the Russian psychologist Vygotski (Gadotti 2005). However, in the end, it seems that the most important influences come from 'personalist thinkers (John McMurray, Martin Buber, Emanuel Mounier)' (Kirkwood and Lucio-Villegas 2012: 173).

A SHORT REVIEW ON PAULO FREIRE'S LIFE AND WORKS

Paulo Reglus Neves Freire was born in Recife (Brazil) in 1921. In this short review, I differentiate three different stages in his life.

The first period concerns his work in Brazil. He worked in several organisations—public and private—making connections between culture and adult literacy. This point is important, because Freire always connected literacy and adult education with a most ample scenario. During this time, his work was focused on the Division of Culture and Education at the Prefecture of Recife and the Popular Culture Movement, also in Recife, among others (Rubens 2000; Gadotti 2005). This is also the incubation period for his early works that included *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* which can be considered a general reference for his whole educational theory and a reference to popular education too. This stage was interrupted by the *coup d'état* in Brazil. In March 1964, the Brazilian army revolted against the democratic president João Goulart, who was trying to introduce some important changes either in the economy or in the cultural terms, for instance, by encouraging people to become literate. At this moment, Freire was participating in a Literacy National Programme (Rubens 2000). In April 1964, he was dismissed from this position by the new government, he was imprisoned for some weeks, and then he went into exile. This period is essential in understanding his educational theory. The impact of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was—and still is—impressive. From this moment, the author started to reconsider and rewrite his work. It is also important to stress that the book I previously mentioned was published when Freire was in exile.

The second period began with his exile in Bolivia, Chile, and the USA and finally with his work in the *World Council of Churches* in Genève (Switzerland). According to Gadotti (2005), it is possible to differentiate two different moments. The first is related to his time in Bolivia, Chile, and USA. This is very important, because *Education: the Practice of Freedom* was finished in Chile (Gadotti 2005) and *Pedagogy of Oppressed* was also finished at this time—1968—but first published in English and Spanish in 1970 (Gadotti 2005).

The second moment in this stage started when Freire moved to Genève. This period is, possibly, the moment of a wider application of his philosophy and practice and the establishment of his international renown. His work in Genève enabled him to travel and connect with experiences and people working around the world—mainly in African countries such as Guinea Bissau or São Tomé and Príncipe, and Latin America as an advisor in literacy campaigns such as in Nicaragua. This work is an important link with his own past, because these countries were—in that moment—fighting for their independence as colonies or to escape from post-colonialism.

The third step in his life is his return to Brazil in 1980. This last period is characterised by his work as a teacher in several universities and as Secretary of Education in the Prefecture of Sao Paulo from 1989 to 1991 (see Torres et al. 1998). At this time, Freire rewrote his own ideas and developed in practice a participatory educational policy. Paulo Freire died in 1997 in Sao Paulo.

It is possible to differentiate four different stages in his bibliography, not necessarily in chronological order (Lucio-Villegas 2009). The first relates to his early works in Brazil, but already published in the exile: *Education: the Practice of Freedom* (1976), and, overall, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1970), the book most associated with him and that has been translated into more languages in the world than any of his other works. This book can be considered a kind of foundational essay in relation to Freire's thought.

A second section can be named the *spoken books* phase. These are books made with other thinkers—not only educators—which were created in a dialogical way: Miles Horton; Ivan Illich; Antonio Faundez; Moacir Gadotti, etc. have all collaborated with Freire in producing spoken books which are based on their conversations. In these books, we can see the process of dialogue and problem-posing education in action (see, among others, Freire et al. 2001).

His third period is represented by books in which Freire reflects on his own thought, rewriting and adapting his earlier ideas: *Pedagogy of Hope* (1994) and *Pedagogy of the City* (1993) are two examples. This section has a specific temporality, because they are the books produced after Freire returned to Brazil from the years of exile. The fourth, and last moment, concerns his books related to experiences: *Pedagogy in Process* (1978), in relation to his work as an adviser in Guinea Bissau, *Extension or Communication* (1973), about his time in Chile, and some others.

In short, it is possible to affirm that the experiences in the first period of his life provided the general framework for his fundamental publications. The time of his exile, taking into account Gadotti's (2005) contributions, is replete with practical contributions, because his books are, in some cases, clearly connected to concrete experiences.

In chronological terms, the last period—his return to Brazil—could be considered a teaching period, but also political. It is also a period of reflection on his work. This is possible thanks to his international renown that it is indebted to *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. That is a kind of circle which was closed, opened, closed, and perhaps opened once again when the Paulo Freire Institute in Brazil was created in 1991 (see www.paulofreire.org).

KEY CONCEPTS FOR REVISITING PAULO FREIRE

As I have mentioned in the introduction, I consider that some of Freire's key elements could be useful to both situate and heighten the importance of his ideas at the present time. As I have also affirmed in the introduction, these key ideas, in my opinion, are: culture, dialogue, literacy method, the oppressor and the oppressed, the process of conscientisation, and the educator.

These key concepts are presented in Paulo Freire's whole educational theory. The concept of culture is presented from the very beginning when he states that the processes of democratisation mean, among other aspects, the democratisation of the culture (Freire 1986). Dialogue is the core of his philosophy and

methodology. The methodological approach to education and the concept of literacy as more than repeated words are the distinctive features from *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* or maybe before. The organisation of teaching processes, around the generative words (Freire 1970, 1986), addressed the process of conscientisation as the major aim of the educational process. As Kincheloe (2008) stated: ‘For the critically conscious thinker, education involves engaging in the continuous improvement of self and reality’ (p. 78).

The duality of oppressed and oppressor means that the educational process is one of liberation for people involved in it. Finally, if adult education—for the educator—is more than a job (Williams 1961), we shall define an adult educator who committed to organising practices that are aimed at raising people’s awareness and emancipation. As Freire stated: ‘the role of the educator is basically to dialogue with the illiterate, offering [to her or to him] simply the skills through which they can become literate by themselves’ (1986: 108).

I am going to briefly present each one including a short comment on the importance of a liberating adult education as opposed to the dominant tendency focused on the policies and practices of Lifelong Learning.

Culture

Freire considered culture as a part of the humanisation process. This humanisation process means, among other things, that people can leave the so-called *Culture of Silence*: some forms of domination that impede individuals and communities from expressing themselves.

The concept of Culture of Silence is very important in understanding the idea of culture in Freire, as I affirmed above. He considered that a process of political democratisation needs a process of democratisation of the culture and it means the recognition of popular culture as opposed to a culture of the elite. This can only be done thanks to an educational process.

The learning of both writing and reading is to introduce the illiterate in the communicative world of writing [...] starting from this, the illiterate can change their previous flairs. They can self-discover critically as creators of culture. (Freire 1986: 105–106)

In this way, for people discovering themselves as creators of culture, a work (Moore 1995), which I briefly describe, could be a possible reference. He analysed ways for teaching normative English that used by two young immigrants called Abdul and Mashud. Although Abdul and Mashud have and know some rudiments in reading and writing in Bangladeshi and English, they come from a primarily oral culture.

During the construction of a love story, Abdul is asked about the truth of what he is saying. The teacher guiding him in this task finds it hard to believe his narrative. Moore points out that the teacher questions the universe of Abdul’s

realities. It is impossible to escape from the Culture of Silence when people feel that their realities, whether lived or felt, are being challenged.

Mashud, however, found greater freedom in writing the narrative of his life story. At least, and this is the essence of the argument, no one questioned the truthfulness of his story. Mashud was told, shown, and given clues and ways to discover a number of elements that improved his writing.

As Freire affirmed, ‘literacy cannot be done from up to down, as a donation or an imposition, but from inside to outside, by the same illiterate, and with the support of the educator’ (1986: 108).

According to Souza (2007), the process of cultural expression is connected to the process of collectively creating knowledge. Souza also considers that the culture in Freire has to be approached from a multicultural perspective.

Inside the classroom, this multicultural Freirean postulate/concept can, even, contribute to identifying the kind of relations among different students that come from diverse cultures and to perceive relations among differing written and oral views of the same culture. (2007: 197)

However, the most important thing here is, in my opinion, that the concept of culture understood as people’s views of life is presented in the works by Paulo Freire from the very beginning. In *Education: the Practice of Freedom*¹ he stated:

Recognise, after the first situation, the two worlds—one from the nature and the other the men’s [sic] role and the culture in these two worlds—it follows another situation where the cultural domain is both clarified and amplified. (Freire 1986: 107)

Thus, the notion of culture in Freire seems to be closely connected to the development of people either in individual or in collective terms. This enables us to consider the relevance of Freire’s thought to fight against the dominant tendency to alienate the cultural life and the loss of either individual or collective identity that is deriving from the processes of globalisation and standardisation which we are currently facing in almost all areas of life. This can be done through dialogue as the major educational skill in the Freirean approach.

Dialogue

This is the core of both Freire’s philosophy and methodology. Dialogue guarantees communication and establishes education as a cooperative process characterised by social interactions between people in which new knowledge is created by joining and sharing the knowledge that people have. Dialogue means multiple voices and multiple directions. In this multiple dialogue, knowledge is produced at the same time that dialogue takes place. For that, dialogue considers people as social human beings and not as recipients. It is the essence of

liberating education. Dialogue is, in this sense, the starting point in building a liberating education. As Park (2001) states:

Dialogue, in particular, looms large as an important methodological link among the activities pursued because of its existential significance for human life. More than a technical means to an end, it is an expression of the human condition that impels people to come together. (p. 81)

According to Freire (1970), teaching and learning are the two steps in the process of creating knowledge: the teacher is a learner and the learner becomes a teacher. Freire stresses that doing a collaborative work means to include community members to ground the work in people's daily lives. This process of dialogue that becomes conscientisation is made through the double process of codification and decoding. When codifying and decoding, people undertake a collective work based on both cooperation and experience. In this process, people's knowledge emerges, creating a new one based on the surrounding reality.

In my opinion, two different aspects are important in this process of dialogue. The first is to stress that it means to organise teaching in a total different way. If adult education classrooms are places where people share both life and experiences, teaching processes have to connect these lives and experiences and to extract from them the content of teaching. It can be said that the essence of dialogue is in the process of codifying and decoding when content and curricula are defining (see Kirkwood and Kirkwood 2011, for example, on the process of constructing generative themes).

A second important matter is that knowledge is collectively created. As Park states when relating the Freirean approach to Participatory Research:

Dialogue occupies a central position as inquiry in pursuing the three objectives of participatory research, and the knowledge associated with them, by making it possible for participants to create a social space in which they can share experiences and information, create common meanings and forge concerted actions together. (2001: 81)

Dialogue awakens the so-called popular knowledge, knowledge that people have stored up, and knowledge that is really useful for their life.

Dialogue faces the traditional structure of teaching by confronting people's knowledge to 'official' knowledge and, in this process, creating a new knowledge. In a moment of extreme regulations and when teaching processes are in the narrow focus of creating a disciplinary manpower, dialogue offers us the opportunity to work in a different way.

On the other hand, in a school—and in a society—that seems to lose the importance of education as a social activity, dialogue enables individuals to create 'open and trusting relationships between two or more people...One important aspect of dialogue is its ability to build social and emotionally caring

relationships between people' (Dale and Hyslop-Margison 2012: 4). Dialogue addressed to organise the literacy process in a specific direction and also means to rethink the role of the educator as I refer to later.

Literacy 'Method'

This is one of the distinctiveness in Freire's thought and it also is one of the most well-known aspects. On the other hand, it is where most of the mechanics of Freire's understandings are taking place. As Fernandez (2001) states:

Paulo Freire's method was born as an instrument to make literate and to educate adult peasants or people living in working-class neighbourhood with the aim of preparing them to participate in both social and political life. (p. 327)

It is also important to stress that Freire never clearly described the method. According to Dale and Hyslop-Margison: 'Freire did not formulate a reproducible method for applied technical instruction of the type that dominates traditional teacher educational programs. His intention was the opposite' (2012: 71). In my opinion, the best formulation of Freire's literacy method was done by Brandão (1981) and not by Freire himself. This diffuse definition of the method has generated some critics. It has been considered that Freire did not define his method beyond theoretical and epistemological elements (Fernandez 2001). This is true in a certain sense, because from *Education: the Practice of Freedom* we can find an explanation about concrete generative words and generative themes. However, on the contrary, in my personal view, I think that it is possible to affirm that Freire pointed out the essence of the method: dialogue and people's everyday life as a starting point. From these, the word and the world are created and recreated.

Thus, literacy method is not merely a way to learn letters, words, or sentences. The starting point is always people's real situations and experiences shared through dialogue. From this departure point, people can build the meanings of their own surrounding world. The literacy method makes sense within the bounds of a concrete territory—physical and symbolic. People in literacy processes become learners of their own everyday life. In this sense, to 'say their word' is to speak about the world, defined as the context where people live, in cooperation with others through dialogue. In the literacy method, words are more than a simple skill. Words are doors opened in order to understand the world and change it. As Gadotti (2005) suggests, the most important thing in the literacy process is the social meaning that words have for the whole group.

The major aim of literacy processes is the emancipation from the restrictive view of a school and knowledge only addressed to teaching about resignation and not about possible futures, about hope. In this sense, it can be said that the literacy method enables people to understand their own situation and to build processes for creating citizenship. From his early works, Freire connected literacy to the right to vote as a way of becoming a citizen, beyond a simple technology to

communicate. In the work done during the time of the Participatory Budget experiment at the city of Seville, the literacy processes were also related to encouraging people to actively participate in analysing their surrounding reality and change it. For that, I have named these literacy processes as Participatory Literacy (Lucio-Villegas et al. 2009; Lucio-Villegas 2015).

Two elements can be relevant here in revisiting Freire. The first is related to a kind of mechanical *mise en scène* of Freire methods. The second is about its usefulness today, taking into account who can be considered as illiterate in our western societies.

Implementation of Freire literacy method means both a strong sense of democracy and the belief in popular knowledge and in people's abilities to deal with their problems and look for solutions in a cooperative way. Mechanical interpretations are based on two different approaches. On the one hand, the approach considers literacy as a linguistic skill to communicate—the case, for instance, of digital literacy in the most restrictive and narrow perspective. It forgets the most important fact: literacy is a skill to understand the world and change it in cooperation with others. Literacy is, overall, an open door to the world. This also means that literacy processes start from people's real situations. One example: the literacy reader—in Freire approach—is only elaborated after the listening phase, never before. It derives from the real interest of the people in a specific environment—their own community that is different from other communities.

On the other hand, as Gadotti states 'the traditional literacy reader, with its contents prepared to transfer them to the learner, ignore the formative and creative role that the educator plays' (2005: 47). I will return to the role of the educator at the end of this section devoted to key concepts, but now, I want to stress that the literacy method enables people—learners and teachers—to leave the Culture of Silence and restores the dignity of the teacher's work.

Some methodologies—with significant success in Latin America—such as the Cuban literacy method 'Yes, I can do it' (*Yo, sí puedo* in Spanish)—can be discussed from the perspective of these Freirean approaches related to the teaching materials. They are the same in Nicaragua and in the *Polígono Norte* in the city of Seville in Spain. This approach also means that good practices, as they are presented in Lifelong Learning policies and practices, are a way to reduce the reality and to narrow the richness of educational practices truly committed to the transformation of people's daily life.

This mechanical interpretation of Freire's methodology is also presented in a kind of reductionism considering that the literacy method is only valid for adult people. There are some interesting experiences in the application of the method with children in primary school (e.g., Leite and Duarte 2010). I would like to stress here that—facing the hegemonic view in adult education today—the most important thing when working in a Freirean perspective are the processes that people undertake to become more aware of their life conditions. Walking alongside with others—adults or children—is a way of helping people to become literate.

A second issue that connects us to the duality oppressor/oppressed searches for an answer to the question: who can be considered illiterate today? Anthropologists such as Goody (1986, 1987) have studied the cultural changes taking place in various societies as a result of the introduction of systems of written communication. These cultural changes, in turn, raise new requirements that must be considered in determining the condition of the literate or illiterate.

What was said by Londoño more than 20 years ago is, unfortunately, effective today. Referring to the functionally illiterate, he said:

Functional illiterates are the working class children, youth, and adults of the popular sectors who share socio-economic, political and cultural deprivation, lack of education and limitation in understanding, fluency in the use of the written language, in maths and calculation, and in the basic aspects of social and cultural formation, to face the challenges of modernisation, scientific-technical development and, above all, the necessary changes in their conditions of existence. (1990: 52)

Londoño's statement drives us to the possibility to judge illiteracy as a form of oppression. At the present time, we can find several forms of illiteracy, but all of them are related to common people living in the Culture of Silence in their communities. The current policies and practices of Lifelong Learning seem to have forgotten that an illiterate is somebody that is not able to understand their surrounding environment. For instance, in my own work connected to the Participatory Budget experiment at the city of Seville, the major challenge was to connect literacy and citizenship by enabling people to understand the participatory budget's rules to take part in the district assemblies and present proposals concerning their neighbourhood (Lucio-Villegas et al. 2009).

In short, it seems that there are different kinds of illiterate people, and therefore, we can consider—and this is another matter—the different options and possibilities of both building and developing literacy processes, always linked to the context and needs of different and diverse people.

However, there is also another important question on this matter of literacies and illiterate people. For Garton and Pratt (1991), literacy has to do with the development of spoken language. It is true that all the studies of these authors are related to learning in primary school, but the fact remains that forms of expression and communication related to orality have been abandoned.

In addition, here, it is possible to find another critique to Freire's work. Some authors (e.g., Coben 1998) have suggested that Freire forgot orality as a primary and vital part of people's communicative skills. In fact, it is true that Freire always stressed the act of reading and the importance of writing, but, on the other hand, he always contemplated real people's existing situation as the starting point for educational intervention. This means that—in a lot of opportunities—orality is the starting point for literacy work. In addition, dialogue—the essential key element in Freire's methodology—is constructed and

conducted thanks to orality. Freire says: ‘In adult literacy, like in post literacy, the domain of both oral and written language is one of the dimensions in the process of expression’ (1984: 54). In fact, both generative words and generative themes were derived from the study of people’s oral universe in the so-called listening phase (Freire 1970). This reflection on literacies and illiterates drives us to the focal point of the unequal relations in society.

The Oppressor and the Oppressed

According to Dale and Hyslop-Margison (2012), Freire collected this dual concept from Marx and specifically from the duality between owners and workers. However, Freire also derived it from the so-called *young* Marx (e.g., Marx 1975) and his explanation about the relations of dominance in every domain of life and not only in economic terms. In fact, from his early works, Freire considered the educational process as one of liberation that has to allow people—as I noted before—to move away from the Culture of Silence and to learn the experience and confidence to say their own word. To maintain the oppression, the prevailing sectors in society sustain an educational system that Freire (1970) called banking education: deposits are made; rules are given; and knowledge is memorised not built. All these kinds of things perpetuate people in a state of alienation. To turn this around, his proposal is for a liberating education that supports people to say their own word/world. This means that people can express their dreams, desires, and hopes to find ways to act on these.

According to Freire (1970), banking education is characterised as follows:

1. The teacher teaches and the students are taught.
2. The teacher knows everything and the students know nothing.
3. The teacher thinks and the students are thought about.
4. The teacher talks and the students listen—meekly.
5. The teacher disciplines and the students are disciplined.
6. The teacher chooses and enforces his choice, and the students comply.
7. The teacher acts and the students have the illusion of acting through the action of the teacher.
8. The teacher chooses the program content, and the students (who were not consulted) adapt to it.
9. The teacher confuses the authority of knowledge with his or her own professional authority, which she and he set in opposition to the freedom of the students.
10. The teacher is the Subject of the learning process, while the pupils are mere objects (p. 73, capital letters in the original).

Liberating education is related to the process of conscientisation (see the next item in this section) and the way to reach autonomy and emancipation. Freire talked about humanisation:

Authentic liberation—the process of humanization—is not another deposit to be made in men [sic]. Liberation is praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it. Those truly committed to the cause of liberation can accept neither the mechanistic concept of consciousness as an empty vessel to be filled, nor the use of banking methods of domination (propaganda, slogans—deposits) in the name of liberation. (1970: 79)

Finally, Freire establishes a clear difference between banking and liberating education that it is rooted on a methodology which is based on problem posing:

Problem-posing education, as a humanist and liberating praxis, posits as fundamental that the people subjected to domination must fight for their emancipation. To that end, it enables teachers and students to become Subjects of the educational process by overcoming authoritarianism and an alienating intellectualism; it also enables people to overcome their false perception of reality. (1970: 86, capital letters in the original)

The question now is: who are the oppressed people today? Our social situation is characterised by the increase of social inequities, the loss of rights, not only economics but rights such as citizenship, or the deterioration of public services and the Welfare State. For these, I think that the Freirean concept of oppressed is an element that enables us to analyse social inequalities and acts of injustice. I would like to stress here the importance of analysing the new forms of oppression that we can find—among others—in the process of expelling important sectors of population from those that it is possible to define as a life with dignity and plenitude. To face this situation, Freire proposed to undertake a process to enable people to become more conscious of their situation and change it.

Paulo Freire primarily considered the oppressed as peasants without land (Freire 1973; hooks 2003). Deriving from it, some critiques have been presented to the concept of oppression and about who can be considered as oppressed. Feminists have been very critical, because Freire did not introduce gender as an element of oppression (e.g., Coben 1998; hooks 2003). This last author states that Freire, as other thinkers, has built a liberating paradigm presenting freedom and patriarchy as the same thing. However, she also adds, talking about Freire's legacy: 'to have a work that encourages liberation is so powerful gift, that it doesn't matter if the gift has any faults' (hooks 2003: 196).

The most important thing here seems to be that the analysis of oppression must go beyond traditional class analysis and, overall, that the oppressed can become aware of their oppression—and change this for one of liberation—by the process that Freire called conscientisation.

Conscientisation

This is the most controversial concept in all of Freire's thought. According to Kirkwood and Kirkwood (2011), it can be defined as

The process by which people are stimulated and encouraged to explore their reality and their awareness of it, so that their understanding of both reality and their own *consciousness* is deepened, and they begin to engage in *praxis*. (p. 172, italic type in the original)

It is related to concepts above as oppression. Freire stopped using it for a while, because he considered that it might be understood mainly in an epistemological sense: a man or a woman oppressed could be conscious about their own oppression in an intellectual way, and he or she can create some knowledge about this situation. As Torres (2007) affirmed:

Paulo Freire adopted the notion of conscientisation in his work and he launched a huge challenge to authoritarian and banking education, but he abandoned its use when he saw that it had been used as a guise to make up the implementation of an instrumental rationality under the disguise of a radical education. (p. 216)

For this, it is important to stress that Freire always uses the concept of conscientisation to make reference not only to the knowledge that a group of people have, but, beyond this, conscience is shaped in a process of investigation and changes—deriving from this process—concerning their own reality. In this process, each person, through dialogue, meets with other people and can move from a magical conscience to a critical one. We can say that conscientisation is a process and not a stage. In this path, Freire named different steps (Freire 1970; Barreiro 1986): magical consciousness where fate and inevitability are dominant in people's understanding, naïve consciousness which involves some understanding of the context in which events occur, but the analysis is shallow, and finally, critical consciousness where deeper and contextual analyses are evident. Conscientisation is more than merely consciousness rising; it also implies the need to act on what is known. However, the most important element that I want to stress is that conscientisation is shaped in the forge of everyday liberating actions that allow people not only to be conscious about their alienation, but changing the situations that are the cause of it. It can be said that this process of becoming conscious is also the long and winding road to emancipation.

The Educator

The role of the educator in a Freirean perspective has been undertaken from different perspectives. Sometimes, it was affirmed that Freire overturned the role of the educator by considering that educator and student are the same. It is not true. There are differences between educator and students and even between educators themselves. As Freire stated: 'There must be radical differences between left-wing and right-wing educators in their use of the same slide projector' (1984: 45).

According to Rubens (2000), the educator's model that derives from Freire's philosophy and methodology could be considered nearest to the reflective practitioner defined by authors such as Stenhouse (1987) as

a thoughtful gardener, whose work is not determined by economic interests, but rather by his devotion. He wants his plants to grow and knows how to treat them one by one. He may, no doubt, have a hundred different plants and yet he knows how to accord a differentiated treatment to each of them, pruning his rose bushes, but not his Tonka bean tree. (p. 53)

This statement drives us to reflect on the consequences of the educational processes as one of the major characteristics that are defining the current situation. I think that the educator should be more concerned about people than for tasks, aims, objectives, competencies, or benchmarks. I also think that the educator is always living on the edge, taking the risk to err but always learning from these mistakes to do their job as best as possible. In addition, of course, it is far away from the current policies and practices of Lifelong Learning that made—and still makes—the educator to disappear and change him or her into a practitioner, whose tasks are 'to accompany individuals on their unique journey through life' (CEC 2000: 17). In this line, it is also possible to find the attempt to dismiss our role as an educator to a role of guidance and counselling:

The future role of guidance and counselling professionals could be described as 'brokerage'. With the client's interests in the forefront, the 'guidance broker' is able to call on and tailor a wide range of information in order to help decide on the best course of action for the future. (CEC 2000: 16)

Against this reductionist, the idea of an educator, in Freire terms, is more related to the attempt to build—teachers and learners join together—different social relations based on justice and equity (Finger and Asún 2001).

In this direction, rethinking the role of the educator means, in my opinion, to restore the dignity and autonomy to do their work in a way that enables the educator to emancipate from the restrictions of the narrow framework that Lifelong Learning is shaping.

CONCLUSIONS

To finish this chapter, I would like to present some reflections on Paulo Freire's contributions to rethink adult education today.

In the first place, I think that it is important to consider—and at the same time being very careful—the uncritical acceptance of Freire's ideas. There is a kind of myth saying that his ideas could be useful in whatever context and situation as they are, without the necessity to reflect on them or to contemplate the way to adapt them to a specific context. By referring to Karl Marx, the historian Eric Hobsbawm (1997) used the Japanese notion of *Sensei*: an

intellectual master who we have profoundly indebted, a person for whom we show public respect but never uncritical. I have the feeling that, in some occasions, Freire's thought is used, out of its historical, cultural, and social context, where it was born, as a kind of indisputable truth. In this sense, I think that it could be interesting to return to Freire himself and follow his advice when he invited us to read a book in a critical way, to read a book adapting it to our own context (Freire 1985). This myth about Freire has also shadowed other important thinkers in adult education. Ettore Gelpi or Raymond Williams could be two examples of this.

The current social situation is—in my opinion—characterised by a globalisation process that limits the capacity of individuals to maintain their social and cultural identity and consigns people and culture to the oblivion. It is also characterised by an increase in social injustices, for an educational system anchored in homogenisation, and the search for standards and benchmarks.

Hardt and Negri (2005) have named this social situation as *Empire*. Here, I stress three major ideas. First, it is a response to the attempts of the working class to change the world. Empire tries to stop the cooperative work of the multitude, because resistance that struggles to preserve this cooperative work can shape another whole social life. Second is the notion of *non-place* for exploitation: Empire tries to dominate life as a whole. The place to exploit people is a *non-place*, because it is the entirety of social life, relationships, and people's dreams. In short, Empire has turned all life into productive life. The third idea is in relation to immaterial work: 'In post modernity, accumulated social wealth is more and more immaterial, including social relationships, communicational and informational systems, and emotional nets' (Hardt and Negri 2005: 281).

Social inequalities have an important economic background, and sometimes, education is presented as a kind of miraculous solution against them. However, education is not the only answer to every social problem. We have to look for responses and changes at the microlevel of communities and villages. In this direction, the concept of conscientisation that Freire used, abandoned, and recovered afterwards at the end of his works enables us to remember that the conscientisation on the causes of injustices is only possible from transformative social actions in contexts where our daily life takes place with others. We cannot change anything if we are not able to act in these quotidian and nearest places. For instance, if we are living in an endless war (Hardt and Negri 2004), we have to avoid the use of symbolic violence in our teaching. This could be a small change at microlevel in the quotidian life of millions of young people.

Culture, in the Freirean approach, is a collective construction linked to these social contexts where people live at the same time that culture is created. This concept of culture is essential to understand how we can resist globalisation processes that aspire to unify all the diversity in only one and dominant culture that becomes dehumanised. This culture forgets the local, the quotidian, and the things that have made sense and significance in the life of the people and instead presents these traditional and local forms as both backward and

obsolete. The idea of culture, as a humanised and social process, against the Culture of Silence that the prevailing sectors of society want to impose to everybody, is today an urgent task to preserve the cultural diversity that enriches and dignifies the life of the people and their communities.

The ignoble reductionist considering a person as only a producer or consumer and not as a human being has created an educational system based on the transmission of content only valid as workforce but not for living. The Freirean notion of dialogue is totally opposed to this reductionism. Dialogue should allow the presence of a diversity of knowledge that is related to people's experiences. Dialogue impedes the homogenisation of the educational situations. Each educational process is unique and is adequate to the specific situation where individuals are living. Dialogue, as well, is the guarantee to recuperate education as space—not only for hope—of collective creation and recreation of the world, reflecting on it and undertaken actions to change it. In this way, education helps us to create different social relations based on the justice, participation, equity, and creativity.

I would like to finish this chapter quoting a statement extracted from Torres (2007) that could be a good conclusion in rethinking Freire's legacy today:

The contribution that Paulo Freire afforded us is a pedagogy that expanded our perception of the world, nourished our compromise with social transformation, enlightened our understanding of both the causes and consequences of human suffering, and inspired and flared up both an ethical and utopian pedagogy addressed to social change. (p. 218)

NOTE

1. For quotations, I have always used the Spanish version of the book (see references).

REFERENCES

- Allman, P. (1988). Gramsci, Freire and Illich: Their contribution to education for socialism. In T. Lovett (Ed.), *Radical approaches to adult education: A reader*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Barreiro, J. (1986). *Educación Popular y proceso de concientización*. México: Siglo XXI.
- Brandão, C. R. (1981). *O que é. Metodo Paulo Freire*. Sao Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.
- Coben, D. (1998). *Radical Heroes: Gramsci, Freire and the politics of adult education*. New York: Garland.
- Commission of the European Communities. (2000). *Commission staff working paper. A memorandum on lifelong learning*, Brussels, European Union. SEC (2000) 1832.
- Dale, J., & Hyslop-Margison, E. (2012). *Paulo Freire: Teaching for freedom and transformation. The philosophical influences on the work of Paulo Freire*. Dordrecht: Springer.

- Fernández, J. A. (2001). Paulo Freire y la educación liberadora. In J. Trilla (coord.), *El legado pedagógico del siglo XX para la escuela del siglo XXI*. Barcelona: Graó.
- Feinberg, W., & Torres, C. A. (2001). Democracy and education: John Dewey and Paulo Freire. *Educational Practice and Theory*, 23(1), 59–70.
- Finger, M., & Asún, J. M. (2001). *Adult education at the crossroad. Learning the way out*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (1973). *Extension or communication*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Freire, P. (1978). *Pedagogy in process: The letters of Guinea-Bissau*. New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (1984). *La importancia de leer y el proceso de liberación*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.
- Freire, P. (1985). *The politics of education. Culture, power and liberation*. South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey Publishers.
- Freire, P. (1986). *La Educación como práctica de la libertad*. Madrid: Siglo XXI [English edition, Freire, P. (1976). *Education: The practice of freedom*. London: Writers and Readers].
- Freire, P. (1993). *Pedagogy of the city*. New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (1994). *Pedagogy of hope*. New York: Continuum.
- Freire, P., Gadotti, M., & Guimarães, S. (2001). *Pedagogia: Dialóg i Conflict*. Xàtiva: Edicions del CREC.
- Gadotti, M. (2005). *Llegint Paulo Freire*. Xàtiva: Edicions del CREC.
- Garton, A., & Pratt, C. (1991). *Aprendizaje y proceso de alfabetización*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Goody, J. (1986). *The logic of writing and the organization of society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goody, J. (1987). *The interface between the written and the oral*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1974). *La formación de los intelectuales*. Barcelona: Grijalbo.
- Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2005). *Imperio*. Barcelona: Paidós. [English edition, Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2000). *Empire*. Boston: Harvard University Press].
- Hardt, M., & Negri, A. (2004). *Multitude*. New York: The Penguin Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1997). *On history*. New York: The New Press.
- Hooks, b. (2003). bell hooks parla de Paulo Freire: l'home, l'obra. In P. McLaren & P. Leonard (Eds.), *Paulo Freire. Un encontre crític*. Xàtiva: Edicions del CREC. [English edition, hooks, b. (1993). bell hooks speaking about Paulo Freire—The man, his work. In P. McLaren & P. Leonard (Eds.), *Paulo Freire: A critical encounter*. New York: Routledge].
- Kincheloe, J. (2008). *Critical pedagogy*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Kirkwood, G., & Kirkwood, C. (2011). *Living adult education. Freire in Scotland*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Kirkwood, C., & Lucio-Villegas, E. (2012). Freirean approaches to citizenship. An interview with Colin Kirkwood. In C. Kirkwood (Ed.), *The persons in relation perspective*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Leite, O., & Duarte, J. B. (2010). Aprender a leer el mundo: Un acto educativo liberador a la luz de la Pedagogía Freireana. In E. Lucio-Villegas & P. Aparicio (Eds.), *El valor de la palabra. Alfabetizaciones, liberaciones y ciudadanías planetarias*. Xàtiva: Edicions del CREC.
- Londoño, L. O. (1990). Un nuevo punto de partida. In L. O. Londoño (Ed.), *El analfabetismo funcional. Un nuevo punto de partida*. Madrid: Populár.

- Lucio-Villegas, E. (2009). Paulo Freire: A beginner's guide. *Concept. The Journal of Contemporary Community Education Practice Theory*, 1(1), 1–5.
- Lucio-Villegas, E. (2015). *Adult education in communities. Approaches from a participatory perspective*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Lucio-Villegas, E., et al. (2009). Educating citizenship in the background of participatory budgets. In E. Lucio-Villegas (Ed.), *Citizenships as politics. International perspectives from adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Mayo, P. (1999). *Gramsci, Freire and adult education: Possibilities for transformative action*. London: Zed Books.
- Marx, K. (1975). *Manuscritos económico-filosóficos de 1844*. Barcelona: Grijalbo.
- Moore, A. (1995). Estilo literario, etnocentrismo y bilingüismo en clase de inglés. In P. Woods & M. Hammersley (Eds.), *Género, etnia y cultura en la escuela*. Barcelona: Paidós.
- Park, P. (2001). Knowledge and participatory research. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *Handbook of action research*. London: Sage.
- Rule, P. (2002). Bakhtin and Freire: Dialogue, dialectic and boundary learning. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 43(9), 924–942.
- Rubens, J. (2000). *Paulo Freire. Retalhos Biobibliográficos*. Sao Paulo: Edições Pulsar.
- Souza, J. F. (2007). Modernidad 'versus' Postmodernidad en la cultura de acuerdo con la perspectiva Freireana. In A. C. Scocuglia (org.), *Paulo Freire en el tiempo presente*. Xàtiva: Edicions del CREC.
- Stenhouse, L. (1987). *La investigación como base de la enseñanza*. Madrid: Morata.
- Torres, C. A. (2007). Paulo Freire y el aprendizaje transformador de la Justicia Social. In A. C. Scocuglia (org.), *Paulo Freire en el tiempo presente*. Xàtiva: Edicions del CREC.
- Torres, C. A., & Morrow, R. A. (2002). *Reading Freire and Habermas: Critical pedagogy and transformative social change*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Torres, C. A., O'Cadiz, M. P., & Lindquist, P. (1998). *Education and democracy. Paulo Freire, social movements and educational reform in São Paulo*. Boulder, CO: West View Press.
- Welton, M. R. (1995). *In defence of the lifeworld: Critical perspectives on adult learning*. New York: Suny Press.
- Williams, R. (1961). An open letter to WEA tutors. In J. McIlroy & S. Westwood (Eds.), (1993) *Border country: Raymond Williams in Adult Education*. Leicester: NIACE.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Emilio Lucio-Villegas is Senior Lecturer at the University of Seville, Spain. His research focuses on adult education and citizenship. He holds the *Phyllis M. Cunningham Award for Social Justice* (2010). He is member of the Steering Committee of the European Society for Research on the Education of the Adults (ESREA), and Joint Editor of the ESREA Book Series *Research on the Education and Learning of Adults* (Sense). His latest publication includes *Adult Education in Communities: Approaches from a participatory perspective* (Sense, 2015).

Learning and Experience: A Psycho-Societal Approach

Henning Salling Olesen

Abstract This chapter introduces a psycho-societal approach to theorizing learning, combining a materialist theory of socialization with a hermeneutic interpretation methodology. The term ‘approach’ indicates the intrinsic connection between theory, empirical research process, and epistemic subject. Learning is theorized as a dynamic subjective experience of (socially situated) realities, relying on individual subjectivity as well as subjective aspects of social interaction. This psycho-societal theory of subjective experiences conceptualizes individual psychic development as interactional experience of societal relations, producing an inner psycho-dynamics as a conscious and unconscious individual resource in future life. The symbolization of immediate sensory experiences forms an individual life experience of social integration, and language use being the medium of collective, social experience (knowledge, culture). This life experience remains a (hidden) potential in all future experience building.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces a psycho-societal approach to theorizing learning, combining a materialist theory of socialization with a hermeneutic interpretation methodology. The term ‘approach’ indicates the intrinsic connection between the theory, the empirical research process, and the epistemic subject. This theory of learning was initially developed from a critique of the traditional pedagogical theory, based on a wider conception of experience building (Salling Olesen 1989, 2007c). We wanted to develop a methodology for understanding people’s learning motives—and resistances—in the context of their past, present, and future life experiences, in which the totality of their everyday life world

H. Salling Olesen (✉)
Roskilde University, Roskilde P.O. Box 260 4000, Denmark
e-mail: hso@ruc.dk

and basic societal conditions are condensed. Learning is theorized as a dynamic subjective experience of (socially situated) realities, relying on individual subjectivity as well as subjective aspects of social interaction. Here, societal relations play a role not only 'from the outside', shaping the social situation and situating the object of experience, but also 'from the inside', by the societal production of the learner subject that has taken place throughout his/her life history.

This psycho-societal theory of subjective experiences is a material socialization theory—seeing individual psychic development as an interactional experience of societal relations and producing an inner psycho-dynamics as a conscious and unconscious individual resource, and this life experience remains a (hidden) potential in all future experience building. The symbolization of immediate sensory experiences forms an individual life experience of social integration, since language use is the medium of collective, social experience (knowledge and culture). Emotional and cognitive processes are closely interwoven, being aspects of subjective processing of cultural meaning and societal conditions. Their interweaving in the individual's life history enables us to study subjective aspects of symbolic activity and language use and their relation to lived experience.

Paradigmatically, this is a mediation or synthesis of critical theory of society and the symbol interpretational focus in psychoanalysis. In this chapter, the intention is to bring this back to the field of education and learning, and unfold the consequences for the understanding of learning processes of different kinds. The object of study is primarily learning in everyday life, with a secondary, derived perspective on intentional and formal educational activities. This framework will also have consequences for the understanding of knowledge—using a psycho-social reconfiguration of the notion of language games from Wittgenstein to theorize knowledge as embedded in socio-material practices. It will enable a knowledge sociology perspective on educational curricula and the subject organization of formal education. It will also involve perspectives for understanding identities related to knowledge and learning, such as the learning processes associated with specific social practices such as professional and craft work.

Drawing on important developments in contemporary learning theory, this chapter will establish an understanding of learning within the concept of experience, relating it to basic societal structures as well as to the individual everyday life history of learners. After this, a methodology for the empirical study of learning and experiences is presented, accompanied by theoretical insights from a materialist socialization theory which enables an understanding of the dialectic relation between individual sensory experiences and cultural symbolization in the form of language. The individual learning process is related to cultural processes of critique and articulation by the notion of 'ideology critique' in critical theory and its search for utopian potentials in everyday social life. The final section returns to learning in a more narrow sense, using examples to argue that the methodology and theory presented will enable a new and deeper understanding of learning processes.

LEARNING AS A SOCIAL AND CULTURAL PROCESS

Theorizing learning has previously been the business of schools and the discipline of education. Educational thinking has dealt with issues ranging from the philosophy and rationales of education to the very technical issues of efficient teaching and teacher training, but its horizon has been defined by formal or non-formal education and training. The implicit or explicit theory of learning has assumed a learning outcome, practically confined to individuals, as the result of teaching transmitting certain knowledge, skills, and even attitudes or values. Most learning research has accordingly been instrumentalised by the perspectives of this cumulative, transfer-oriented idea of learning. Development psychology, instructional psychology, educational management, and theories of curriculum have been prevailing theoretical frameworks—and when widening the scope of attention to students' 'reality' or past experiences, mostly used as a *tool* for more efficient education and training.

In recent years, learning research has developed beyond this psychological and educational framework. A shift in societal thinking on the importance of learning and human resource development has been labelled 'lifelong learning' in policy agendas, pointing to the need and the opportunity for learning in all phases and spheres of life. Several other more or less independent developments have drawn attention to learning processes in diverse settings, far away from formal or non-formal education and training. Furthermore, an entirely new situation of access to knowledge and communication technologies and the introduction of different forms of blended and remote learning formats have drawn attention to 'learning without teaching'. We might speak of an emerging 'Copernican turn', redefining the very object of research by seeing learning as an aspect of social processes which are structured by something entirely different. This shift has been particularly clear in relation to adults' learning, directly interfering with work-related education and training, but it can also be expected to affect school and academic education.

Industry's increasing interest in human resources has boosted interest in broader theories of learning and subjectivity. Policy-driven thinking is looking for the potentials and the needs for learning in every aspect of everyday life, speaking of human resources, competence, or specific skills. Correspondingly, learning research now includes studies involving many of these learning environments—work life, everyday life interaction, cultural practices, social work, and medical practice—and looking at learning as an aspect of these domains of social life. In this way, learning research transcends the fundamental scheme of education in which institutions/teachers intentionally nurture the learning processes. Theories of education and training will now need to understand learning within education in relation to learning and experiences in people's lives as a whole.

Many of the new learning studies lean on the logics of various fields of practice and are mostly also under-theorized. They often remain 'ideological' in the sense that they deal with truly important and novel issues in a very abstract

way, when discussing learning in general, in contexts of ‘organization’, ‘tools’, ‘knowledge’, and ‘practices’, not to mention ‘creativity’ and ‘innovation’, without further specification. A critical theory of learning should lead to more fundamental theorizing than just re-describing social environments with new learning categories, or establishing metaphorical ‘floating signifiers’. It should maintain a focus on understanding the learning processes themselves, but also reflect the societal dynamics and interests involved in this redefinition of the research horizon. It should also enable a critical awareness of the limitations on human development and autonomy that these societal dynamics may entail and work out ideas about richer, better, and more democratic learning practices.

However, there are also substantially theorizing trends in learning research informed by these developments. I shall briefly comment on some of the most important trends.

One development is to conceptualize learning in the context of social practice. Inspired by anthropological thinking about cultural transmission, we may see learning as the gradual inclusion in a community of practice, i.e. a group of people whose shared practice also forms a cultural framework and meaning making (Lave and Wenger 1991). This development has been very important as a critical perspective on teaching. However, the early anthropological or cultural theories of learning have—rightly, I think—been criticized for a conservative bias, because they tend to mould the learning process in the forms of the established practice or organization under consideration, often a workplace. While the subjective meaning of the immediate workplace context is obvious, the fact that ‘work’ is a societal life condition for most learners, and the meanings and conflicts following from this, receive little attention. The societal outlook is rather narrow. Wenger (1998) seems to go beyond this problem by generalizing the notion of community of practice, so that in his sense, it is not necessarily a specific social context. In his model, learning is connected with the trajectory of the learning individual within, across, and between a number of communities in which (s)he participates and negotiates meaning and identity. However, it remains very vague how community of practice applies to all the interesting—and conflicting—social affiliations of the worker in, and in relation to, the workplace: formal organization of a company, informal organization(s) at the workplace, professional affiliations, trade union, and family situation. In practical analytical applications of the concepts, however, there is a tendency to identify the community that enables the subjective meaning making as one specific organization, work process, or location. Wenger’s point of the trajectory across different communities of practice, and the potential conflicts between them, is often lost in application.

The vagueness may also become a virtue in a more systems’ theory-oriented approach of cultural learning theory, opening a perspective on general systems and broader historical transitions, as in Finnish researcher Yrjö Engeström’s activity theory. Locating learning processes in complex social relations such as networks and institutions is obviously inspiring for organization and management research, but it leaves little theoretical trace of the dialectic between

particular (individual) perspectives and soci(et)al forms of meaning making. Furthermore, it does not account for a wider societal context than the organizational totality of the functionality (or dysfunctionality) of systems—which was the important innovation anthropological or cultural theory brought into learning theory in the first place.

The anthropological inspiration has drawn attention to the implicit content of learning, but it does not provide good answers to some of the other important questions in relation to learning: what are the driving forces and dynamics of the process? In what way does the learner make meaning of and ‘negotiate’ his/her identity in existing social communities, and when can we say that this continuing modification of identity and meaning making has the quality of learning, not just of change? In fact, it may be questioned whether there is a theory of learning, or rather a relevant account of (parts of) the social context in which learning may take place. Creating a proper theory of learning requires theorizing the learner as a subject in its own right, and the processes that s/he is undergoing in the interaction with and inclusion in the cultural environment (the learner not necessarily being a person).

Psychological theorizing has its point of departure in the individual. Until now, it has seemed difficult to connect the attention to social context in learning theory with the concepts of the individual learner and learning potential available in learning psychology and cognitive science, which has been strongly influenced by the works of Jean Piaget. However, it has been attempted, and some contributions are more rewarding than others. Stephen Billett, in his book on workplace learning (Billett 2001), refers—critically, however—to the concepts of situated learning to frame the learning within the workplace, while also seeing learning as the result of problem solving in work processes in the analysis of concrete cases. The important insights, namely, the attention to the agency of the learner, and the socially embedded and material nature of learning, are eye opening in the context of the theme of promoting learning in the workplace. They emphasize the fact that workers are agents of learning enabled or enforced by the workplace, that workers are in fact learning all the time, and that there are endless possibilities to create workplaces that are more supportive and stimulating for workers’ learning.

However, in this approach, the workplace remains relatively abstracted from the wider societal environment. Learning is seen in particular cases as interplay between the concrete materiality of the work process and the worker. This abstraction may be connected to the strategic, practical development perspective, and it limits theorizing of the social context. However, I also see some limitations here in understanding the subjective aspects of learning.

Billett understands learning processes as the cognitive aspect of problem solving (and knowledge building). By distinguishing routine and non-routine work, he defines work situations in relation to the experience of the learner subject and, hence, their subjective status as problems to be solved, or not. However, this distinction also simplifies the possible meanings embedded in the materiality of the work processes. It seems likely that work ‘means more’ to the

worker, relative to his or her subjective experience, than contained in the dichotomy of routine or problem/challenge. The possible learning outcome (or lack of outcome) of the encounter between the worker and the task or the perceived problem depends on much more complicated relations between the worker and the work process, which again involves the life experiences of the worker and the specific nature of the work process.

Michael Eraut (1994) has analysed professional knowledge and competencies in terms of the ways of knowing and using knowledge in work situations. He provides interesting and distinctive discussions of theories of knowledge and knowledge use, and he relates them to the features of the work situation and the dependence on the tasks being performed. In this way, he provides a useful corrective to generalizing theories of knowledge and professions, and especially emphasizes the processual and contextual nature of knowledge use.

Indirectly, this is also a way of theorizing learning (similar to Billett's analyses) as ways in which knowledge is being used and how knowledge resources are modified in the problem-solving processes of work. However, this contribution to learning theory is restricted to (or at least strongly prioritizes) the cognitive dimension. Despite an obvious awareness of other dimensions, such as the learner's personal experiences and the specific nature of the work, they appear as ad hoc analytic observations and distinctions which are not theorized. Eraut's mission is different: to study the development of knowledge and competence. As I have argued elsewhere, however, this mission would gain strength by paying systematic attention to the dynamics of learning and to the subjective meaning of work and knowledge for the professional (Salling Olesen 2007a).

Contributions like those referred to in this section relocate the horizon of learning to real-life situations which are not defined as teaching or learning contexts. By emphasizing social situatedness and participation in practice, they widen the horizon for some strands of theorizing which have otherwise been confined to pedagogy, to the world of school and teaching. This applies on the one hand to cognitive constructionism, originating in, e.g., Piaget's learning and developmental psychology, and on the other hand to what was labelled 'experiential learning' (Dewey, Kolb) but was actually rather 'experience-based teaching'.

They are important contributions to a learning theory which is not confined to school or pedagogy. However, they share a tendency to operate with abstract learner subjects, individuals without history, both in the sense of a life history and in the sense of societal and cultural attributes, such as gender.

Such generalizing characterization may be unfair to these approaches. My point is not to judge or reject some of the most productive lines of thinking about learning. Rather, I want to point out that precisely, their broadening of the theoretical horizon from formal education to learning processes in general, a theory of learning as experience, raises some new theoretical challenges: first, the societal dimensions defining the practical environment, including the historical/cultural framework of knowledge and meaning making, and second,

the subjective mediation of culture in the individual life history of the human agent, and the subjective dynamics of learning processes.

I have until now dealt with these conceptual challenges by conceptualizing specific experiential learning processes within ‘grand theory’ frameworks from Marxism and psychoanalysis. In the next section, I will show how a theoretical concern with political education and consciousness via the focus on subjective dimensions of social life led to a new approach to learning. What I call here a psycho-societal approach first emerged as a methodological inspiration in work with life historical material, and then developed into a broader framework for theorizing learning processes, their cultural embeddedness, and their societal (political) implications.

LEARNING AND THE EXPERIENCE OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN CAPITALISM

I am not an educationalist or teacher by profession. My approach to learning theory came from outside, in the first place via a critique of political elitism and authoritarian traditions in communism, and the absence of socialist visions in the social democrat labour movement. As a student activist with a rural working-class background who was class conscious in a vague way, but unpolitical, I need to understand the absence of political agency against social injustice. I came across Oskar Negt’s critique of political education in the labour movement (Negt 1964)—but it might have also been Paolo Freire. Pointing out that the preconditions for mobilization of class consciousness in the sense of the traditional labour movements (communist and social democrat alike) were disappearing, Negt developed his alternative vision of ‘exemplary learning’. His point was that instead of stuffing people with theory about capitalism and socialist principles—which obviously had failed in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s—labour education should take everyday experiences of working class people as its point of departure. He was writing this book at a time when industrial workers were rebelling against the price paid for economic prosperity in terms of work intensity and environmental risks, and against the lack of practical democracy in the labour movement itself. His points might have appeared less hopeful in other periods when there were no rebellions, and when the concrete experiences were less overt. Today, it seems obvious that a theory of class consciousness extrapolated from the *traditional industrial* labour is obsolete, because the huge mass industry workplaces have diminished, and the working class is much more differentiated. However, Negt’s argument from this early book that political education must support learning from the concrete everyday experience of *being a worker* helped to unleash the notion of experience from its didactic context in ‘experiential learning’. Negt’s notion of experience is not just pieces of raw material for (intended) learning, but the subjective experience of a whole life situation—individual life experience and collective historical experience (Salling Olesen 1989; Negt 2001). However, it *also* points to everyday life experiences (in the plural) from working life, family, public

sphere, and mass media: the consciousness of social injustice, the feelings of alienation, repression, and humiliation as well as the self-confidence of being a capable worker, a provider, and able to maintain a decent life. All the contradictions of everyday life, changing from day to day and producing ambivalent feelings, are raw material being processed in the actual world view and awareness of possible agency; they are the basis of learning processes and conscious experience building. This notion of experience which originates in the philosophy of the Frankfurt School is one of the first foundations of learning theory which is not confined to educational settings and intentions. It borrows from contemporary interdisciplinary social research (Negt refers to the American sociologist C. Wright Mills regarding the need for sociological imagination [Mills 1959]), and from phenomenology (defining the life world as the immediate horizon), but it distinguishes itself from the micro perspective in two points. First, it refers to a Marxist framework of understanding the basic societal relations, primarily the socioeconomic reality of capitalism and wage labour which structures the life world of most people. The second point is the historical dimension which is aware of the ‘weight of the world’ (to quote a much later book title), the historical materiality of social reality, but also of its changeability, always searching for the latent utopian aspects in the everyday life world. The title, social imagination, concerned the connections between the specific micro-social life world and macro-societal totality (cf. Wright Mills), and this holistic understanding of reality is also the precondition for imagining a (different) future. One can align this idea for political learning processes with the idea of negative dialectic in the Frankfurt School critique of positivist social science. In this context, the cognitive dynamic in learning from experience is less elaborated. I shall return to this below, since it is a key point in the psycho-societal approach. However, for the theory of political learning, it is a decisive point that the potential for change is endogenous, and it is a potential in historically given materiality, not an exogenous theoretical input from a teacher or a political elite. Political agency must be based on life-world experiences. Utopian perspectives must be grounded in the constitution of capitalism itself to be realistic, considering that capitalism is the constitutive organization of our society, but such perspectives must have their footing in ‘living work’ and the imagination of working life beyond capitalist control. Negt later expressed this in a book title *Nur noch Utopien sind realistisch* (*Now only Utopias Are Realistic*) (Negt 2012).

In his later political philosophy, Negt has elaborated the political importance of work experiences (Negt 1984), and in *Geschichte und Eigensinn* (Negt and Kluge 1981; Negt 2014), the scope was broadened into a civilization history of subjectivity. This book explores how human subjectivity is constituted in reproduction by work—in the evolutionary development of work capability and in the history of human civilizations. The horizon is not the narrow sense of paid work or in the historically limited form of industrial work but the living engagement with the environment in all its forms. Within this notion, capitalism is just one historical societal order, and the life mode of wage labour is

important but not a universal historical form of subjectivity (Salling Olesen 1999, 2009). In my opinion, Negt and Kluge provide a decisive development in Marxist theory. They give a logical complement to Marx's theory as developed in *Grundrisse* and *Das Kapital*, and they outline a new version of historical materialism as a history of human learning and work-based civilization (Salling Olesen 1997). Here we see the link to the theorizing of learning. With the notion of a political economy of labour,¹ they express the overarching political challenge for learning theory today: how can we, living in the middle of capitalism with its ability to flexibly subordinate all materiality and all subjectivity, see any *material dynamic* that can produce substantial change? Negt's and my own concept of experience entail this historical and material theorization of subjectivity as a framework for critical empirical study. In the tradition of the Frankfurt School, the aim of the critique is to reveal the historical and changeable nature of social reality, and to discover the invisible but latent potentials. By insisting on a principle of endogeneity, this critical tradition maintains a strictly materialist ontology while paying respect to the power of intellectual work and the dialectic between social reality and knowing and learning. Negt and Kluge provided a conceptual framework that embraces evolutionary as well as historical dimensions of the material production of subjectivity—a Marxist phylogenesis. For learning theory, however, the ontogenetic dimension, the development of subjectivity in an individual's life, is the immediate context in which learning processes may or may not take place. Negt's critique of labour education pointed out that the understanding of societal learning processes must start in the subjective experience of everyday life.

Transferring this insight into the wider field of learning research that is emerging with life-long learning implies a need to develop theories and methods that illuminate learning in the context of the learner subjects. The life-history approach was a first attempt to establish an empirical method for understanding the subjective experience process. As a point of departure, we worked with a societal understanding of subjectivity by means of the categories of wage labour and gender, which were obviously relevant. However, besides the obvious, we had to work with a methodology which could help us understand the unpredictability and contradictions in subjectivity. It is social but not immediately conscious in all its aspects. The next section points out some of the experiences of this development.

A METHODOLOGY FOR UNDERSTANDING SUBJECTIVE EXPERIENCE

For many years, the life-history research group at Roskilde University has explored life-history approaches to understanding learning and participation in education and (work) identity processes, for example, by studying professional learning processes, motivation for learning, competencies, and formal qualifications. The basic idea is to align with the subjective perspective, and to seek to understand learning within everyday life, which includes the meaning of

education and training for the individual subject. However, we also want to trace the dimension of the life experience of the individual subject as a result of the past life, assuming that learning is a highly differentiated experience. In some cases, we use life stories in the form of narrative interviews as our material; in others, we have merely attempted, in a life-history perspective, to understand subjective dimensions in other material documenting individual identity processes, and also in social interaction in everyday life, including work organizations, by means of interpreting interviews or interactions.

Our life-history research has had several sources of inspiration. From the beginning, we drew on the rich experience of biographical research in education, sociology, and other disciplines. I have described this methodological experience elsewhere (Salling Olesen 2016); here, I want to focus on another development which led to the psycho-societal approach. In the concept of life history, we want to integrate not only the conscious meaning making (*ex post*) of the subject, but also the life experiences formed by societal (objective) conditions that are significant for the life course (including education and training) and for learning in any life situation, without necessarily being conscious or assigned meaning by the individual subject. In the first place, we also work with a method from social psychology, thematic group discussion, which has been used in researching consciousness of everyday life (Leithäuser 1976). In this application, the method was inspired by a tradition of psychoanalytically informed cultural analysis, especially the work of Alfred Lorenzer, and also a phenomenologically informed attention to the experience of mundane everyday life. Lorenzer, in brief, draws on the hermeneutic methodology of psychoanalysis, namely, ‘scenic understanding’. He separates the methodological principles of psychoanalysis—simultaneous attention, free association, and the concepts of transfer and counter transfer—from the clinical context of doctor-patient relationships, and transfers them to social and cultural interpretive practices.

Lorenzer (1922–2002) was a medical psychiatrist trained in Freudian psychoanalysis, but took an early interest in societal critique and cultural theory based on the Frankfurt School of critical theory. The understanding of subjective structure as influenced by societal conditions increasingly came to dominate his theoretical thinking. As early as 1970, he criticized the psychoanalytical concept of the ‘symbol’ (Lorenzer 1970b), placed it in a linguistic science context (Lorenzer 1970a), and subsequently logically expanded its application into socialization theory (Lorenzer 1972), epistemology (Lorenzer 1974), and cultural analysis (Lorenzer and König 1986). Lorenzer’s socialization theory enabled an understanding of the unconscious—the most radical element in psychoanalysis—as a result of symbolic interaction. In this way, Lorenzer followed a decisive development in psychoanalysis, interpreting psychodynamics as a result of social interaction experiences in the early period of life, first between an infant and its mother (caregiver), without giving up the radical insights of Freud’s theory.²

His proposal for an ‘in-depth hermeneutic’ cultural analysis methodology was launched in an environment with an almost complete split between social sciences

and psychology/psychoanalysis. His transformation of the 'scenic understanding' from clinical to text interpretation enables us to understand collective unconscious meaning in texts. The individual sensory experiences of social relations and meanings in immediate interaction are connected with the wider social world in the form of symbols. The issues of psychotherapy, disturbances of the psychic development, were reinterpreted as disturbances of the possibility to symbolize individual sensory experiences in socially recognized language, as expressed in the early book titles *Kritik des psychoanalytischen Symbolbegriffs* (*Critique of the Psychoanalytic Concept of Symbol*) and *Sprachzerstörung und Rekonstruktion* (*Language Destruction and Reconstruction*), both published in 1970. The works that followed developed methodological ideas for an endogenous understanding of the subjective dimensions of social interaction and language, in quite the opposite direction to that taken by Freud in his meta-psychological and cultural theory.

Lorenzer's development of scenic understanding in the interpretation of symbolic interaction and artefacts provides the foundation for a cultural dimension that is important for learning. In our life-history approach, we were directly inspired by in-depth hermeneutics, transferring this to our interpretation of subjective meaning in told narratives, group discussions, and also interaction observation protocols (field diaries). The great challenge and achievement in this development has been to draw experiences from some of the most fundamental theoretical and methodological discussions into very mundane research practice, such as learning in everyday life.³

THE CORE OF A NEW LEARNING THEORY: SOCIALIZATION, SENSORY EXPERIENCE, AND LANGUAGE GAMES

In this section, I shall give a brief account of those elements in Lorenzer's theories that are particularly important for learning theory. In order to understand the perspective for learning theory of the in-depth hermeneutic method, one must immerse oneself in the relation between immediate individual experience and social/cultural symbolization, i.e. language, and the establishment of this relation through life historical interaction.

Within a broad and multi-faceted tradition of Marxist analysis of society and psycho-dynamic theorizing of the subject, there are two interrelated reasons for focusing on Lorenzer in learning theory. One is that Lorenzer is particularly important for the development of a methodology of empirical research which in a creative way combines societal and psychodynamic dimensions in the interpretation of subjectivity. The other is that his socialization theory, with its focus on language while maintaining a clearly materialistic view of the body and the socio-material structure of society, provides a dynamic and material understanding of the relation between (societal) knowledge and (bodily, individual) sensory experience. The socialization theory is interesting in itself; it has been well known, since it appeared in the early 1970s, but it gains a new significance for learning theory when we adopt Lorenzer's cultural interpretation method.

Together, these two positive factors enable a study of the dynamics of experience and learning in mundane everyday life.

The socialization process establishes the mediation of individual sensory and emotional interaction experience and societal meanings through the learning of language. Symbolic/cultural meaning (for the individual) is seen as a complex mediation of social and sensory experience from interaction, with both conscious and unconscious aspects. Lorenzer developed the key concept of 'interaction forms' to understand the inner, pre-linguistic experiences of practices and relations. These interaction forms are later connected with the socially recognized language to form *symbolic interaction forms*, and the capacity for symbolic production, i.e. to connect language and sensory interaction, can be seen as an integrating result of socialization. This understanding of the early socialization process enabled Lorenzer to see language, interaction, and bodily (drive) processes in their wider societal context. Lorenzer's thoughts on the role of language in subject constitution build on the theory of language games, which he adopted from the works of Ludwig Wittgenstein and developed further. Language is anchored in concrete social practices in a dialectic unit of language use, everyday life practice, and view of the world (Weber 2010). Language games are thus defined as the interface at which subjective and objective (cultural) structures are entangled, and mediate the relationship between specific individuals and societal culture. Approached in this way, language and consciousness are inseparably linked with social practice. In the context of learning, this means that both the original links between interaction forms, social practice, and language, and the lifelong capacity to build new and revise such links are at the core of learning capacity.

The theory of a psychodynamic dimension of the relation between individual (sensory) experience, language, and social practice makes the theory particularly relevant for understanding learning in everyday life interaction where learning is not the main cause. The most elementary observation in theorizing learning in everyday life is that most often, it seems that no learning takes place. Everyday life is routine, ways of thinking are aligned with the practices, and deviations and disturbances are integrated easily. Cases where problems are recognized as problems and unresolved issues as novelties are exceptions. Thomas Leithäuser pointed out that this tendency to habitual consciousness is defended by an active collective effort. He called the capacity to wipe away painful and disturbing circumstances 'everyday life consciousness', and analysed the social and psychodynamic factors involved in this defensive consciousness (Leithäuser 1976). Yet, people do sometimes learn. However, it is not easy to discover why and when, even for the people themselves. In addition, more systematic intended learning processes appear unpredictable, influenced as they are by invisible forces that sometimes produce indifference or even resistance and sometimes an intense engagement and curiosity. Lorenzer's theory of socialization and language games enables us to understand the 'invisible' subjective dimensions in everyday life interactions and articulations. The focus is on the

specific individual mediation of societal conditions and historical circumstances, which is embodied in the individual subject and plays out in consciousness and emotional engagements throughout life—implying learning or absence of learning.

Besides theorizing learning, we can add an epistemological perspective: in the context of constructivist social science, it enables us to see how experiences of societal relations are embodied in individual socialization. In this way, we can realize that ‘discourses’ are not only linguistic or cultural phenomena, but material realities embodied in individual dispositions and in social practices, which are being processed by and/or give an impetus to discourse shifts. In the next section, I shall comment on this relation between learning and cultural development.

PSYCHO-SOCIETAL METHODOLOGY AND CRITICAL SOCIAL RESEARCH

The socialization theory with its emphasis on the forming of the relation between sensory experiences and language in social interaction was Lorenzer’s first distinguishing contribution to cultural scholarship. It builds a theoretical foundation for his second distinguishing contribution: the development of a psycho-societal interpretation method with inspiration from the psychoanalytical interpretation of individuals, which enables a focus on the societal and cultural dimensions of psychic dynamics—and vice versa: the psychic dimensions of social interaction and societal practice. In a late stage of his work, in the key text in *Kulturanalysen* (1986), he coins the notion (title) of ‘Tiefenhermeneutische Kulturanalyse’, which focuses on the systematic reconstruction of unconscious meaning dimensions in the analysis of literary texts. According to his cultural analysis, literary texts contain a provocation that goes beyond individual and biographically specific reception patterns and refers to societal, collective motives, and meaning substance, which are unconscious.

The methodological tool to access this level, not with an individual therapeutic aim, but in order to understand its social meaning, is inspired by the hermeneutic methodology of psychoanalysis.

The interpretation of language use, whether in literary works, field notes or excerpts from interviews, comprises a multi-layered scene of conscious and unconscious meaning. Just like the conscious level, the unconscious level is a result of life-history experience of social interaction. For the same reason, the unconscious is assumed to contain potential for social imagination that goes beyond the actual state of consciousness—either because it contains interaction experiences that have later been excluded from consciousness, or because it contains anticipating ideas of something ‘emerging’ that has not yet been realized in social practice.

Lorenzer’s contribution to the methodology gains a wider perspective by theorizing the genesis of the correspondence between unconscious dynamics in the subject and unconscious or unintended dimensions of societal and cultural

processes. What is in the first place mainly a material theory of socialization—which, unlike many other theories, does not see the social shaping of the individual as a simple assimilation to social structure—is in the second place a radical epistemology of societal dynamics. Lorenzer's theory of language games and his meta-psychological and methodological notions are closely linked with the search for opportunities for epistemic reconstruction of suppressed social relationships, which are (societally) imprinted in the (many individual) psyches and in their interaction.

Lorenzer's understanding of the critical and utopian potentials in the unconscious articulates an important dimension in the thinking of critical theory of the Frankfurt School, which generally sees theorizing and critique as a key to social imagination and utopian ideas. Since this thinking is based on materialist assumptions, it means that imagination is endogenous, i.e. it must be discovered and articulated from within societal reality, as it is condensed in Adorno's argument in the positivist dispute: 'But if theory is not to fall prey to the dogmatism over whose discovery scepticism—now elevated to a prohibition on thought—is always ready to rejoice, then theory may not rest here. It must transform the concepts which it brings, as it were, from outside into those which the objects has of itself, into what the object, left to itself, seeks to be, and confront it with what it is' (Adorno 1976: 69).

In Habermas's thinking, the term 'ideology critique' spells out the need to reveal endogenous potentials for societal change through a critical analysis of social realities themselves. Change does not come from above or outside. However, whereas Habermas first sees the key in deconstructing observation and reflection of 'petrified social relations' and the societal institutions that make up the guises of power, social inequality, and reified relations, Lorenzer looks for the potentials in socialized psyche, in the dynamics between the conscious and the unconscious. This brings the argument back to the text (in its widest sense: the symbolic representation of social interaction).

Lorenzer's theoretical deliberations point to social taboo, degenerate lifestyles, and utopian moments of social practice that, while being unconsciously maintained, also emerge to influence (our) consciousness, as, for example, with the help of literary texts. Their provocation, according to Lorenzer, lies in the fact that they transport aspects of the collective unconscious, which forces itself into the conscious. In this way, he materializes utopian and critical thinking as a collective learning process. The strictly materialist framework of Lorenzer's theory accounts for the embodiment of collective/social unconscious insights and fantasies in the bodies and the social practices in a way that makes them invisible—at least temporarily and in certain situations—while remaining vigorous in people's learning and consciousness building.

This clearly points to a parallel between collective learning processes interpreting the social meaning of the unconscious, and the individual learning process which is a symbolic activity exploring and reconfiguring individual meaning making and positioning in social practice, where individual learning always has dimensions of social meaning and social practice. This is the

background for the work of the interdisciplinary and intercultural research on interpretation of the socially unconscious in material from different research fields (Salling Olesen 2012b).

PERSPECTIVES FOR LEARNING THEORY

This chapter has been devoted to some theoretical and methodological sources which together form the background of a psycho-societal approach to learning theory. This is an ongoing, interdisciplinary endeavour. We have transferred ideas from general social theory and in-depth hermeneutics to analyses of ‘mundane’ everyday life, including different areas of working life. We have renamed the approach a psycho-societal approach to avoid the connotation that the methodology aims only at a psychodynamic level of meanings, whereas the real advance is the concepts and methods to interpret psychic levels of subjectivity and interaction as social/societal. I believe that a psycho-societal approach may help address some of the questions left behind in the state-of-the-art learning theories highlighted in the beginning of the chapter, namely, social learning and constructivism: it may help us recognize the specificity of the individual learner subject while recognizing that (s)he is shaped by a social life experience. It may help connect specific societal environments with subjective engagements of learners in everyday life, providing a productive point of departure for understanding the interplay between embodied sensory experiences and symbolically mediated knowledge. It may also maintain a critical aspiration in the spirit of the Frankfurt School, namely, to link the idea of utopian potentials in a seemingly hermetic social system with the social nature of the unconscious. The element which makes all of these essentials for learning theory is the theorizing of life experience, linking sensory experience, symbolization and social practice, and the interpretation procedure of scenic understanding. In this sense, psycho-societal theorizing takes us back to see how societal conditions are subjectively processed in individual life history.

When, for example, in the name of lifelong learning, one takes a critical view of the possible practical applications of scholastic knowledge and attempts to credit skills acquired outside formal education, the connection between the cognitive, relatively abstract competence, and its experiential relation to a specific situation gains central importance. The understanding in the life history project of how unconscious dynamics remain active forces in consciousness and social interaction throughout life can be linked to the concrete life historical experiential contexts in which a particular competency is acquired, and thus provides a less abstract understanding of learning processes (or the absence of learning processes in the form of resistance or routine lack of sensitivity). In the context of courses of study with a practical professional aim, this connection between abstract knowledge and thinking and concrete experiences and contexts is crucial (Salling Olesen 2013, 2014).

Another illustration is related to identity processes. The simplest example concerns people for whom the educational experience is negative and

predominantly translated into opposition to education or a strongly instrumentalised attitude to it. In a sense, they seem unable to learn much, because their sensitivity to the relevance of knowledge and skills is blocked. Our immediate reaction must be just to take note of their choice. However, awareness of the contextual and experiential nature of this blocking, and especially ambivalences and marginalized learning experiences, will provide a more nuanced, solidary perspective on educational abstinence. We can come to understand not only learning careers but also the micro-engagements in particular learning challenges as moments of a processing of life experiences which are ambivalent and open in individually specific ways (Kondrup 2013).

Even more illustrative are the identity processes related to vocations and professions. Professions have generally been considered either from within—through their identity—forming professionalism and practice repertoire, legitimized by a ‘mission’ that was commonly altruistic, or from the outside, as societal categories defined by their special knowledge or competence, which, therefore, received (cf. functionalism) or fought for (cf. sociology of action) certain economic and social privileges. Neither of these perspectives, which both have a certain justification, include a sense of the professional as an individual human being who is incorporating professional knowledge and function in his/her subjectivity. This is an extremely interesting example often tangled sociality and subjectivity being concretely expressed in all the individually specific learning histories of people becoming doctors, engineers, etc., and in their continuous experience from everyday working life. A psycho-societal approach to interpreting individual professional careers or specific themes of professional experience enables an understanding of the reproduction of societal and labour divisions and the reproduction of expertise as learning processes that are far from linear and regularly successful. On the contrary, one realizes how professional expertise is shaped through and subordinated to subjective dynamics that may be ‘irrelevant’ individual dynamics or perhaps provide insight into a collective professional defence system or societal taboo (e.g., the denial of death). With the psycho-dynamic development of the language-game concept, we can gain a generic understanding of vocational or professional learning as subjective acquisition of culturally prescribed bodies of knowledge and practices. Not unlike a discourse concept, we can view such expertise as a language game embedded in social practices. However, where discourse analysis is concerned with how the historically established discourse acts as a compelling medium for thought and communication in a specific domain at a given historical moment, or rather thus establishes a domain, determination is unimportant in the language-game concept. With Lorenzer’s elaboration, we can consider reproduction in the language game as a relationship of exchange between the societal form of interaction (professional practice) and the individual process of sensory experience. We can also view the unfolding of the individual learning process and the collective formation of experience in professional practice as an ongoing development of professional knowledge taking place in exchanges with the corporeal perception of work challenges and the practitioner’s life experience. An empirical analysis of the subjective aspects of these processes can contribute to a

new theoretical framework for the analysis of vocational and professional development and education (Salling Olesen 2007a, 2012a).

These are just briefly sketched examples of many possible cases revealed by our research group. Using the concept of experience as the theoretical perspective on learning and education can help life-historical, empirical analyses of everyday life, work, and education towards a critical social scientific development in education and educational research. This is of significant interest in an epoch where lifelong learning, both within and outside formal education, is becoming the general framework of reference. It also seems clear that the understanding of learning processes as a subjective dimension in all social interactions will enable these methodological experiences to be applied to other areas of research.

It is essential for the application of the theory, in line with Lorenzer's theory of socialization, that the unconscious levels of meaning are socially produced in the interplay between the individual's sensory life experiences and the entrance into/participation in cultural language games. This dynamic between sensory experiences and linguistically mediated social knowledge enables a new, much more sophisticated view of the learning of practical competencies, which includes bodily engagement by either practical actions or by relational involvement. The 'Cartesian' paradigm of practice as applied abstract knowledge can be replaced with a more sophisticated concept of knowledge and learning embodied and embedded in social practice, which is a very important perspective in a range of research areas, including learning research.

NOTES

1. Negt and Kluge used the German expression 'eine politische Ökonomie der Arbeitskraft' and Marx used similar expressions as antitheses to the political economy of capital, e.g., 'political economy of the working class' or '...of work.' I have earlier translated them into 'political economy of labour'; following Marx' logic as well as Negt's interpretation, but I now think that the best translation might be 'a political economy of living work'. This is both a translation problem and an issue of understanding Marx' multilayered intellectual idea—delivering a critique of (that is, revealing) the political nature of the economy organized by capital and his notion of capital as a relation between 'dead labour' and 'living work'. See the introduction to the translation of Negt and Kluge (2014).
2. Like Freud, he analyzes the development of the structure of personality as 'representing experiences of bodily interactions' (Lorenzer 1972: 17). However, whereas Freud saw the impact of social relations on the psyche as predominantly distortion, disturbance and blocking of (biological) drives in the subject, Lorenzer approaches these social interactions and their bodily experiences as dialectical *shaping* of the drives *into a subject*, and the resulting psychic dynamics as a highly social and cultural phenomenon. In the 1970s, Lorenzer's work was widely cited and read, both in Germany and abroad (notably Scandinavia), and today, his ideas continue to inform a vigorous tradition of cultural analysis and social research (Lorenzer 1970a,

- 1972, 1974, 1977, 2006; Leithäuser 1976; Lorenzer and König 1986; Leithäuser and Volmerg 1988; Morgenroth 1990, 2010; Bereswill 2008; Prokop et al. 2009). A number of Scandinavian, especially Danish, researchers have published work (mostly in Danish) directly referring to this tradition, or using the methods more or less in accordance with it (For an overview, see, Weber 1996, 2001, 2007, 2009, 2010; Weber and Salling Olesen 2002; Salling Olesen 2004, 2007a, b, 2011). However, Lorenzer is little known outside German-speaking communities.
3. An international research group of German, British, and Danish scholars working with psycho-societal approaches to everyday life was organized by Kirsten Weber of Roskilde University to create a forum for developing empirical research into learning, gender and work, informed by Marxism and psychoanalysis. The work format, sharing interpretation practices and examples, has also been based on the idea that critical social science will—as a basic principle—be concrete because utopian horizons and transforming agency are always based on specific historical situations and experiences. Together, we produced an introduction in English to this research experience in the form of a thematic issue of the open-access online journal *Forum for Qualitative Social Research* (Salling Olesen 2012b), including a rather detailed introduction to the theoretical and methodological contributions of Alfred Lorenzer.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T. W. (1976). *The positivist dispute in German sociology*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Bereswill, M. (2008). Gender and subjectivity in the interview situation: A critical discussion. *Psychoanalysis, Culture & Society*, 13(3), 316–324.
- Billett, S. (2001). *Learning in the workplace: Strategies for effective practice*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Eraut, M. (1994). *Developing professional knowledge and competence*. London: Falmer Press.
- Kondrup, S. (2013). Unskilled work and learner identity. In *7th European Research Conference* (Vol. 26). The Research Group in ‘Working Life and Learning’.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Leithäuser, T. (1976). *Formen des Alltagsbewusstseins* [Forms of everyday life consciousness]. Frankfurt/Main: Campus-Verlag.
- Leithäuser, T., & Volmerg, B. (1988). *Psychoanalyse in der Sozialforschung: eine Einführung am Beispiel einer Sozialpsychologie der Arbeit* [Psychoanalysis in social science. Introduction through the example of a social psychology of work]. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.
- Lorenzer, A. (1970a). *Kritik des psychoanalytischen Symbolbegriffs* [Critique of the psychoanalytic concept of symbol]. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Lorenzer, A. (1970b). *Sprachzerstörung und Rekonstruktion: Vorarbeiten zu e. Metatheorie d. Psychoanalyse*. [Language destruction and reconstruction]. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.

- Lorenzer, A. (1972). *Zur Begründung einer materialistischen Sozialisationstheorie* [Foundations for a materialist theory of socialization]. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp-Verlag.
- Lorenzer, A. (1974). *Die Wahrheit der psychoanalytischen Erkenntnis: ein historisch-materialistischer Entwurf* [The truth of psychoanalytic knowledge: A historical materialist outline]. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Lorenzer, A. (1977). *Sprachspiel und Interaktionsformen: Vorträge und Aufsätze zu Psychoanalyse, Sprache und Praxis* [Language game and interaction forms]. Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp.
- Lorenzer, A. (2006). Szenisches Verstehen. Zur Erkenntnis des Unbewußten [Scenic understanding. Contribution to the recognition of the unconscious]. In U. Prokop & B. M. T. V. Görlich (Eds.), *Kulturanalysen, Bd.1.* [Analyses of culture, Vol. 1]. Marburg: Tectrum.
- Lorenzer, A., & König, H.-D. (1986). Tiefenhermeneutische Kulturanalyse [In-depth hermeneutic analysis of culture]. In *Kulturanalysen* (pp. 11–98). Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag.
- Mills, C. W. (1959). *The sociological imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Morgenroth, C. (1990). *Sprachloser Widerstand* [Resistance without language]. Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch.
- Morgenroth, C. (2010). *Die dritte Chance* [The third chance]. New York: Springer.
- Negt, O. (1964). *Soziologische Phantasie und exemplarisches Lernen* [Sociological imagination and exemplary learning]. Frankfurt am Main: Europäische Verlagsanstalt.
- Negt, O. (1984). *Lebendige Arbeit, enteignete Zeit* [Living work, stolen time]. Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag.
- Negt, O. (2001). *Adorno's Begriff der Erfahrung* [Adorno's concept of experience]. *Das Argument* No. 229.
- Negt, O. (2012). *Nur noch Utopien sind realistisch: Politische interventionen* [Now only Utopias are realistic. Political interventions]. Göttingen: Steidl.
- Negt, O., & Kluge, A. (1981). *Geschichte und Eigensinn* [History and obstinacy]. Frankfurt am Main: Zweitausendeins.
- Negt, O., & Kluge, A. (2014). *History and obstinacy*. New York: Zone Books.
- Prokop, U., Friese, N., & Stach, A. (2009). *Geiles Leben, falscher Glamour: Beschreibungen, Analysen, Kritiken zu Germany's Next Topmodel* [Horny life, false glamour: Descriptions, analyses, critiques of Germany's next topmodel]. Marburg: Tectum-Verlag.
- Salling Olesen, H. (1989). *Adult education and everyday life*. Roskilde: Adult Education Research Group, Roskilde University.
- Salling Olesen, H. (1997). *Tacit knowledge and general qualification: Concepts of learning in everyday life and formal education. When work changes with examples from office work*. Roskilde: Roskilde University Press.
- Salling Olesen, H. (1999). Political economy of labour—Or: Die (Selbst?) *Aufhebung des Proletariats als kollektiver Lernprozess* [The self-repealing of the working class as collective learning process]. In H. Salling Olesen & K. Forrester (Eds.). *Adult education and the labour market V* (pp. 11–24). Roskilde: Roskilde University Press.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2004). The learning subject in life history—A qualitative research approach to learning. In M. H. Menne Abrahaõ Barreto (Ed.), *A Aventura (Auto) biografico. Theoria & Empiria* [The (Auto)biographical adventure]. Porto Alegre, Brasil: EDIPUCRS.

- Salling Olesen, H. (2007a). Be(com)ing a general practitioner. Professional identities, subjectivity and learning. In L. West (Ed.), *Using biographical and life history approaches in the study of adult and lifelong learning: European perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2007b). Historias de Vida—na análise e prática sociais [Life history—A psycho-societal approach]. In S. Weber, T. Leithäuser (Eds.), *Métodos Qualitativos nas Ciências Sociais* [Qualitative methods in social sciences]. Recife: UFPE.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2007c). Theorising learning in life history: A psychosocietal approach. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 39(1), 38–53.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2009). *Oskar Negt and a few other Germans*. London: DK. Retrieved from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IQrlcFXYgcQ&feature=youtu.be>.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2011). *Exploração do sujeito problemático: história de vida, subjetividade, experiência de vida* [Exploring the problematic subject: Life history, subjectivity, life experience]. *Educação*, 34, 137–146.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2012a). *Desafios para a pesquisa (auto)biográfica em educação e aprendizagem: Compreendo indivíduos sem individualizá-los* [Challenges for an (auto)biographical research in education and learning]. In E. C. de Souza (Ed.), *Educação e ruralidades. Memórias e narrativas (auto)biográficas* [Education and rural life. (Auto)Biographical memories and narratives]. Salvador: EDUFBA.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2012b). The societal nature of subjectivity: An interdisciplinary methodological challenge. In *Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 13(3) (Thematic Issue: Cultural Analysis and In-depth Hermeneutics). URN: <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs120345>.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2013). Beyond the current political economy of competence development. *RELA European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 4(2), 153–170. Retrieved from http://www.rela.ep.liu.se/issues/10.3384_rela.2000-7426.201342/rela9013/rela9013.pdf.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2014). The invention of a new language of competence—A necessary tool for a lifelong learning policy. In R. Duvekot, K. D. Joong, & J. Murray (Eds.), *Linkages of VPL: Validation of Prior Learning as a multi-targeted approach for maximising learning opportunities for all* (pp. 37–44). Rotterdam: EC-VPL.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2016). A psycho-societal approach to life histories. In I. Goodson, A. Antikainen, P. Sikes, & M. Andrews (Eds.), *The routledge international handbook on narrative and life history*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Weber, K. (1996). Experiencing gender: A psychodynamic approach to adult learning—and a case of masculinity and social work. In H. Salling Olesen & P. Rasmussen (Eds.), *Theoretical issues in adult education* (pp. 25–40). Frederiksberg: Roskilde University Press.
- Weber, K. (2001). *Experience and discourse in professions: A life history perspective*. Frederiksberg: Roskilde University Press.
- Weber, K. (2007). Gender between knowledge economy and every day life. Change or reproduction. In L. West, P. Alheit, A. S. Andersen, & B. Merrill (Ed.), *Using biographical and life history approaches in the study of adult and lifelong learning: European perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Weber, K. (2009). Talking about ‘tacit knowledge’: Critical professionalism or collective defences? In T. Leithäuser, S. Meyerhuber & M. Schottmayer (Eds.), *Sozialpsychologisches Organisationsverstehen. Birgit Volmerg zum 60. Geburtstag* [Social psychological understanding of organisations. Celebrating birgit volmergs 60 years] (pp. 227–237). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften/GWV Fachverlage GmbH, Wiesbaden.

- Weber, K. (2010). Aggression, recognition and qualification. On the social psychology of adult education in everyday life. *RELA European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 1(1–2), 113–129.
- Weber, K., & Salling Olesen, H. (2002). Chasing potentials for adult learning: Lifelong learning in a life history perspective. In *Zeitschrift für Qualitative Bildungs-, Beratungs- und Sozialforschung* (pp. 283–300).
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Henning Salling Olesen is Professor of Adult and Continuing Education at Roskilde University, Denmark. He is supervising doctoral students within the Graduate School of Lifelong Learning and teaching masters in adult education and in work life studies. His research interests and recent publications deal with learning and identity in relation to work life and professions, qualitative research methodology, and the political economy of life learning reforms. He is an Honorary Doctor of the University of Tampere, Finland.

Complexity, Adult Biographies and Co-operative Transformation

Laura Formenti

Abstract Complexity theory challenges the dominating individual, cognitive, and cumulative view of learning, by focusing on the co-evolutionary process that involves learners in interdependent relationships with each other, the learning context, and the broader system. Complexity theory contrasts disconnections and dichotomies by searching the pattern which connects individual and environment, mind and body, research and educational practice. In this framework, learning biographies can illuminate how different constraints shape adult learning and lives, and be used to foster transitional and transformative learning by enhancing reflexivity and re-connection with the context. This offers a conceptual and methodological basis for the involvement of adults in participatory research, and namely biographically oriented co-operative inquiry, as a form of systemic, experience-based method to sustain individual, relational, and organizational learning.

ADULT LEARNING AND LIVES: OVERCOMING FRAGMENTATION

Sofia is 42.¹ While a full-time primary teacher, she decided to enrol at university to obtain a degree. A third-level qualification had not been required when she began working, 23 years earlier. At present, however, she is confused and thinking of giving up her university studies. The courses, exams and curricula are not designed for working students. She tells her story at a workshop attended by nine students; she is the only mature person present, apart from the facilitator. Her narrative shows what being a university learner means to her. Working full time, two children, a busy husband, only occasionally receiving help from a sister, she feels that it may not be worth her while ‘to keep on

L. Formenti (✉)
University of Milano Bicocca, Milano, Italy
e-mail: laura.formenti@unimib.it

keeping on'. She has had conversations with relatives, friends and colleagues. 'You've already got a job. You don't need this degree'. Her voice changes as she imitates them telling her what to do. 'Take care of your children'. She feels that they do not understand her. 'It's not for the degree. It's for me. I'm trying to open up my mind. If I am doing this, it's for the children too'. Around her, heads are nodding.

The workshop participants are invited to make a drawing of their present situation. Sofia's sketch mainly depicts others: family members demanding her presence at home; colleagues who refuse to swap classes to accommodate her exam schedule. She herself is surprised by how she has represented her dilemma. It goes far beyond dropping out of university, or not. At stake is the meaning of this decision for Sofia, in relation to her overall life and identity.

After the workshop, Sofia feels relieved. She now realizes that she does not need to rush her decision. Voicing her experience, listening to other stories, has allowed her to re-connect with herself, with the context, and others around her. The workshop has prompted her to reflect, particularly in relation to her proximal system; this in turn has led her to draw a clearer boundary between herself and significant others, but also to recognize the deep interdependence of her life and theirs. She may have begun to make, 'the transition into a new quality of self and world reference—a process which leaves neither the learning nor the ambient structural context unchanged' (Alheit 2015: 26).

This 'ordinary story' concerns far more than individual learning. As demonstrated by biographical research in adult education (Alheit et al. 1995; Dominicé 2000; West et al. 2007; Merrill and West 2009; Horsdal 2012; Formenti et al. 2014), stories of adult learning always feature multiple dimensions. In this case, Sofia's learning biography (and present crisis) is connected with the context, that is to say, the society in which she lives, the organization of her university, her proximal relationships with her family and at work, and even the conversation she is having, here and now, during the workshop. Furthermore, her narrative features 'punctuation', that is to say, meaning. Sofia is not a neutral observer of her own life; she draws on presuppositions in interpreting reality, and these presuppositions have been built in interaction with others. Now, she is on the verge of making (dramatic) change to her set of presuppositions. What Bateson (1972) termed 'Learning II' (or even III, see below), Mezirow (1991) 'transformative learning', and Alheit (2015) 'transitional learning'. What form is being transformed, here? We are not looking at a merely individual process, isolated from any broader context. Developing an understanding of what is taking place demands a psychosocial theory (West 2014); still more, it demands a complex theory.

This chapter sets out to show that systemic theories, with their notions of context, complexity, and co-evolution, together with biographical approaches, can shift the focus of adult education from individual learning to seeking 'the pattern which connects'. The example given above features multiple dimensions, which deserve scrutiny:

- Sofia uses her embodied, only partially conscious, perceptions of experience to make sense of what is happening in her life. At the micro-level, subjective meanings, emotions, values, interpretations are always involved in adult learning. Interpretation of present and past experience plays a crucial part in acting and learning. Hence, the crucial importance of listening to the learner's voice, as provided for by (auto)biographical methods in research and education (Formenti and Castiglioni 2014).
- Any learning biography is also deeply influenced by the macro-level: social structures, discourses and factors such as gender, class, and background. Sofia's story is evidently gendered and influenced by social discourse; specifically, by a narrative of primary teachers as mostly women who do not need much education because they primarily take care of others. In addition, as a mature student in higher education, she experiences many constraints (Finnegan et al. 2014). Understanding a learning biography demands critical awareness of the social nature of subjectivity (Alheit 2009, 2015; Salling Olesen 2012; West 2016).
- Sofia, like all learners, constructs her lifeworld by continuously interacting with more or less significant others. She participates in everyday conversations during which her identity as a learner is constantly (re)construed; feedback loops tell her what is expected of her to be a (good) mother, teacher, student, etc. The local systems to which she materially belongs (family, work, university) shape her action and are shaped by it. The workshop itself constitutes such a circular conversation. This *meso*-level (Alheit and Dausien 2000, 2007; Formenti 2011b, 2014; Bohlinger et al. 2015) is marginalized by grand theories of adult education. A surprising omission, given that education is precisely about relationships and interactions.

Learning is layered. A satisfactory theory of human learning must embrace and interconnect subjectivity, social structures and inter-active systems (micro-, macro- and meso-levels). A plethora of disciplines, paradigms, and theories of learning focuses on either the psychological/individual level or on social aspects. Psychosocial approaches have recently been developed in biographical studies, for example, by combining psychoanalysis with structural and critical theories (Salling Olesen 2012; West 2016). The need for a comprehensive theory is recognized and pursued (Jarvis 2006). However, the dominant view in education, especially when we look at practices and policies, still seems to separate rather than unify the different dimensions.

The 'pattern which connects' is offered here as an image that helps to conceptualize learning as a complex phenomenon. It questions the way in which learning is commonly framed and understood, that is to say, the 'epistemological presuppositions' (Bateson 1972) that inform educational practices and policies, as well as individual and collective narratives. The dominant set of presuppositions about life and learning in late modern societies sustains a linear, essentialist, and anti-ecological understanding of education. Bateson refers to

them as ‘pathologies of epistemology’ (1972: 478–487) and ‘shortcomings of occidental education’ (1979: 8).

Break the *pattern which connects* the items of learning and you necessarily destroy all quality. (Bateson 1979: 8, *italics added*)

Forty years on, this concern is still relevant, and if anything even more urgent. Disconnection appears to be the rule in many practices and policies of education. The pressing feeling of fragmentation in our troubled and troubling world is viewed by many as a relatively new phenomenon, driven by recent dramatic socio-economic changes, including globalization, increase in geographical mobility, explosion and availability of information, pluralization of life courses, dominance of hedonistic and commodified lifestyles, etc. Among the reasons for fragmentation, however, we should also consider epistemological factors, such as disconnection, or the disruption of ‘the pattern which connects’.

Socially, disconnection is evident in mutual exclusion, produced by the construction of material and symbolic ‘walls’ between communities. Examples include the progressive separation of ‘fields’ (disciplines, professions), of the younger and older generations, of ‘us’ and ‘them’ at all levels. Close communities are built, each creating its own understanding, language, and ways of doing. The need to define one’s own ‘field’ (a dominant metaphor of separation) nurtures defensive strategies vis-à-vis the other. ‘The ‘contextuality’ of knowledge is becoming a fashionable phrase, with opinions being generated in ‘discourses’ hermetically sealed off from each other’ (Alheit and Dausien 2000: 407).

Biographical research points up the impact of disconnection on adult lives and learning. Late modern societies are characterized by ‘an erosion of traditional lifeworlds, a breakdown of classical milieus, and a disappearing of “normal” life course scripts’ (Alheit and Dausien 2000: 409; see also West et al. 2007). Dis-orientation has become a common experience in adults (Formenti 2016a) who respond to uncertainty by isolating and excluding whatever and whoever is ‘other’ (Biesta 2006). Its psychological correlate is the subjective experience of fragmentation, ‘in which the self becomes divided, to greater or lesser degrees’ (West 1996: ix). Inner and outer disconnections are correlated. Disconnection can manifest itself as a conflict or dilemma (as in Sofia’s story) between diverging lifeworlds and values, for example, in the juxtaposition of academic values and life experience.

Disconnection produces, nonetheless, its own healing and re-equilibrating processes. Thus, a dilemma may become (as in Sofia’s case) a first step towards recognizing and potentially transforming one’s presuppositions. Narrative holds re-connecting power, as shown by Sofia’s story. According to Bateson, thinking in stories—*abductive thinking*—is the human way of (re)connecting (1979). The increasing ‘biographisation’ of life (Delory-Momberger 2009; Alheit 2015) might be interpreted as a ‘global’ reaction to, and attempted solution, for disconnection. It is not by chance that self-narrative has currently moved so

strongly and powerfully into the public sphere. In the ‘biographic society’ (Astier and Duvoux 2006), self-narratives are a means of social construction that satisfy far more than the individual need for self-expression and self-knowledge. ‘Never before has a society asked so many of its individuals to produce [...] the meaning of their existence’ (Delory-Momberger 2015: 38). Self-narrative can foster self-reflexivity, awareness and agency, and be used to re-shape social contexts. As biographical research demonstrates, stories can make a difference to communities, workplaces, and groups, in a way that goes beyond individual learning (Formenti and West 2016).

However, this outcome is not automatic or given. The apparent ‘obligation for everyone to make a story out of their life’ (Delory-Momberger 2015) does not automatically lead to shared understanding, or the crossing of fixed boundaries. During the twentieth century, each of the knowledge disciplines and professions built its own separate world, and the result is a modern Babel in which each ‘field’ claims its own ‘portion’. A satisfactory theory of adult education and learning needs to re-compose these overspecialized perspectives into meaningful pictures that more adequately reflect life as a whole. Adult education research should enable researchers, as well as education professionals and policy makers, to draw together plural ‘perspectives’ (this embodied metaphor may be preferable to ‘field’, because it implies the presence of an observer) and develop dialogical and transdisciplinary methods.

Disconnection, being rooted in dichotomy, one of the logical bases on which Western epistemology is founded, is anti-ecological, in Bateson’s terms, because it destroys quality, life and meaning. In education, it reproduces discourse based on individualism, truth, and competing rather than composite ideas. By celebrating the ‘pattern which connects’, Bateson was calling for interdependence to be recognized as the key characteristic of the living. In contrast, segmentation and specialization in learning have increased over the past 30 years, not least to serve the needs of neoliberal politics. The ‘knowledge society’ has been constructed as a world whose values are skills, competencies, and adaptation to rapid change. Lifelong learning is another commodity to be accumulated in the effort to generate more competitive individuals and societies (Zarifis and Gravani 2014). The commodified learner is disconnected:

- from others, who are also learning and living in the same environment;
- from the natural, material and social context;
- from his/her own body and unconscious processes of knowing.

In systemic theory, on the other hand, the ‘unit of learning’ is the whole formed by *individual-and-environment* (Bateson 1972). Individual change depends on (and provokes) other changes. Learning entails interaction within the individual (mind/body unity), with significant others, within and among organizations, with material objects and places, and with broader society. The biological, socio-material, embodied and embedded nature of learning as a life

process should inform our theories and research (Horsdal 2012; Formenti et al. 2014).

The ‘pattern which connects’ is, therefore, an ecology of ideas and practices that may be used to challenge the dominant concept of learning as individual, cognitive, and cumulative. It offers ways of drawing together the polarities created by hermetically sealed-off communities and discourses. It celebrates interdependence. Ultimately, it leads to wisdom, as the human strives for meaning and sense (Tisdell and Swartz 2011).

COMPLEXITY OF LIFE AND LEARNING

Complexity encompasses a range of theories (Alhadeff-Jones 2008, 2012), such as systems theory, autopoiesis, radical constructivism, second-order cybernetics and evolutionary biology, all of which frame human systems and relationships as ‘becoming’ structures, characterized by feedback loops, self-organization, co-evolution, and emergence. These theories are increasingly drawn on in health care, ecology, the social sciences and psychotherapy, to develop new presuppositions and more respectful, ethical, and effective practices. Complexity has been also used to reconceptualize education (Mason 2008; Jörg 2009), to bring to light its organizational dimensions (Stacey 2005; Davis and Sumara 2006; Snowden and Boone 2007; Johnson 2008; Loorbach 2010), and to foster more efficacious educational reform (Morrison 2010; Snyder 2013). In adult education research, it has inspired studies on democratic practices and policies (Biesta 2006; Osberg and Biesta 2010), a focus on contexts and relationships (Edwards et al. 2009), as well as the making of more comprehensive theories of adult learning; for example, Fenwick and Edwards (2013) combine it with Actor Network Theory to challenge the dominant view of individual learning, while Alhadeff-Jones (2012) connects it to Mezirow’s Transformative Learning. Complexity is proposed in this chapter as a conceptual framework for understanding adult learning as a layered and multiple phenomena and for developing biographical and co-operative practices in adult education and research.

The first epistemological presupposition of complexity is that ‘reality’ is actually an ongoing construction that is jointly produced by *observed* and *observing* systems. The traditional opposition between objectivity and subjectivity is abandoned in favour of a circular relationship between knower and known (Watzlawick 1984). ‘Reality’ requires an observer (von Foerster 1984), or rather an observer community, given that ‘observing takes place in languaging’ (Maturana 1990: 102) and is, therefore, invariably a social act. Thus, the characteristically human way of co-existing, co-evolving, and developing culture (and by extension, education) is *languaging* (Maturana and Varela 1992): the verb form being used to highlight the fact that we are dealing with a process, i.e. a form of inter-action. The crucial aspects of languaging are not its contents, words, or the world ‘out there’; rather it is a matter of coordination, reciprocal orientation, and doing together. Words (denotative meaning) are used to

compel people to act in certain ways (connotative meaning, Maturana and Varela 1992).

Hence, the value of our descriptions, stories, and theories (linguistic constructions) does not derive from their *correspondence* with an independent objective world, but from their *viability* in a world of experience (von Glasersfeld 2002). This is radical constructivism: an individual selects and edits what he/she 'knows', in keeping with his/her embodied structures, and this knowledge is built via biography (ontogenesis) understood as co-evolution in context. Learning, therefore, is 'an ongoing structural drift' (Maturana and Varela 1992) that simultaneously produces the subject, the object, and their context. Knowers' actions and perceptions are coordinated (put more simply, what we do is what we see), and their meaning is construed in relation to the socio-material environment. Thus, a lifeworld is *enacted* (Varela et al. 1991) in a circular loop between learner(s) and context. Individuals co-evolve to form higher order units (Maturana 1990) such as families, organizations, and social systems, each with their own internal consistency, identity, language and myths, each forming an observer community. It is not possible to understand learning if we have not grasped this complex dynamic. This is the meso-level referred to earlier in the chapter.

Observer communities are the result of coordinated action that necessarily involves *different* individuals (as well as the objects and spaces that become parts of their structure), given that difference is necessary for action and creation. This evokes Bateson's definition of 'mind' (1979) as a self-correcting process of circular interactions that processes differences by creating information. A group, organization or family are all examples of 'minds'. They each can learn and transform, in their own way. A theory of learning should offer ways of understanding the role of different communities both in individual learning and at the broader societal level.

Complexity theory has relevant consequences for adult education. First, it invites us not to reduce complex systems to 'simple' or 'complicated' ones (Snyder 2013):

- A simple system is based on mechanical repetition; it is expected to invariably reproduce the same answer to the same question. Von Foerster refers to it as a 'trivial machine' (1993).
- A complicated system depends on a variety of interconnected factors. It needs expertise to be explained and controlled, but once it has been explained, it ceases to pose problems. Replicability is possible.
- A complex system cannot be fully 'explained' or 'controlled' without seriously damaging its delicate equilibrium. It reacts on the basis of its ongoing, and ever changing, interpretation of the situation at hand. A complex system is a living system.

Our actions in education or research can construct the other as a simple, complicated, or complex system.

- Giving instructions is an example of simplification.
- Using expert knowledge to foresee someone's behaviour is complication.
- Involving the other, as an observed/observer system, in a process of mutual learning is complexification.

If we view adults (and their worlds) as complex systems, new information can *emerge* at any time from interaction; the concept of *emergence* implies that learning is the unforeseen outcome of interdependence and mutual interpretation among multiple actors and levels (Davis and Sumara 2008). What does this mean for adult education? A human being changes in keeping with his/her (complex, embodied, conscious and unconscious) interpretation of the situation at hand. This change is related to multiple constraints and possibilities in the environment. However, causality in the strict sense cannot be invoked to explain it. The language of 'best practice' and 'standard operating procedures' that dominates contemporary education is based on *trivialization* (von Foerster 1993), that is to say, on the tendency to treat complex systems as simple or complicated. A living system is unique and cannot be trivialized without destroying quality. Complex systems can neither be controlled nor totally known: 'The complex is the realm of the unknown unknowns. It is a space of constant flux and unpredictability. There are no right answers, only emergent behaviours' (Snyder 2013: 9). Complexity recognizes and praises uncertainty in education:

We should learn to navigate on a sea of uncertainties, sailing in and around islands of certainty. (Morin 1999: 3)

A Layered Theory of Learning

Complexity theory challenges the hegemonic idea of learning as merely individual, cognitive and acquisitive (Fenwick and Edwards 2013). If knowing is becoming and coordinating oneself with others within relationships, there is no such thing as 'possessing' or 'incrementing' individual knowledge. The isolated individual is an abstraction; on the contrary, lifeworlds are co-constructed and transformed through interaction. Learners learn, thus, by coordinating their behaviours, ideas, reciprocal positioning, narratives, among themselves *and* with the material world. Hence, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive theory of coordinated learning, as it emerges from complex inter-actions at different levels:

- the mind/body unit (individual) itself displays multiple levels of learning (Bateson 1972): Learning 0 is the capacity to respond, consistently with one's history and present position; Learning I is a (behavioural) change in one's response that has been drawn from a given set of alternatives (this is what we conventionally understand as learning); Learning II is a corrective

change in the set of alternatives (meaning, presuppositions, frameworks, identity) that may be drawn on; while Learning III entails a (rare and challenging) transformation in the subject's personal way of setting alternatives (self, worldview); all these forms of learning take place—with and without 'education';

- at a relational level, all learning entails (new) conversations within one's proximal systems and networks, defined as self-organizing units that stabilize over time and that simultaneously conserve their identity and undergo structural transformation (organizational learning) as a result of their members' actions. Within these systems, and networks of relationships, individual scripts (that which is expected of the subject who belongs to the community), myths and rituals may also stabilize or transform, feeding back into the individual learning processes outlined above;
- at the broader social level, structural transformation and change also continuously occurs; laws, procedures and norms shape (and are shaped by) the action of local organizations and individuals. The media impact on people's lives by spreading dominant narratives (the power of storytelling, see Salmon 2010); different metaphors of organization and culture can feed back into the previous levels, either facilitating or undermining the potential for change (Morgan 1997).

Each of the described levels has its own logic and internal consistency, or 'structural determinism' (Maturana and Varela 1992). Concurrently respecting the individual, the interacting local system, and the broader context demands both knowledge and reflexivity, especially in a rapidly changing world. The role of adult education in contemporary society goes far beyond fostering the acquisition of new abilities and skills, or even reflection, if by reflecting we mean a merely cognitive and conscious act of knowledge. Learners need to navigate among different meaning perspectives, in uncertain waters, and re-compose their dilemmas in viable ways.

Education should thus develop adults' ability to learn from different and conflicting views, draw distinctions (von Foerster 1993), and use disorienting dilemmas to transform their own perspectives of meaning (Mezirow 1991; Taylor and Cranton 2012). In this view of learning, the role of difference is crucial, since another point of view is required to make visible and challenge one's own. Entering into a relationship with 'otherness' is a precondition for learning.

Complexity works for larger systems too. For example, in educational reforms (Snyder 2013), which involve a myriad of actors with different interests, complex approaches may prove more effective than traditional ones. Rather than issuing instructions or planning outcomes, it is more respectful to create spaces in which patterns can emerge, by promoting interaction and communication throughout the whole system. Complex social systems learn via participatory and dialogic methods, voicing and celebrating multiple perspectives, dissent and diversity. The amplification of differences, based on pre-existing

ideas and practices, leads to transformation without destroying earlier adaptation.

In sum, complexity orients adult education toward the creation of nonlinear, multiple learning opportunities, based on difference and emergence. This prompts considerations about responsibility and purpose; if reality is shaped by observers via coordinated actions and meanings, then we are responsible for the worlds that we build.

What are the consequences of all this for ethics and aesthetics?

The ethical imperative: act always so as to increase the number of choices.

The aesthetic imperative: if you desire to see, learn how to act.

(von Foerster 1984: 60–61).

BIOGRAPHICALLY ORIENTED EDUCATION: FROM DICHOTOMY TO COMPOSITION

Learners' voices and autonomy are attributed with great value within the conceptual framework presented here. However, it is important to distance ourselves from the dominant image of an isolated, rational and competitive learner, whose 'voice' risks being determined by dominant discourses and functionalist presuppositions. The dominant view of lifelong learning (Zarifis and Gravani 2014), a 'tramp shining' (Lucio-Villegas and Fragoso 2015) based on self-direction and individual responsibility, nurtures the common sense idea of human beings as rational individuals who are able to design their own lives. This discourse breaks the pattern which connects individuals to their contexts, and works against their best co-operative and collective impulses. Interdependence is then denied in favour of an obsessive focus on the individual self. From such a perspective, life history and biography might appear to further reinforce disconnection, and they will actually do so if used to confirm the individual *versus* environment dichotomy.

Life history may indeed be used, within an unquestioned functionalist framework, to reify learning needs and competencies, and to assess possession of prior knowledge as the basis for accumulating new learning as well as to trivialize or deny deeper and unconscious meaning, emotions, ambivalences, and shadows (West 2014). However, on the contrary, it can also enable adult learners to overcome dichotomies, by drawing together:

- narrative *and* reflexivity;
- contents *and* process;
- words *and* body (conscious and unconscious);
- purpose *and* emergence;
- self *and* environment (micro-, meso-, and macro-levels).

A *compositional* perspective on biography (Formenti 2008; 2011a) recognizes that learning is both guided by conscious purpose *and* not controlled by will. Biographies show that most learning in life is ‘almost as unconscious as breathing’ (Alheit 2009: 27). Narrative is an aesthetic and performative practice of composition, similar to play and art (Gergen and Gergen 2012), where it is recognized that the learner’s needs, desires, beliefs, and actions come from ‘inside’ as well as ‘outside’.

When self-narratives are shared, they reveal the frames of meaning and the constraints that shape adults’ self-knowledge, agency, and learning. They become resources for transformative and transitional learning. As adults, ‘we have the chance to recognize the surplus meaning of our life experiences and to make them usable for deliberate modifications of our self- and world-reference’ (Alheit 2015: 26). Still, this possibility is not automatic. The resources that are ‘concealed in the biographical experiences of real-life people’ need to be recognized as such, and their potential to generate individual, collective and social change should be taken seriously by adult educators, who have a role and a responsibility to act as ‘biographical midwives’ (Alheit 2015). Alheit and Dausien (2000) introduced the concept of ‘biographicity’, an autopoietic resource that emerges from life experience and helps adults to cope with transitional learning, especially when they are faced with uncertainty and challenges. One might say that dilemmas, and more generally the experience of difference, are a requirement for biographicity. This kind of learning goes beyond the telling of one’s life experience. It requires ‘good enough’ relational spaces, given that transitional learning processes are difficult and painful. It also requires spaces of questioning, in which all ‘difference that makes a difference’ becomes new information (Bateson 1979). Biographicity is the outcome of individual adaptation strategies (micro-level), emerging from specific interactions and conversations (meso-level), and shaped by information coming from the broader context (macro-level).

How is this fundamental capacity built? How can adults learn to live and interact in meaningful ways within layered contexts, communities and life-worlds? *Reflection*, that is to say, awareness of inner and outer constraints, is necessary, yet not enough. Learners need *reflexivity* (Hunt 2013) that means the capacity to re-connect with the context and with their own body, and unconscious processes, in order to become responsive to the pattern which connects. Reflexivity is learning in and through complexity.

Hence, adult education requires practical tools for:

- re-composing mind and body in authentic ways;
- positioning learners in relation to each other, so as to be exposed to their different points of view and experiences;
- co-constructing viable and sustainable knowledge in the local context (family, work group, community as ‘minds’);
- respecting broader ecologies.

In the next section, it is proposed that biographically oriented co-operative inquiry offers such a learning environment, by fostering dialogic relationships, conceptual composition, and ‘thinking in stories’ (Bateson 1979).

BIOGRAPHICALLY ORIENTED CO-OPERATIVE INQUIRY: COMPLEXITY IN ACTION

Biographical, dialogic and reflective/reflexive methods in adult education research are used to open up new possibilities for both researchers and participants. Interpretative and critical research is an antidote to trivialization, in different ways:

- narrative practices foster transformation at the individual, collective and social levels (Formenti and West 2016);
- dialogic and co-operative methods develop shared knowledge in groups of engaged adults (Heron 1996);
- art-based and performative methods allow space for re-enchantment, aesthetic thinking and embodied knowledge (Gergen and Gergen 2012; Leavy 2015);
- critical pedagogy develops new frameworks for understanding the deep implications of knowledge and contexts (Edwards et al. 2009; Alhadeff-Jones 2010; Fenwick and Edwards 2013).

These approaches may be combined to support emergent learning. For example, duo-ethnography (Norris et al. 2012; Sawyer and Norris 2013) is a narrative dialogic approach in which researchers use their subjective experience as a knowledge resource, to write together, explore their differences, develop a critical understanding of challenging issues, such as agency, identity and power. Here, self-narratives are composed from a critical perspective (Rosiek 2013) in order to build a ‘double’ or ‘multiple’ description (Bateson 1979); individual voices are both recognized and challenged.

Another good example of a compositional method is co-operative inquiry (Heron 1996), in which four forms of knowledge—experiential, presentational, propositional, and practical—are woven together via a process of negotiated actions and meanings, in groups of adults who meet over a certain period of time, on a peer-to-peer basis (all participants are researchers). They negotiate their interests and the scope of their enquiry; then, they share experiences, stories, and previous knowledge; they explore their representations, symbols and metaphors; they discuss their different ideas and develop local theories and projects. Possibilities for individual, collective, and institutional learning emerge from coordination and collaboration, the creation of common spaces, shared action and vocabularies. Co-operative inquiry has been used with workers, unemployed adults, refugees, parents and children, care and education professionals, social workers, students in higher education, to foster (new) understanding and deliberate action (Formenti 2008, 2011a, 2016b).

This form of inquiry is ‘biographically oriented’ given that the participants’ experience is explored using auto/biographic methods and aesthetic representation. Writing and self-writing, drawing, collage, video-narration, dance, drama are used to explore (the meaning of) experience. Self-writing is a crucial resource for transformation (Hunt 2013), especially when frames of meaning are challenged by reflexivity.

This process requires investment in terms of time and care if it is to build sufficiently safe and trusting relationships, generate new information, and nurture generative conversations. Such an approach may be used to foster transformation in care practices (Formenti 2009, 2010, 2013). Care is complex and problematic in itself: it takes place in both formal *and* informal contexts, has both specific *and* transversal features, and entails both professional *and* personal learning. Processes of care should facilitate different subjects (professionals, family members, patients, etc.) in connection with one another, as well as with institutionalized practices and cultures (e.g. medical), to recognize their biological, psychological, relational and social needs. A complex network of relationships is woven among the self, its proximal system, and the broader social context; each level has its own internal consistency, language, narratives and myths, which may give rise to tensions, conflicts or dilemmas. It is no surprise that care systems are characterized by an urgent quest for meaning and sense. The need to re-compose disorienting dichotomies is usually silenced in professional care contexts, due to the hegemony of trivializing presuppositions. However, a technical, individualistic approach to learning is clearly inadequate for the needs of care professionals, who suffer from disconnection and make others suffer too. Conflict with other professionals and family members, due to different perspectives on the situation is strong, and all too frequently denied.

In such contexts, co-operative inquiry can promote ‘good enough’ care, first and foremost by acknowledging the hidden links between learning and caring (Formenti 2009). Adults, by definition, are those who know how to take care of themselves and of others; they should also be able to ‘read the care context’, that is to say, to coordinate their own actions and meanings with those of others, within the family, community, hospital, etc.

The method consists of four phases, as stated above. *Authentic experience* (1) is the starting point of inquiry. Participants explore the deep meaning of their experience by using auto/biographic methods and *aesthetic representations* (2): metaphorical, fictional, and poetic thinking and writing (Formenti 2011a) are used to generate further possibilities of reflection and reflexivity (Hunt 2013). Art-based methods produce insights by challenging established stories and theories. In the following step, that is *intelligent understanding* (3), dilemmas and polarities can be named and drawn together, through discussion and dialogue, into larger or higher order ideas: autonomy *and* dependence, individual needs/desires *and* institutional rules, continuity in identity *and* transformation, body *and* mind, emotionality *and* rationality are re-framed as ‘cybernetic complementarities’ (Keeney 1983). Biographically oriented co-operative inquiry aims to build a satisfactory complex theory, albeit local and

provisional; this kind of theory flourishes on the participants' different stories and voices, juxtaposing their representations and presuppositions, and opening up new possibilities of *deliberate action* (4).

The powerful combination of aesthetic languages, dialogue, and responsive action, always connected to lived embodied experience, fosters co-evolutionary learning within the group and nurtures the participants' ability to appreciate complex thinking, to recognize stories and differences, to act in playful, careful and critical ways, and to take personal and social responsibility. It can help professionals and adults in general to accomplish their social mission of creating possibilities for better living.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter offers the metaphor of 'the pattern which connects' as a framework for adult education. Within this framework, learning entails an evolving self as well as reciprocal and ecological co-evolution, and transformation of contexts. Learning is the outcome of conscious efforts to change ourselves and others, but also the emergence of unexpected new patterns, at the biological, psychological, relational, institutional, and social levels. Learning is thus both social *and* individual, physical *and* symbolic, conscious *and* unconscious (embodied). The pattern which connects all these dimensions has been proposed here as a conceptual basis for biographically oriented co-operative learning, as an antidote to dichotomies and disconnection.

Adult education is urgently required to grasp the complexity of material dimensions (bodies, spaces, objects), actions and perceptions, emotions, images and stories (symbolic, artistic, metaphoric thinking), words and propositions, concepts and critical theories, values and statements of interest, and the embeddedness of all of these aspects in the broader context (relational, cultural, social). This complexity cannot be managed using linear, trivializing theories, practices and policies. Hence, education has the responsibility, wherever possible, to develop nonlinear learning opportunities enabling individuals to reconceptualize and re-invent their roles and identities within their communities. Conventional styles of interaction, based on separation and competition, closed communities and hyper-specialized languages, need to be revised.

We have quoted Heinz von Foerster's imperatives (1984). In order to open up new possibilities (ethical imperative), we need to learn that our actions and perceptions are interdependent (aesthetical imperative). If our desire is to see a less fragmented, and more equal, peaceful, and viable world, we must learn to act in ways that are sensitive to the pattern which connects. Education is still all too frequently a means of trivializing others, by isolating them and silencing their voices. The whole human being is deserving of respect. The practice of complexity should open up possibilities for critical thinking, and foster collaborative conversations. Complexity is not comfortable; it is a way of thinking, as opposed to a source of readymade solutions. It invites adult educators and researchers to (re)consider education as a multiple, interconnected, and

uncertain system, and learning as an embodied, embedded, self-organizing emerging phenomenon, which cannot be foreseen or controlled. As adult learners, we depend on others, in relationships that shape our worlds.

The pattern which connects is a sensitizing concept that may be used to re-invent a transdisciplinary language for adult education. This, hopefully, will boost the capability of the entire system to overcome its disconnections and ‘live peacefully with what and with whom is other’ (Biesta 2006).

Note

The example comes from a research on life design with adult learners in higher education. It is a fictionalized story, re-constructed and synthesized by the author from qualitative data collected through biographically oriented co-operative workshops.

REFERENCES

- Alhadeff-Jones, M. (2008). Three generations of complexity theories: Nuances and ambiguities. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 40(1), 66–82.
- Alhadeff-Jones, M. (2010). Challenging the limits of critique in education through Morin’s paradigm of complexity. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 29(5), 477–490.
- Alhadeff-Jones, M. (2012). Transformative learning and the challenges of complexity. In E. Taylor, P. Cranton, & Associates (Eds.), *The handbook of transformative learning. Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Alheit, P. (2009). Lifelong learning and social capital. In R. Evans (Ed.), *Local development, community and adult learning. Learning landscapes between the mainstream and the margins*. Vol. II. Proceeding III Network Conference Between Global and Local, Magdeburg (pp. 27–48). May 28–30.
- Alheit, P. (2015). Biographical learning: Reflections on transitional learning processes in late modern societies. *Culture, Biography, and Lifelong Learning*, 1(1), 19–29.
- Alheit, P., Bron, A., Brugger, E., & Dominicé, P. (Eds.). (1995). *The biographical approach in European adult education* (pp. 57–74). Wien: Verband Wiener Volksbildung.
- Alheit, P., & Dausien, B. (2000). ‘Biographicity’ as a basic resource of lifelong learning. In P. Alheit, J. Beck, E. Kammler, R. Taylor, & H. Salling Olesen (Eds.), *Lifelong learning inside and outside schools*. (Vol. 2, pp. 400–422). Roskilde, Denmark: Roskilde University, Universitat Bremen & Leeds University.
- Alheit, P., & Dausien, B. (2007). Lifelong learning and biography: A competitive dynamic between the macro and the micro-level of education’. In L. West et al. (Eds.), *Using biographical and life history approaches in the study of adult and lifelong learning: European perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Astier, I., & Duvoux, N. (Eds.). (2006). *La société biographique: Une injonction à vivre dignement*. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an ecology of mind*. New York: Ballantine Books.
- Bateson, G. (1979). *Mind and nature: A necessary unity*. New York: Bantam Books.
- Biesta, G. (2006). *Beyond learning: Democratic education for a human future*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.

- Bohlinger, S., Haake, U., Helms Jørgensen, C., Toiviainen, H., & Wallo, A. (Eds.). (2015). *Working and learning in times of uncertainty: Challenges to adult, professional and vocational education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Davis, B., & Sumara, D. (2006). *Complexity and education. Inquiries into learning, teaching and research*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Davis, B., & Sumara, D. (2008). Complexity as a theory of education. *Transnational Curriculum Inquiry*, 5(2), 33–44. Retrieved February 27, 2016, from <http://nitinat.library.ubc.ca/ojs/index.php/tci>.
- Delory-Momberger, C. (2009). *La condition biographique. Essais sur le récit de soi dans la modernité avancée*. Paris: Téraèdre.
- Delory-Momberger, C. (2015). Biographization, narrative and the biographical society. *Culture, Biography & Lifelong Learning*, 1(1), 31–40.
- Dominicé, P. (2000). *Learning from our lives*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Edwards, R., Biesta, G., & Thorpe, M. (2009). *Rethinking contexts for learning and teaching: Communities, activities, and networks*. London: Routledge.
- Fenwick, T., & Edwards, R. (2013). Performative ontologies. Sociomaterial approaches to researching adult education and lifelong learning. *RELA European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 4(1), 49–63.
- Finnegan, F., Merrill, B., & Thunburg, C. (Eds.). (2014). *Student voices on inequalities in European higher education. Challenges for theory, policy and practice in a time of change*. London: Routledge.
- Formenti, L. (2008). La com-position dans/de l'autobiographie. *Pratiques de formation/Analyse*, 55, 171–191.
- Formenti, L. (2009, March 12–15). Learning and caring in adult life: How to develop a good theory. ESREA life history and biography network conference *Wisdom and knowledge in researching and learning lives: Diversity, differences and commonalities*, Milano.
- Formenti, L. (2010, March 4–7). Homes, trees and rivers: Memories and imagination in participatory research with professionals. Proceedings of the ESREA life history and biography network conference *Representing Lives and Learning. The science and poetics of our work*, Linnaeus University, Växjö, Sweden.
- Formenti, L. (2011a, May 28–29). Metaphors, stories and the making of a satisfying theory: Transformational learning for professionals in education. In Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Transformative Learning, *Transformative Learning in Time of Crisis: Individual and Collective Challenges*. Athens, Greece. Retrieved September 15, 2014, from www.tlcathens2011.gr; www.transformativelearning.org.
- Formenti, L. (2011b). Families in a changing society: How biographies inspire education. In H. Herzberg & E. Kammler (Eds.), *Biographie und Gesellschaft. Überlegungen zu einer Theorie des modernen Selbst*. Frankfurt: Campus.
- Formenti, L. (2013, May 15–18). From family education to family learning: What happens when professionals become Researchers. In 9th international congress of qualitative inquiry, *Qualitative Inquiry Outside the Academy*. Urbana-Champaign, Illinois.
- Formenti, L. (2014). The myth of birth: Autobiography and family memory. In L. Formenti, L. West, & M. Horsdal (Eds.), *Embodied narratives. Connecting stories, bodies, cultures and ecologies*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.
- Formenti, L. (2016a). Learning to live. The pattern which connects education and dis/orientation. In L. Formenti & L. West. (Eds.), *Stories that make a difference*.

- Exploring the collective, social and political potential of narratives in adult education research*. Lecce: Pensa Multimedia.
- Formenti, L. (2016b). Transformative learning and teaching in higher education. From evaluation to an embodied relational theory. *Adult Education, HAEA Special Issue, 1*, 4–11. Retrieved June 24, 2016, from www.esrea-interrogating-tl-processes.com.
- Formenti, L., & Castiglioni, M. (2014). Focus on learners: A search for identity and meaning in autobiographical practices. In G. K. Zarifis & M. G. Gravani (Eds.), *Challenging the 'European area of lifelong learning'. A critical response*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Formenti, L., & West, L. (Eds.). (2016). *Stories that make a difference. Exploring the collective, social and political potential of narratives in adult education research*. Lecce: Pensa Multimedia.
- Formenti, L., West, L., & Horsdal, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Embodied narratives. Connecting stories, bodies, cultures and ecologies*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark.
- Gergen, M. M., & Gergen, K. (2012). *Playing with purpose. Adventures in performative social science*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Heron, J. (1996). *Co-operative inquiry: Research into the human condition*. London: Sage.
- Horsdal, M. (2012). *Telling lives. Exploring dimensions of narratives*. London: Routledge.
- Hunt, C. (2013). *Transformative learning through creative life writing: Exploring the self in the learning process*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2006). *Towards a comprehensive theory of human learning*. London: Routledge.
- Johnson, E. S. (2008). Ecological Systems and Complexity Theory: Toward an alternative model of accountability in education. *Complicity: An International Journal of Complexity and Education, 5*(1), 1–10.
- Jörg, T. (2009). Thinking in complexity about learning and education: A programmatic view. *Complicity. An International Journal of Complexity and Education, 6*(1), 1–22.
- Keeney, B. (1983). *Aesthetics of Change*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Leavy, P. (2015). *Method meets art. Arts-based research practice* (2nd ed.). New York: The Guilford Press.
- Loorbach, D. (2010). Transition management for sustainable development: A prescriptive, complexity based governance framework. *Governance, 23*(1), 161–183.
- Lucio-Villegas, E., & Fragoso, A. (2015). A tramp shining. The popular (Community) educator in the age of lifelong learning. In R. Evans, E. Kurantowicz, & E. Lucio-Villegas (Eds.), *Researching and transforming adult learning and communities. The local/global context*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Mason, M. (Ed.). (2008). *Complexity theory and the philosophy of education*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Maturana, H. (1990). The biological foundations of self-consciousness and the physical domain of existence. In Luhmann et al. (Eds.), *Beobachter. Konvergenz der Erkenntnistheorien?* München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Maturana, H., & Varela, F. (1992). *The tree of knowledge. the biological roots of human understanding*. Boston: Shambhala.
- Merrill, B., & West, L. (2009). *Using biographical methods in social research*. London: Sage.
- Mezirow, J. (1991). *Transformative dimensions of adult learning*. New York: Wiley.
- Morgan, G. (1997). *Images of organization*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

- Morin, E. (1999). *Seven complex lessons in education for the future*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Morrison, K. (2010). Complexity theory, school leadership and management: Questions for theory and practice. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership*, 38(3), 374–393.
- Norris, J., Sawyer, R., & Lund, D. (Eds.). (2012). *Duoethnography. Dialogic methods for social, health, and educational research*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Osberg, D., & Biesta, G. (Eds.). (2010). *Complexity theory and the politics of education*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Rosiek, J. L. (2013). Beyond the autoethnography versus ironist debate: Using C. S. Peirce and C. West to envision an alternative inquiry practice. In N. K. Denzin & M. D. Giardina (Eds.), *Global dimensions of qualitative inquiry*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Salling Olesen, H. (2012). The societal nature of subjectivity. An interdisciplinary methodological challenge. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research/Sozialforschung*, 13(3), 1–17. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/>.
- Salmon, C. (2010). *Storytelling. Bewitching the modern mind*. London: Verso Books.
- Sawyer, R., & Norris, J. (2013). *Duoethnography. understanding qualitative research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Snowden, D. J. & Boone, M. E. (2007). A leader's framework for decision making. *Harvard Business Review*, 85(11), 68. Retrieved from <http://hbr.org/2007/11/a-leaders-framework-for-decision-making/>.
- Snyder, S. (2013). The simple, the complicated, and the complex: Educational reform through the lens of complexity theory. *OECD Education* (Working Papers, No. 96). OECD Publishing. Retrieved December. 23, 2015, from [<http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5k3txnpt1lnr-en>].
- Stanley, D. (2005). Paradigmatic complexity. Emerging ideas and historical views of the complexity sciences. In W.E. Doll Jr., M.J. Fleener, D. Trueit, & J. St. Julien (Eds.), *Chaos, Complexity, Curriculum, and Culture*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Taylor, E., Cranton, P., & Ass, (2012). *The handbook of transformative learning. Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Tisdell, E., & Swartz, A. (Eds) (2011). Adult education and the pursuit of wisdom. *New directions in adult and continuing education*, 131. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Varela, F., Thompson, E., & Rosch, E. (1991). *The embodied mind: Cognitive science and human experience*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Von Foerster, H. (1984). On constructing a reality. In P. Watzlawick (Ed.), *The invented reality. How do we know what we believe we know? (Contributions to Constructivism)*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Von Foerster, H. (1993). *Understanding understanding. Essays on cybernetics and cognition*. New York: Springer.
- Watzlawick, P. (Ed) (1984). *The invented reality. How do we know what we believe we know? (Contributions to Constructivism)* New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Von Glasersfeld, E. (2002). *Radical Constructivism: A Way of Knowing and Learning*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- West, L. (1996). *Beyond fragments. Adults, motivation and higher education*. Milton Park: Taylor and Francis.

- West, L. (2014). Transformative learning and the form that transforms. Toward a psychosocial theory of recognition using auto/biographical narrative research. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 12(4), 164–179.
- West, L. (2016). *Distress in the city. Racism, fundamentalism and a democratic education*. London: Trentham Books, UCL Institute of Education Press.
- West, L., Alheit, P., Andersen, A. S., & Merrill, B. (Eds.). (2007). *Using biographical and life history approaches in the study of adult and lifelong learning: European perspectives*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Zarifis, G. K., & Gravani, M. G. (Eds.). (2014). *Challenging the 'European area of lifelong learning'. A critical response*. Dordrecht: Springer.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Laura Formenti is Associate Professor at the University of Milano Bicocca, Italy, where she teaches general and social pedagogy. A Joint Convenor of the Life History and Biography Network of the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA), she studies adult learning and transformation within systems and contexts (family, working organization, local community). Her recent publications in English include *Embodied Narratives* (Southern Denmark University 2014) and *Stories that Make a Difference* (Pensa MultiMedia 2016).

Economics and the Political Economy of Adult Education

Richard Desjardins

Abstract This chapter provides a critical overview of the contribution of economics to research and policy on adult education. It discusses three distinct political economy perspectives and links these to the shifting policy agenda related to adult education at the OECD over the last five decades. This is done to reveal the link between different political economy perspectives and the implications for analytical as well as political perspectives when approaching the study and policy of adult education. Some implications and challenges for research on adult education are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines some of the impacts that economic-related thinking can be seen to have had on the field of adult education over the last 50 years, and discusses some of the developments and challenges to the application of the economic approach to adult education. Aspects of the human capital framework emerging out of the field of *economics of education* are outlined, but emphasis is placed on a number of diffuse yet related developments in and outside the academy. This is done so as to reveal the growing relevance and importance of economic-related thinking towards issues of adult education, but also to distinguish between narrow *economic* approaches embedded within the now dominant neoclassical framework underpinning the economics discipline and often associated with the *economics of education*, and approaches embedded within the broader social sciences that can be associated with the *political economy of education*. Relevant developments within the academy have emerged

R. Desjardins (✉)

Graduate School of Education & Info Studies, University of California-Los Angeles,
3005 Moor Hall, 405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90095, USA
e-mail: desjardins@gseis.ucla.edu; dezride@live.com

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_12

211

often in response to the narrowness of the *economic* approach implied by the neoclassical paradigm in combination with broader and evolving socio-political tensions affecting not only research, but also policy and practice and their relationship to research. At the same time, there is little doubt that a number of policy and practice-related developments have also emerged to contribute to and reinforce narrow economic applications such as the growing implementation of economic principles to the administration of public services (i.e. *new public management*), the growth of the measurement industry in education, and a narrowing view of *rigour* or *what counts* as research that is relevant for policy and practice in education (Cook and Gorard 2007). Revolving around the rising economic significance of adult education, these dynamics have and continue to influence agenda setting in adult education, as well as in an interactive way the understandings and conceptualizations of adult and lifelong learning among various actors.

A CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE *ECONOMICS OF EDUCATION* TO RESEARCH AND POLICY ON ADULT EDUCATION

The Foundations for Economists' Interest in (Adult) Education

As a consequence of rising standards of living after the Second World War, there was growing social demand for education in the 1950s and 1960s in the Western world which coincided with an increased awareness of the potential of technological and hence strategic implications of investment in education (e.g. the launch of the first orbital satellite (Sputnik) by the Soviet Union in 1957). These factors led to an intensification of the education–economic problem leading to at least two effects that are worthwhile noting. First, it brought education to the forefront of the policy agenda in many countries. Already by the 1960s, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) joined the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in information-gathering activities regarding education at an international level, for policy purposes (Papadopoulos 1994; Postlethwaite 1994). Second, it brought the question of how educational resources could be effectively managed to meet the growing demand and strategic objectives. Sowing the seeds for the growth of the measurement industry in education, economists began searching for measures of educational productivity so as to enable analyses that would inform on the most effective and efficient ways to manage education. Achievement studies led by psychometricians were particularly promising because these provided reliable and comparative measures—albeit ones for a small but highly important set of foundational skills. For example, the first International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) studies emerged already in the early 1960s (Husén 1967). Both of these efforts strengthened the relationship

between policy (including agenda setting) and research in education, and increased the demand for economically useful research and information. In brief, these are effectively the foundations which brought economists into a field that had been traditionally dominated by educationalists with humanistic and progressive ideals.

The Relevance of the Human Capital Framework for Adult Education

The introduction of the human capital framework around the late 1950s, early 1960s provided a particularly powerful rationale for reconciling the growing social and strategic demand for education with the notion of education as a public good (Schultz 1961). The underlying theory emphasized the investment value of education by making explicit links between the role that education plays in raising the quality of labour and in turn productivity growth. It provided a robust framework for both the scientific and policy analysis of the links between education, learning and economic outcomes. Tens of thousands of analyses within this framework have been conducted since the 1960s which provide supporting evidence for the potentially positive economic impacts of (adult) education at both the micro and macro levels. Theoretical reasoning within this framework which is well-supported by empirical research suggests that education and learning boost skills, and in turn employability, productivity, wages and growth.

The human capital framework is highly relevant for adult education exerting both positive and negative affects depending on whose perspective. Many economists have applied the human capital framework to *training* for work-related purposes (i.e. the *economics of training*) including from a lifecycle perspective (e.g. Mincer 1997; Cunha et al. 2006). Less is known about the economic effects of adult education broadly defined since the majority of these studies focus on *training* which typically comprises adult education related activities that are specifically for work-related purposes. There is ample evidence supporting the idea that *training* can have positive impacts on a wide range of labour market outcomes, including the enhancement of employment and career prospects; performance and earnings; job satisfaction and commitment to work; and, innovative capacities (Desjardins 2016).

So What's Wrong with the Human Capital Framework?

The *economics of education* as a field of *academic* research is well accepted, but it often involves a highly circumscribed application of economic-related thinking to issues relevant to the field of (adult) education which may have had and continues to have negative consequences for adult education. While the framework provides an appealing rationale for the economic value of education and training that continues to influence the expansion of education and training systems to this day, a number of substantive concerns arise when the framework is applied within the prevailing conventions of the economics discipline.

First, the theoretical framing of applications can be problematic. For example, the microeconomic foundations of the neoclassical economic framework are firmly embedded within most applications of the human capital framework, and perhaps more importantly often drive the interpretation of results. These include core assumptions about human behaviour such as *rational choice* and *non-satiation* (i.e. greed) which are convenient for mathematical modelling in theoretical terms and statistical application but do not do justice to wider understandings of human and social behaviour in the social sciences. While these assumptions are helpful for analytical purposes, the framing itself tends to drive the (uncritical) interpretation of results. Perhaps the most remarkable omissions in the theory of human behaviour embedded within the framework are the existence of social and power relations, and the importance of societal norms and aspirations (beyond monetary gain) in driving behaviour. By implication, institutions are typically treated as exogenous, and in interpretations of results these are often seen as problematic, because they distort the (assumed) principles by which humans behave which are embedded in the core foundations of the framework. The level of critical, political or ideological awareness on which this is premised is unclear, especially among the mass of students being trained within this framework around the world. In fact, claims to value-neutrality or the notion that normative aspects have no place in an empirically driven science such as economics can still be heard in the halls of economics departments around the world. In any case, it should be no surprise that the only institution that tends to be advocated by neoclassical economists is the *market*, since this is typically the only one being modelled within the framework and consistent with the highly circumscribed theory of behaviour embedded within it.

Second, and related to the first point, interpretations of micro-level statistical results generated within the framework often underplay the aggregation problem inherent to all micro level research in the social sciences. While there is evidence related to the impact of human capital investment at both the micro and macro levels, micro-level statistical results are often (implicitly) interpreted as having overall macro-level consequences for welfare, but this is not necessarily the case (even where causality is claimed) since such results may simply be symptomatic of status or positional effects and/or redistributive effects with no clear indication of impact on net welfare effects, especially if the latter were to include distributional aspects. Such theoretical concerns are thus crucial but nevertheless often remain overlooked because they are outside the scope of the framework. For example, omitting key contextual information or understandings such as those related to social and power relations, institutions and norms, may thus inadvertently lead to highly circumscribed interpretations of attempts at *rigorous* research. Moreover, analyses from this perspective can be problematic if too much emphasis is placed on decontextualized interpretations of statistical results. It is worthwhile to note that *contextualization* itself is part of the research process and predicated on analytical methods such as good qualitative accounts of contexts, as well as logical and structural forms of

comparisons but not all social scientists steeped with mathematical and statistical skills are trained to do careful contextualization's of both the framing of the analysis and the interpretation of results.

Third, the conceptualization of adult education itself and what is considered to count as training may detract or thwart attention from some types of adult education. What counts as training and how this relates to adult education, is generally not well defined. To be sure, economists rarely use the term adult education but instead focus on *training* or variants (professional, vocational, technical education) directly related to work-related purposes. Popular or liberal forms of adult education related to personal (leisure) or social (democratic) related reasons may thus get short shrift, even if different types of adult education may be directly or indirectly linked to the development of skills relevant to the economy and motivations for participation in job or non-job related adult education are not neatly distinguishable (Rubenson 1999). The linkages among the different types of learning for different purposes in relation to different types of skill development and overall economic and social functioning are complex, which is at odds with the principle of parsimoniousness upheld as an ideal by economists.

Empirically, it is unclear to what extent the policy attention that economists have brought to adult education via the human capital approach has been entirely detrimental to non-job related adult education. According to data made available by the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) in the 1990s and the Survey of Adult Skills (also known as the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies—PIAAC) in 2012, adult education for non-job related reasons has not necessarily declined substantially. Instead, adult education for work-related reasons or of the kind that is employer supported has grown dramatically over the last 20+ years (Desjardins 2017). IALS and PIAAC were large-scale international comparative surveys focusing on adult skills and adult learning (see OECD/HRDC 1997; OECD 2013). The net result is an enormous growth in resources now being devoted to the adult education-related activity. It should, therefore, be no surprise that economists are increasingly involved in matters related to adult education.

It is important to note, however, that while adult education for non-job related reasons has not necessarily declined substantially, public support and perception (including among policy makers) of such opportunities may have changed considerably. As mentioned, the human capital framework had a powerful impact in the 1960s in helping to reconcile growing demand for education more generally with justification of public support, but over time analyses within this approach led to a debate on the public vs private benefits of education. Since the 1980s, analyses (e.g. Psacharopoulos 1981, 1985, 2006; Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004) following the human capital approach have been used to justify or place pressure on the public good dimension of different types and levels of education. Combined with the movement to intensify the implementation of economic principles in the administration of public services since the 1980s (i.e. *new public management*), these kinds of analyses continue

to place significant pressure on public support for the development, provision and governance of adult education.

A WIDER SOCIAL SCIENCE APPROACH: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF ADULT EDUCATION

Since the 1980s, the mainstream of the economics discipline has been dominated by the neoclassical school of thinking which as mentioned does not take into account the dynamics of ‘power relations’ or concepts such as ‘social transformation vs social reproduction’, diversity or democracy. Consequently, economists following this approach can be criticized for being slow or inhibited in adapting the logic of governance embedded in modernization theory to post-structural developments since the 1970s. Instead, it might be argued that the tendency within the discipline has been to adapt the modernization framework by intensifying the same logic but wrestling the focus away from the state and politics toward a narrow market-based view of the world (i.e. neoliberalism). This could be construed as a highly self-referential ‘power grab’ under the guise of science (for example see the arguments presented in Friedman 2009)—perhaps unwittingly and/or misguided given the disciplines narrow training in the wider social sciences. For example, social theory, philosophy of science or the critical approach to research do not necessarily feature high on the agenda of university economics departments. Notwithstanding, wider societal developments have clearly transformed the social sciences and should (not without challenge) eventually increasingly impact how economists frame the application of economic principles to research, policy and practice of (adult) education. Loosely speaking, the economics discipline is closely aligned with the problem-solving approach to education policy research (Desjardins and Rubenson 2009). In de-emphasizing the relevance of norms in the neoclassical approach, the problem is usually taken as a given and it is only the solution that is of relevance. This may help to explain the uncritical acceptance and reproduction of the neoclassical framework within mainstream economics.

In contrast, when using a critical approach which is more closely aligned with the *political economy of education*, the problem itself and the solution are made to be problematic (see Cox 1996). The *political economy of education* approach seeks to fill some of the gap left over by the *economics of education* approach as described above. Here, the focus remains on economic-related thinking involving (adult) education but emphasis is placed on social theory, institutional aspects, norms and socio-political positions as well as the critical approach to research. The approach draws on economic sociology and new institutionalism (Swedberg 1996; Crouch and Streeck 1997). It leads to an effective critique of the human capital framework, as well as analytical and policy perspectives that diverge substantially from the neoclassical approach. See Brown et al. (2001) for an analysis on the basis of this framework which outlines seven key aspects related to policy implications for skill formation (which very much relate to adult education) that diverge from human capital models.

SHIFTS IN THE OECD POLICY AGENDA ON ADULT EDUCATION AND THE ROLE OF ALTERNATIVE POLITICAL ECONOMY PERSPECTIVES

The following outlines the shift in the OECD policy agenda related to adult education over the last five decades. The shifts are linked to three distinct political economies that have manifested themselves over the years. The analysis suggests that there is a close link between the political economy perspective adopted and the diverging analytical as well as political perspectives that can ensue when approaching the study and policy of adult education.

Recurrent Education: Modernization–Keynesian Framework

The *modernist* socio-political position which emerged in the aftermath of the Second World War was dominant up until the 1960s in Western industrialised countries. Within this framework, the government is seen to play an important role in steering, managing and minimizing conflict. The political economy perspective reflected in the so-called *Keynesianism* which had emerged in the 1930s provided the primary legitimation for state intervention to steer, and even accelerate development toward *modernity*. The latter reflected ideals associated with equilibrium and harmony as well as *advanced industrialisation* and *being developed*. By the 1960s, growing complexity in the modernized world led to the rise of alternative socio-political positions (e.g. neo-Marxism). The modernist position unravelled precisely due to emerging conflicts in social, economic and cultural realms, which were inconsistent with the prior modernist arrangements to manage such conflicts. Partly in recognition of growing complexity and the need for citizens to cope with modernization, organizations such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe had by the 1960s recognized the necessity to spread educational opportunities over a lifetime. The Council of Europe elaborated the concept of *education permanente* or *lifelong education*. UNESCO elaborated the concept of *lifelong learning*. The Edgar Faure Commission under the banner of UNESCO released a report in 1972 entitled *Learning to Be* which provided a coherent philosophy of *lifelong learning* for the first time, which brought key aspects of adult education to the fore of the policy agenda (Hasan 1996).

Around this time, the OECD introduced an alternative or planning strategy to implement lifelong education which emphasized the economic role of education, namely *recurrent education*. Aside from being seen as a strategy to cope with the changing requirements of rapidly changing economies, it could be seen as a way to moderate the social demand for education by providing an alternative to the ever-lengthening period of continuing education for youth and to mitigate the financial consequences of the explosion of enrolment in upper secondary and higher education (Tuijnman 1996). Fostering a more equitable distribution of educational resources, especially between younger and older generations was very much within the picture. The idea had been first

introduced by Olof Palme, at the time Swedish Minister of Education at a conference of European Ministers of Education held at Versailles in 1968, as a means to promote social democracy (Kallen 1979). *Lifelong learning* and *education permanente* emphasized holistic and humanistic ideals, whereas the OECD emphasized the economic dimension, especially the link between education and work (Rubenson 2008). While the 1972 UNESCO report had formulated a set of principles and recommendations, it provided no clear indications as to the structure of the future lifelong education system. The OECD, however, elaborated extensively in terms of its implications for the labour market and coherent strategies, both education and non-educational strategies (financing policies, educational leave and measures on the labour market and inside industry) to be adopted in order to implement objectives. The essence of the recurrent education was to distribute education over the lifespan of the individual in a recurring way, in alternation with other activities, principally with work, but also with leisure and retirement. Students were to be able to take up and leave study throughout their lives. The idea was that education should be lifelong and not just *front loaded*. However, by calling for a restructuring of education and training systems to integrate post-compulsory education and adult education, the concept differed little from the formal education system (Tuijnman 1996).

Recurrent education was never implemented as a consistent strategy but some of the changes advocated did become part of education policy and practices, in a piecemeal fashion (Tuijnman 1996). For example, post-compulsory education structures became more flexible in many countries, effectively increasing the participations rates of adults in formal education (Desjardins and Lee 2016). However, adult education continued to remain a discrete and financially weak sector. Aside from a slowing of the economy and rise of unemployment in the mid-1970s, the failure of the strategy was due to a number of factors. First, it required a major transformation of the formal education system for which the sector was not ready. Second, it required a coordinated approach with other policies—labour, employment, social welfare, and income transfer policies but legislation was insufficient. Most of all, it introduced a financial burden that was not adequately worked out, and one that ultimately relied exclusively on the public purse. In other words, the strategy was conceived from a political economy perspective where the government bore the primary role for financing and implementing nearly all of the governance and provision associated with adult education including for the labour market.

Lifelong Learning: Neoclassical Framework

By the 1990s, the importance of the human factor as being fundamental to economic activity, competitiveness and social advance re-emerged but within a very different political economy perspective. Arising out of the 1980s the dominant political economy was now *neoliberalism* which prevails to this day. In contrast to *Keynesianism*, neoliberalism rejects the notion that the state has a

strong role to play in steering development or in balancing social interests such as engaging in large-scale redistribution to alleviate the ills of capital accumulation (e.g. Pierson 1994; Gewirtz 2002; Hursh 2005; Davies and Bansel 2007). Instead, emphasis is placed on the market to steer development, so much so as to encompass the steering of political and social activity since these are inseparable from economic activity. Within this framework, inequality is viewed as an individual responsibility, not the consequence of structural relations in society or a public responsibility that should be alleviated or merit any negotiated political settlement as in the case of Keynesianism. Social disadvantage can be seen as a source of incentive to be a more productive member of society and individuals should be left to fend for themselves. Much of these ideas are based on the neoclassical framework already discussed including a range of economic theories and empirical studies in the fields of international trade, growth, labour market and industrial organisation, which emphasizes parsimony and quantifiability under an appealing guise of scientific rigour and validity. Consequently, neoliberal ideas have had an impact across a broad range of policy thinking, including adult education. In particular, market liberalization heightens the significance of (adult) education as an economic policy tool, because education and training are seen to play a crucial role in maintaining national competitiveness. This is well reflected in the OECDs discourse of knowledge-based economies starting in the late 1980s (OECD 1989) and lifelong learning for all (OECD 1996) in the 1990s, which effectively subsumed the discourses of risk, competition and the consequent need to continually invest in learning throughout the lifespan so as to keep up.

The lifelong learning for all agenda at the OECD in the 1990s placed emphasis on the intrinsic as opposed to the instrumental value of education (OECD 1996). It also emphasized universal access to learning opportunities over the entire lifespan. However, learning opportunities are considerably broadened to include all kinds of learning in diverse settings, emphasizing particularly the recognition and importance of non-formal learning. Recurrent education was an alternative strategy to the lengthening of front loaded schooling, so that opportunities are spread out over the lifespan. In contrast, lifelong learning was one of continuity, a seamless view of learning, combining the non-formal and informal in a variety of settings, at home, at work, and in the community. It also emphasized core concepts such as learning to learn and other characteristics required for subsequent learning, including motivation and capacity such as foundation skills. The agenda can be seen to have promoted a master concept for thinking about the whole of the education and training system even if it can be surmised that a core purpose of the agenda was to draw attention to the importance of adult education. It was thus holistic, but perhaps so much so as to be too diffuse to remain on the OECD agenda. The term remains ever present in some countries' discourse and certainly the European Commission's policies surrounding education but even the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning in Hamburg now emphasizes the concept of *adult*

learning and education in order to ensure focus on adult education (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning 2012).

There are a number of key distinctions between lifelong learning and recurrent education agendas at the OECD which reveal key differences in the shift of key political economy perspectives. First, the concept of *individual demand* was emphasized over the concept of *social demand*. This reflected an increased reliance on the responsibilities of employers and individual learners for adult education which is consistent with the rise of new public management concepts such as *accountability* and *choice*. Second, and related to the first point, there is a major difference in the role of the government. In recurrent education, formal education was emphasized and thus a large role was assigned for organizing, managing and financing the system to the government. In sharp contrast, the OECD lifelong learning agenda retreats from this, and emphasizes shared responsibility. Moreover, the idea of alternating work with formal education on a cyclical basis was replaced by strategies to promote *learning while working* and *working while learning*.

Skills Strategy: New Political Economy of Skills Framework

Following the *lifelong learning for all* agenda and the International Adult Literacy Survey of the 1990s (OECD/HRDC 1997), the OECD embarked on a thematic review of adult learning systems in 17 countries between 1998 and 2002 which resulted in a number of useful publications on adult education (e.g. OECD 2003, 2005). By the late 2000s, however, very few staff working at the OECD were addressing adult education issues. In the lead up to the OECD skills strategy published in 2012, the agenda could be construed as having shifted nearly exclusively to *skills* (OECD 2012). The latter, however, can be seen to have largely incorporated the *new political economy of skills* approach by shifting policy concern to the demand for skills rather than simply the supply of skills.

Already by the early 1990s, the shift of OECD economies towards information- and knowledge-based economies brought attention to basic skills such as literacy and numeracy. Much of the policy focus tended to be on the supply of basic skills needed for the new economy, and on the negative consequences of deficits for individual workers and economies, which provided a boost to adult education of a certain kind, namely basic skills training or compensatory adult education. However, growth in demand for skills was taken for granted or as an inevitable consequence of development in market economies. Thus, little attention was directed to actual skill demand and the possible incentives in place in a neoliberal economy for price-based competition strategies to prevail which might undermine investment in skill development (Fingold and Soskice 1988). Moreover, less thought was given to how a lack of use and low levels of demand for these skills is linked to skill loss (Krahn and Lowe 1998; Reder 2009) and by extension restricts large groups from receiving adult education. A related but opposing debate on the idea of *over-education* and *over-skilling* emerged in

mid-to-late 2000s suggesting that market imbalances for skill may be driven by over-investment in education (Desjardins 2014).

Some of this short-sightedness related to the debate on over-education may be partly attributed to the dominance of the neoclassical and hence human capital framework, which tends to emphasize a supply side view of the labour market. This approach can impact the formulation of analytical, as well as policy perspectives on adult education in a number of ways. Foremost it portrays skill imbalances as a phenomenon driven by supply-side conditions. For example, it highlights inadequacies of education and training systems as a reason for imbalances in the labour market (Lorenz et al. 2016). The key policy implication is to promote the reduction of qualifications, which can negatively impact access by adults to formal education (due to perceived over-education). Another implication is to ensure quality-of-education and training systems and their responsiveness to labour market needs. Better guidance and information are also seen as helpful for mitigating the incidence of skill imbalance.

In contrast, the *new political economy of skills* framework leads to the formulation of an alternative analytical perspective which can lead to very different policy implications. The approach emphasizes the demand side view of the labour market, and thus, portrays skill imbalances as a phenomenon driven by demand side conditions (i.e. incentives of employers, and the technology and organizational models employers use). For example, it highlights the possible inadequacies of labour market practices as a reason for imbalances. The key policy implication is to promote the adjustment of work and organisational practices in ways that optimize skill use and skill gain, and avoids skill loss over time; as well as foster employer training including the development of generic skills. A key point from this perspective is that economies can remain competitive without upgrading skills, because the market does not necessarily provide the incentives consistent with a high-skills strategy or high-skills equilibrium (Finegold and Soskice 1988; Brown et al. 2001; Everson et al. 2009; Froy et al. 2009; Buchanan et al. 2010; Mason and Constable 2011). Perhaps most importantly, it highlights that politics and aspirations that surround institutions involved in skill formation systems matter and accordingly that routes to high skill formation and the policies that may be required vary according to context.

SOME IMPLICATIONS AND CHALLENGES FOR RESEARCH ON ADULT EDUCATION

The Diversification of Research and Perspectives

It is now well recognized that the production of knowledge is no longer the privy of universities. Research is now widely undertaken directly by various stakeholders with varied interests including public and private. Therefore, there are now clear distinctions emerging among different types of researchers: *academic* researchers, *policy* researchers, *technical* researchers, etc. How these

researchers relate with one another and how they relate to knowledge production such as disciplinary bodies of knowledge differ widely across disciplines and fields. In education including within a lifelong perspective, this has become particularly diffuse.

Notwithstanding, it is arguably policy thinking grounded in the ‘logic’ of what mainstream economics is now built on (i.e. the neoclassical framework), and thus *policy* research of a technical kind, that has had most impact on the field of adult education over the last 50 years, rather than the discipline itself or economic-related thinking in adult education, although the two are related. *Academic economists of education* are crucial in this regard, since more generally the *academy* continues to play a central role in defining, delimiting and reproducing the *accepted* body of knowledge surrounding different disciplines. Yet, academic economists arguably do not do justice to economic-related thinking that has emerged outside of the neoclassical model. This is particularly important because of the continuing dominance of *neoliberalism*. Combined with the rising significance of adult education as an economic policy tool, economists continue to gain power at the highest levels of governance which may increasingly impact policies on (adult) education.

It is accordingly important to foster diversity in research and perspectives that frame research and interpret results. The danger is to favour particular kinds of research and to set standards on research from a particular discipline or approach. Thus, fostering a balanced evidence-base is crucial. Yet in many policy and research circles micro-level statistical research and experimental methods are seen as synonymous with ‘evidence’, and as the gold standard for informing policy-making so as to achieve the ideal of evidence-based policy making. While results generated from these types of studies can be helpful for informing the debate they often produce a fragmented and incomplete picture; circumstances that are not helpful for making informed decisions. Given the difficulty in measuring or quantifying many of the relevant factors needed to carefully generate and interpret results relevant for policy and practice, other analytical methods are necessary. Moreover, interpretation of results from such studies needs to be carefully contextualized and often depend on good qualitative accounts as well as logical and structural forms of comparisons.

Moreover, as ambitions to predicate policies on research and evidence continue to pervade, it is particularly important to foster critical awareness among knowledge producers. That is, for knowledge producers to have a clear understanding of the political and social basis and implications of their research. Subscribing to ideas of value-neutrality in social science may be problematic since social scientists’ choices may affect the lives of millions all the while claiming neutrality.

Reframing Perspectives on the Role of Adult Education in Society

Despite the shortcomings of mainstream economic approaches described above, economic-related thinking remains crucially important to the field of adult

education. In the face of scarcity and complexity, decisions need to be made and resources need to be managed—circumstances which the so-called economic sciences claim special competencies. Indeed, education including the lifelong aspect has increasingly become an economic policy tool. Therefore, how economists frame questions surrounding the worthiness or purpose of adult education has arguably become more important than ever. Viewing adult education activity as worthwhile (i.e. Investment), whether it is for reproductive or transformative purposes, individual agency or social and institutional reform remains crucial and needs to be developed further.

To be sure, economic applicability and investment is not just limited to productivity effects or the economy. Attempts to cast aside social and power relations, norms, aspirations, or to approach economics as something distinct from social and political activity is too circumscribed and can lead to highly perverse or misguided analytical and policy perspectives. It is ill-advised to attempt to separate the economic realm from political and social realms. As a concrete example even at the micro level, the importance or applicability of economic-related thinking to the study of incentives among individuals and employers in relation to motivation is important regardless of purpose (i.e. job, personal, civic; productivity vs democracy; reproductive vs transformative; innovation). The same warning could be voiced regarding the approach by non-economists and their perspective on economics, namely that adult education is not just for humanistic purposes. Adult education is closely related to economic, social and human functioning—these are fundamentally linked and cannot be neatly distinguished. Adult education plays a central role in society by enabling complex communication and governance across distinct but interdependent sub-systems and should be framed and approached as such rather than in piecemeal fashion. A broader social science approach is thus particularly vital at the macro and policy level for framing the discourse surrounding the formation and reformation of public policy and institutional frameworks relevant to adult learning in ways that are consistent with societal objectives, including (sustainable) economic development, and not least the distribution of welfare in ways that are consistent with our concern for the human and social condition.

REFERENCES

- Brown, P., Lauder, H., & Green, A. (2001). *High skills: Globalization, competitiveness, and skill formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Buchanan, J., Scott, L., Yu, S., Schutz, H., & Jakubauskas, M. (2010). *Skills demand and utilisation: An international review of approaches to measurement and policy development*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Cook, T., & Gorard, S. (2007). What counts and what should count as evidence. In OECD (Ed.), *Evidence in education: Linking research and policy*. Paris: OECD.
- Cox, R. W. (1996). *Approaches to world order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crouch, C., & Streeck, W. (1997). *Political economy of modern capitalism*. London: Sage.

- Cunha, F., Heckman, J. J., Lochner, L., & Masterov, D. V. (2006). Interpreting the evidence on life cycle skill formation. *Handbook of the Economics of Education*, 1, 697–812.
- Davies, B., & Bansel, P. (2007). Neoliberalism and education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(3), 247–259.
- Desjardins, R. (2014). *Rewards to skill supply, skill demand, and skill match-mismatch: Studies using the adult literacy and lifeskills survey (Second Doctoral Dissertation)*. Lund: Economics Department, Lund University.
- Desjardins, R. (2016). Employment and the labour market. In T. Schuller, K. Rubenson, & S. Brink (Eds.), *Third global report on adult learning and education*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning (UIL).
- Desjardins, R. (2017). *Political economy of adult learning systems*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Desjardins, R., & Lee, J. (2016). *Earnings and employment benefits of adult higher education in comparative perspective: Evidence based on the OECD survey of adult skills (PIAAC)*. Washington, DC: Working Paper for American Institutes for Research.
- Desjardins, R., & Rubenson, K. (2009). The tension between research of policy and research for policy in an era of transnational education policy-making: An introduction. In R. Desjardins & K. Rubenson (Eds.), *Research of vs research for education policy: In an era of transnational education policy-making*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag.
- Evesson, J., Jakubauskas, M., & Buchanan, J. (2009). *Choosing a sustainable future: Workforce development in Victorian primary industries. Report prepared by the Workplace Research Centre*. Sydney: University of Sydney for the Victorian Department of Innovation, Industry and Regional Development.
- Finegold, D., & Soskice, D. (1988). The failure of training in Britain: Analysis and prescription. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 4(3), 21–53.
- Friedman, M. (2009). *Capitalism and freedom*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Froy, F., Giguère, S., & Hofer, A.-R. (2009). *Local economic and employment development (LEED) designing local skills strategies*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Gewirtz, S. (2002). *The managerial school: Post-welfarism and social justice in education*. London: Routledge.
- Hasan, A. (1996). Lifelong learning. In A. C. Tuijnman (Ed.), *The international encyclopaedia of adult education and training* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Hursh, D. (2005). Neo-liberalism, markets and accountability: Transforming education and undermining democracy in the United States and England. *Policy Futures in Education*, 3(1), 3–15.
- Husén, T. (Ed.). (1967). *International study of achievement in mathematics: A comparison of twelve countries* (Vols. 1–2). Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell.
- Kallen, D. (1979). Recurrent education and lifelong learning: Definitions and distinctions. In T. Schuller & J. Megarry (Eds.), *Recurrent education and lifelong learning—World yearbook of education 1979*. London: Kogan Page.
- Krahn, H., & Lowe, G. S. (1998). *Literacy utilization in Canadian workplaces*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada and Human Resource Development Canada.
- Lorenz, E., Lundvall, B.-A., Kraemer-Mbula, E., & Rasmussen, P. (2016). Work organisation, forms of employee learning and national systems of education and training. *European Journal of Education*, 51(2), 154–175.

- Mason, G., & Constable, S. (2011). *Product strategies, skills shortages and skill updating needs in England: New evidence from the National Employer Skills Survey, 2009*. London: UK Commission for Education and Skills. <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/10074/1/evidence-report-30-product-strategies-skills-shortages.pdf>
- Mincer, J. (1997). The production of human capital and the life cycle of earnings: Variations on a theme. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 15(1), S26–S47.
- OECD. (1989). *Education and the economy in a changing society*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (1996). *Lifelong learning for all*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2003). *Beyond rhetoric: Adult learning policies and practices*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2005). *Promoting adult learning*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2012). *Better skills, better jobs, better lives: A strategic approach to skills policies*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2013). *Skills outlook: First results of the OECD survey of adult skills*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD/HRDC. (1997). *Literacy skills for the knowledge society: Further results from the international adult literacy survey*. Paris: OECD/HRDC.
- Papadopoulos, G. (1994). *Education 1960–1990: The OECD perspective*. Paris: OECD.
- Pierson, P. (1994). *Dismantling the welfare state? Reagan, Thatcher, and the politics of retrenchment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Postlethwaite, N. (1994). Educational achievement: Comparative studies. In T. Husén & T. N. Postlethwaite (Eds.), *International encyclopaedia of education, CD-ROM version*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Psacharopoulos, G. P. (1981). Returns to education: An updated international comparison. *Comparative Education*, 17, 321–341.
- Psacharopoulos, G. P. (1985). Returns to education: A further international update and implications. *Journal of Human Resources*, 20, 583–604.
- Psacharopoulos, G. P. (2006). The value of investment in education: Theory, evidence and policy. *Journal of Education Finance*, 32, 113–126.
- Psacharopoulos, G. P., & Patrinos, H. A. (2004). Returns to investment in education: A further update. *Education Economics*, 12(2), 111–134.
- Reder, S. (2009). The development of adult literacy and numeracy in adult life. In S. Reder & J. Bynner (Eds.), *Tracking adult literacy and numeracy skills: Findings from longitudinal research*. New York: Routledge.
- Rubenson, K. (1999). The supply of lifelong learning opportunities. In A. Tuijnman & T. Schuller (Eds.), *Lifelong learning policy and research: Proceedings of an international symposium*. London: Portland Press.
- Rubenson, K. (2008). OECD and Hegemony. In R. Mahon & S. McBride (Eds.), *The OECD and transnational governance*. Vancouver: British Columbia University Press.
- Schultz, T. W. (1961). Investment in human capital. *American Economic Review*, 51(1), 1–17.
- Swedberg, R. (Ed.). (1996). *Economic sociology*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Tuijnman, A. C. (1996). Recurrent education. In A. C. Tuijnman (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of adult education and training* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. (2012). *Global report on adult learning and education*. Hamburg: UNESCO.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Richard Desjardins is Associate Professor of Political Economy of Education at the University of California, Los Angeles (USA). He previously worked at the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Directorate for Education between 2010-2013 on the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) and the Skills Strategy, and was Associate Professor in Comparative Social Science at Aarhus University, Denmark. He is joint-editor of the *European Journal of Education* (Wiley). His most recent publication is the *Political Economy of Adult Learning Systems* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2017).

The Critical Turn in Human Resources Development

Tonette S. Rocco, Sunny L. Munn and Joshua C. Collins

Abstract This chapter presents the evolution of the critical turn in human resource development (HRD). The chapter includes a description of theory, understanding the dynamic relationship of theory to practice, and an examination of the need for critical theory in a practitioner-focused field. A brief description of critical theory is provided to support other critical paradigms used in HRD such as feminist theory/critical feminist theory, the social justice paradigm, and queer theory. The discussion centres on the space these theories made for the creation of critical human resource development, and the inclusion of critical race theory which takes HRD in a more radical direction. The chapter concludes with implications for the field.

Adult education, lifelong education, and lifelong learning are often seen as separate fields, related fields, and the same field simultaneously. Similarly, human resource development (HRD) and adult education (AE) are entangled. The entanglements stem from a shared focus on adults, adult learning, workplace skills and competencies, programme development and management, and

T.S. Rocco (✉)
Florida International University, 8910 SW 150 Circle Court N, Miami, FL 3319,
USA
e-mail: roccot@fiu.edu

S.L. Munn
Ohio State University, 204 Parkwood Ave., Columbus, OH 43203, USA
e-mail: sunnymunn@gmail.com

J.C. Collins
University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, 1314 Marquette Ave. Apt. 2206,
Minneapolis, MN 55403, USA
e-mail: collinsj@umn.edu

curriculum development. The connection is evident between the two fields because adult learning theory informs practice, graduates from AE programmes frequently find themselves in corporate situations conducting training, or the role of HRD and AE is seen as developing competence in learners to make them better workers.

The way researchers and practitioners view the connection or lack of connection between fields affects the research questions pursued and the methods used to solve problems practitioners face at work. Those scholars who lean more towards AE, but find that their main field is HRD, are more likely to hold a social justice perspective. The social justice perspective is concerned with basic human rights, equity, and opportunities to live, learn, and work that are fair to all (Byrd 2014b). HRD scholars who were not heavily exposed to AE concepts or who did not embrace them see the world through a technical rational perspective driven by economics and vocationalism, where theory is usually separated from practice (Belzer et al. 2001). The truth is this dichotomy is an oversimplification and overgeneralisation of the relationship and each field's foci.

However, as Collins and Collard (1995) argued AE is not wholeheartedly focused on social justice. Instead, AE works to create competencies in those who are disadvantaged by race, gender, class, ability, or other aspects of identity, without attempting to be critical of AE's role 'in sustaining existing class relations' (Collins and Collard 1995). When adult educators uncritically focus on developing competencies in marginalised workers to encourage employability, the deficit perspective—which perpetuates the notion that minority people lack skills, knowledge, and the correct attitudes—is supported. Competency development supports the view that people are resources that assume added value after becoming skilled, that some skills are more valuable than others, and that some workers by virtue of race, gender, or some other characteristic are less capable of developing the competence, or learn the competency poorly. Linking (in)competence to identity markers, being dismissive of research informed by a paradigm or theory with an identity or identity politics at its core (i.e. feminism or critical race theory), creates a schism with scholars taking a critical perspective on educational practices. This dismissive attitude shaped debates within HRD (Bierema 2009) and initiated the introduction of critical theories.

To increase awareness of social justice and equity issues, HRD scholars introduced concepts from critical theory such as the critique of power, hegemony, normality, and authority (Gedro et al. 2014). There are two camps in HRD: those who use critical paradigms and those who do not. The group of scholars who do not use critical paradigms are split between those who proclaim research should be neutral (Swanson 2004), often disparaging of critical paradigms, and those who use the work of critical scholars when relevant to their work. Tensions exist between the critical and not critical camps regarding how to define HRD (Lee 2001), considerations of future research foci (Swanson 2004), the suitability of research methods, and who determines which research questions or participant experiences are important in HRD (Bierema et al. 2002; Bierema 2002).

Schied the first scholar to ‘critically’ reflect on the actions of HRD is an adult educator and labour activist, who asked ‘How did humans become resources anyway?’ (1995: 287). He provided a history of HRD while critiquing it as ‘the dominant model for workplace education’ and finding it suspect because of HRD’s concern with the corporation over the individual. Schied’s work seems to be the first critique of HRD using a critical approach and later a feminist approach (Howell et al. 2002). Another critique provided by Baptiste (2001) of human capital theory (HCT), one of the foundational theories of HRD (Swanson 1995), claimed HRD spawned ‘pedagogical practices that are apolitical, adaptive, and individualistic’ (Baptiste 2001: 184) which can never lead to equity and social justice.

Gradually, feminism (Bierema and Cseh 2000; Bierema et al. 2002; Bierema 2002), critical race theory (CRT) (Bernier and Rocco 2003), critical HRD (Fenwick 2004), and critical theory (Sambrook 2004) were introduced into HRD scholarship. These few scholars who bring critical perspectives to HRD generally share a background in AE, consider themselves members of both fields, and are influenced by the critical and social justice work in AE. Their shared challenge is to develop a social justice consciousness in HRD practitioners or at the very least an awareness of how corporate policies and actions matter differently to people from different cultures, genders, sexual orientations, and with different abilities.

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss the introduction and evolution of the critical turn in HRD. The authors are US scholars who take an Anglophone perspective on this issue. The ‘critical turn’ was introduced by Ulrich (1996) to suggest the movement of turning away from a conventional conception of rationality and as a way to find ‘*critical solution[s]* to the unavoidable question of rationality’ (italics in original, 12). We begin with a discussion of the relationship between theory and practice, followed by descriptions of critical paradigms used in HRD, CHR, and CRT, the necessity for being critical in HRD, and implications for practice. The evolution of the critical turn begins with a description of theory, understanding the dynamic relationship of theory to practice, and ends with an examination of the need for critical theory in a practitioner-focused field. A brief description of critical theory will be provided because critical theory spawned other critical paradigms used in HRD, such as feminist theory/critical feminist theory (Bierema 2002), the social justice paradigm (Byrd 2014b), and queer theory (Gedro and Mizzi 2014). The differences and commonalities between these theories created a space or need for critical human resource development and critical race theory, which takes HRD in a more radical direction. The chapter will conclude by addressing questions at the heart of the matter: Why should we/practitioners and researchers care about equity? How can practitioners incorporate a concern for equity into corporate policies and procedures? Is not equity code for taking power from White/straight/able-bodied men? Should not we teach our students about power structures alongside training techniques? How is this useful to the field? How can practitioners use these theories in their practice?

THE IMPORTANCE OF THEORY TO PRACTICE

Theory underlies practice. A theory is a framework of ideas guiding practice, which generalises beyond individual experience, is predictive, and covers a category of events (Brookfield 2010). While theories are considered the province of scholars, everyone has theories about the ways things work or why people behave the way they do. Practitioners make 'judgements based on assumptions, instincts, hunches, and explicit understandings [which] are theoretical' (Brookfield 2010: 71). The data practitioners use can be complex or simple, such as in-depth, formally conducted surveys of employees, or observations over time. The observations arise from comparing events, people, outcomes, and practices. The analysis of these data can be formal or informal and is used to predict what future actions will have particular consequences. Thus, practitioners generate theories-in-use (Argyris and Schon 1989) to explain an event and to anticipate the consequences produced by similar events.

Formal and established theories are introduced to students through formal education. Practitioners who were students remember the theories they learned and apply them to personal and work-based problems. Theories introduced during course work provide a point of reference for HRD practitioners. Sometimes student practitioners will re-evaluate their operating philosophies or values as a result of learning a new theory. Sometimes the theory a student practitioner is exposed to provides insight into complex practice situations. Theories also facilitate knowledge transfer between academics and practitioners (Garavan et al. 2000), providing a bridge from research to practice.

Academics are teachers who make decisions about what theories and research are important to share with students. There is no theory or research that is neutral and free from bias. Bias *might* be controlled for or contained; it should always be acknowledged. Bias is introduced into classrooms by instructors and students through the topics we teach, the tone used to explain the topic, and the language used to discuss the topic. Students introduce their bias into these discussions too. This bias might be called perspective and more formally a world view or paradigm. Patton (2002) argues the distinctions between theories, research strategies, and paradigms are 'arguable and somewhat arbitrary' (80). Neutrality in research should simply mean the researcher will not manipulate the data to validate the researcher's agenda.

A problem exists when one group of scholars believes their research and methods are neutral, which is at best an impossible standard and at its worst academic arrogance. We select course content certainly in terms of course need but these selections are informed by our values and perspectives. It is not likely that an academic will give a lot of attention to the discussion of a theory that the academic seriously disagrees within class. The myth of neutrality is based on several assumptions such as: neutrality is a prized or desirable condition; it is achievable; it guarantees that our perceptions and assumptions about others do

not interfere/influence our choices; and that White people and White males particularly represent neutrality.

In HRD, Swanson's (2004) voice was loudest in claiming that research free of bias, and therefore neutral, was possible if instead of using a theory such as feminism, a unisex perspective was used to conduct research. This perspective, like other 'neutral perspectives', is informed by paternalism and positivism, which is evident when one of his suggestions for conducting research on women at work is for research teams to be composed of women with the addition of men for balance. Swanson failed to suggest that when men research men, they should include women on the research team for balance or that when research done on samples composed largely of White men, non-White researchers should be invited to join the research team for balance, therefore implicitly endorsing the White male as neutral and rational to counter the influence of researchers who acknowledge their perspective and possible emotional involvement with the topic. Since as scholars we have not articulated a White male perspective/theory/paradigm, the work that comes from this paradigm is viewed as mainstream, normal, neutral, and even reasonable to some. This normative stance claims that the White male experience is the baseline for knowledge and other experiences are not important or are represented well enough by the 'norm'. Swanson's claim illustrates the need for critical theories because 'HRD as a discipline has not exceedingly concerned itself with issues of diversity, equality, power, discrimination, sexism, homophobia, racism, or other similar issues in organisations. Yet, these challenges pervade both the workplace and society' (Bierema and Cseh 2003: 5).

While Swanson claims neutrality in his work, Bierema acknowledges the existence of paradigms that influence her work—a clear example of their differing worldviews. Paradigms are important because they are 'accepted examples of actual scientific practice ... [that] provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research' (Kuhn 1996: 10). The acknowledged use of critical paradigms in HRD is in direct response to focusing on performance improvement, privileging organisational goals over individual goals, dismissing the effect of power and privilege within an organisation (Nackoney and Rocco 2008; Rigg et al. 2007), and claiming neutrality.

CRITICAL PARADIGMS USED IN HRD

Critical paradigms in HRD are preceded and foundationalised by the emergence of three successive areas of philosophical and theoretical thought: (a) *modern social science*, with key works such as Marx's 1867 *Das Kapital* (Marx 2009), Durkheim's 1893 *The Division of Labour in Society* (Durkheim 2014), and Weber's 1922 *Economy and Society* (Weber 1978) in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; (b) *critical theory*, with key thinkers such as Marcuse (1974), Fromm (1941) and Habermas (1972) associated with the mid-twentieth-century Frankfurt School; and (c) *critical theory through the lens of identity*, with key thinkers such as Butler (1990), Bell (1992), hooks

(2000) and Sen (2009) in the late twentieth century and continuing presently. The emergence of modern social science stimulated new ideas regarding the institutionalised nature of oppression and advanced alternative ways of knowing that were anti-positivistic and fixated on radical social change.

The emergence of critical theory was, in many ways, the result of a positive response to these new ideas. The dialogue of individuals like Marx, Durkheim, and Weber caught the attention of the Frankfurt School scholars who sought new lenses for thinking about complex sociopolitical issues. At its core, critical theory promotes change to systems of authority and power (Marcuse 1974); questions institutions which constrain human potential by privileging certain groups, as illustrated in Friere's 1970 *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Friere 2014); deconstructs language, its meaning, and its arguments (Adorno 1973); and interrogates the social construction of identity and being in organisations, communities, and society (Fromm 1941).

Over time, perspectives materialised to situate identity as the primary catalyst for viewing and thinking about other important issues of/in critical theory. From these perspectives came feminist theory (hooks 2000), queer theory (Butler 1990), and the evolving concept of social justice (Sen 2009), amongst other modes of thinking. Identity-focused theories also enhanced the extent to which critical theory—which was for the most part constructed by White, presumably heterosexual men—has been applicable to groups that are historically marginalised and minoritised.

Critical paradigms in HRD have been greatly influenced by identity-focused critical theories. Those who introduced critical paradigms to the field of HRD did so primarily as a critique of 'HRD's dominant masculine rationality' (Bierema 2009). Feminism was first used to critique HRD through presentations at the Adult Education Research Conference (Bierema 1998; Howell et al. 1999). Bierema critiqued HRD research using a feminist paradigm. This paradigm described that: 'A feminist—at the most simplistic level—is a person who seeks economic, social and political equality between the sexes' (Bierema 1998: 31). She described a feminist approach to research which considers 'women's experiences as suitable problems' and which challenges 'the implicit male perspective of the dominant paradigms' (Bierema 1998: 31).

Critical perspectives in HRD were developed to question the notions of performance and profit (Elliott and Turnbull 2002). Feminism was used as a strong foundation for critiquing research and practice in a field that was historically male-dominated. Howell et al. (1999) used critical feminism, a merger of feminist and critical theory, to critique the experience of learning at work stating, 'a critical feminist perspective considers issues of power...elements of affect, social justice, marginalisation, and contextual links' (157). As calls for more careful attention to social justice, minority experiences, and critiques of power emerged (Bierema and Cseh 2003), so did a defence of the status quo. Storberg-Walker and Bierema (2008) argued that the lack of a willingness to question the knowledge taken for granted in the field would lead to HRD's failure to remain relevant in a changing sociopolitical environment.

Other modes of critical thinking in HRD emerged alongside feminism, perhaps most notably the introduction of queer theory, which has benefitted scholars who aim to take conversations about gender beyond the male/female binary to include discussions of transgender people (Davis 2009), gay men (Collins and Callahan 2012), and lesbians (Gedro 2004). Gedro's (2004) article exploring lesbians' negotiation of heterosexism in corporate America is notably foundational, as it is the first empirical study on LGBTQ people in the field. The queer paradigm has been used by HRD scholars to deconstruct heteronormativity regarding curriculum (Chapman and Gedro 2009), career development (Rocco and Gallagher 2006; Gedro 2009); leadership (Collins 2012; Gedro 2014), exclusionary politics (Collins et al. 2015), sexuality and diversity (Kormanik 2009), experiences abroad (Gedro et al. 2013), and employee resource groups (Githens 2009), amongst other issues. The queer paradigm aims to 'reflect on where an organisation stands in terms of sexual minority issues and [provides] a framework with which to expose and challenge existing heterosexist structures' (Rocco et al. 2009: 9).

Byrd (2014b) described the social justice paradigm as a moral obligation, affirming, participatory, and democratic. This perspective is opposed to oppression in all its forms and works to expose and eliminate oppression within organisations. Oppression occurs 'when attitudes and actions (biases and prejudices) are supported through practices, policies, rules, and customs that disadvantage members because of their perceived marginalised status' (281–282). Oppression is often focused on specific identities such as being black or LGBT allies (Brooks and Edwards 2009). Byrd (2014a) contends that intersectionality is a critical framework useful 'for explaining how an individual can be located within various social constructs that can shape and define their experiences in organisational and institutional settings' (517).

Dirkx (1996) suggested that the social justice paradigm could be borrowed from adult education to build workplaces where education is participatory and democratic. Yang (2003) examined decision-making models. He found that few studies investigated the central concepts of the political approach to decision-making, ethics, and social justice. Instead of using the social justice paradigm as a research lens alone, HRD scholars lament the lack of social justice work in HRD (Bierema 2002; Fenwick 2004) or use the social justice lens in conjunction with another paradigm (Byrd 2014a).

As a result of these early conceptions of critical paradigms in the field, HRD researchers who use critical theory generally 'avoid a *focus* on performance when they explore issues of interest ... challenge hegemonic beliefs about what is "real" or "natural" in organisations ... [and] engage in reflexivity to better understand and convey the genuine foundations (epistemological, ontological, and axiological) of their work' (Callahan 2007: 78, *original emphasis*). Critical paradigms in HRD have primarily been focused around three areas: (a) situating critical language as useful to HRD research and practice (Trehan 2004; Valentin 2006; Armitage 2010); (b) exploring organisational issues for minorities (Bierema 1996; Gedro 2007; Byrd 2009); and (c) redefining key terms through

critical dialogue (O'Donnell et al. 2006; Fenwick and Bierema 2008). These areas of critical thought in HRD have grown over the last 15 years and have gained traction, including being the focus of chapters in the most recent handbooks of the field of HRD (Bierema and Cseh 2014; Fenwick 2014; Sambrook 2014).

A NEED FOR CRITICAL HRD: AN EMERGING PARADIGM

Critical scholarship emerged from critiques around concepts such as ethics, social responsibility, discourse analysis, learning, and identity construction (Sambrook 2014). Identity construction paradigms used in HRD scholarship include feminism, queer theory, and social justice. Critical HRD (CHRD) can be viewed as the sum of the scholarship taking a critical stance focused on a concept or identity. Or it can be viewed as a new paradigm in the manner of critical management studies. Some scholars have wondered if the use of critical paradigms in HRD, such as feminism and CHRD, constitutes an incremental or radical change (Trehan and Rigg 2011) from traditional HRD. Does CHRD represent the emergence of a sub-field? We argue in this chapter that CHRD is becoming its own paradigm separate from the critical paradigms and concepts that form its foundation. CHRD is gaining traction in the field because of corporate deception, lack of ethical concerns, and economic downturns on a global level (Sambrook 2014). In the field of HRD, the growth of CHRD is a response to the lack of a general field-based concern for and curiosity about people and workers at the margins, the position that there is one right way to conduct research, and that research questions that do not improve performance are not important.

CHRD was established as a distinct area of HRD scholarship in the early 2000s, when several Adult Education and HRD scholars and practitioners began to perceive a need to move the field beyond its usual focus on performance, increase awareness of worker's needs, and develop an understanding of workplace issues and power that might result in the 'reform of both workplace organisations and development of practices directed towards individuals and groups' (Fenwick 2005: 228). Seeing the need for a more critically oriented HRD Fenwick (2004) argued that HRD's increased awareness of social issues and causes would create new avenues for collaboration with the field of Adult Education and Critical Management Studies (CMS). This collaboration might work in 'the space *within* HRD' (Fenwick 2004: 193) to challenge the oppressive systems existing in research and practice. Criticality is contested and pluralistic just as any other paradigm with two main tensions: the nature of power and the connection between research and practice.

CHRD according to Fenwick (2004) is based on two principles developed from CMS and critical pedagogy opposition to (a) 'the subjugation of human knowledge, skills, relationships, and education to organisational gain and goals

that are primarily economic or instrumental' (198) and (b) dedication to transforming organisations to become just and equitable workplaces. From these principles, she proposes four dimensions to use in 'the space *within* HRD' (Fenwick 2004: 193): political purpose, epistemology, inquiry, and methodology. The political purpose should be to reform organisations and workplaces where the epistemology is the 'workplace as contested terrain' (198). The inquiry is on issues of power and the historical development of power. The methodology should work to expose power relations and inequities. Integration of all four dimensions is needed to examine the main HRD roles of individual, organisational, and career development.

Using CHR D to examine HRD creates several dilemmas (Fenwick 2005). The first dilemma comes upon the recognition that the development of workers is to enhance performance to increase productivity. The term development conjures up a hierarchical arrangement between the worker and trainer and the application of a deficit model on the worker. CHR D seeks to free workers from being a tool used by the organisation and believes education should be participatory. The second dilemma is that organisations call for radical change and transformation suggesting a need for an empowered workforce. Yet, the goal is still to build human capital and increase productivity. Those workers who might seek to give voice to their concerns and take action are 'quashed by punitive management measures (Fenwick 2004: 200)'. The third dilemma is that many critical scholars believe that liberating education practices cannot occur within an organisation and that any attempt will be co-opted by the organisation for its ends. CHR D must align itself with the needs of workers striving for pragmatic change. The fourth dilemma comes when management and workers are treated as homogenous groups, as if there are clear binaries and fixed positions in a time when workplaces are becoming more flexible and identities are fluid (Fenwick 2005) and polyrhythmic (Sheard 1999). The fifth dilemma is that to critically engage within an organisation a 'practical critical agenda' (Fenwick 2004: 201) must be created which weakens the critical nature of the action. The sixth dilemma is concerned with the difficulties faced every day when implementing a critical agenda at work.

Sambrook (2014) identified the key antecedents, attributes, consequences, and empirical referents of CHR D by performing a concept analysis. The antecedents are composed of personal, organisational, and social factors. The attributes of CHR D are the concepts that form the core ideas of CHR D and without these ideas CHR D would not exist. They are: 'accepting multiple truths, gained through different forms of knowledge construction; recognising power (Schied et al. 2001), politics, and emotion in HRD; questioning tradition and challenging contemporary practices; exposing assumptions, revealing illusions, and debunking icons; and facilitating emancipation' (Sambrook 2014: 147). The positive consequences revolve around greater equity and democracy at work, and improvements in learning, transfer, productivity, and critical

thinking. According to Sambrook (2014), negative consequences might include increased powerlessness. Each positive consequence could instead generate a negative result adding to the potential negative consequences. The empirical referents are ‘how critical HRD is articulated and accomplished, through dialogue, negotiated learning, employee voice, tolerance of diversity and critique’ and stress (Sambrook 2014: 147). Bierema and Callahan (2014) move CHRD forward using it as a point of departure to suggest an alternate framework to HRD’s traditional roles of individual, organisational, and career development. The alternate framework contains the ‘categories of Relating, Learning, Changing, and Organising as the areas of engagement in which HRD practice occurs’ (430). In each area of engagement, practice is guided by questions: where/context, whom/stakeholders, what/process, and how/method. Bierema and Callahan (2014) claim CHRD rejects the technical rational work hierarchy of management and workers, has a social conscience, values democratic principles, seeks to expand stakeholders beyond shareholders and management, and suggests that we must always reflect on who benefits from HRD practices and programmes.

TAKING A RADICAL TURN: CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Now that the importance of theory to practice, critical paradigms used in HRD, and the emerging paradigm of CHRD have all been discussed, we take a radical turn to discuss critical race theory. The founders of CRT acknowledged that it stemmed from critical legal theory, a paradigm grounded in critical theory, and at the same time was a backlash to critical legal theory (Delgado and Stefanic 2001). The backlash was a response to a lack of attention paid to the issue of race and the liberal orientation when a radical orientation was needed. This liberal orientation found it acceptable that change can come in increments. CRT puts race at the front and centre of any analysis as the focal point and purports that a radical change of institutions and societies is necessary. The difference might be that CRT scholars do not see blackness as the only race, embrace intersectionality, reject reductionism, and suggest that various groups are racialised at different times, including women, and in different places to maintain the status quo (Rocco et al. 2014). Racialisation is oppression, discrimination, and marginalisation of a group in order for the dominant group to maintain power. Racialisation might occur to White women (or to any non-dominant group) who work in an automotive factory to keep them from promotions and pay increases. CRT scholars use the term racialisation to mean extreme discrimination, degradation, and stigmatisation of a group similar to what black people have experienced. In fact, CRT challenges the reduction of a complex identity to a single characteristic. As Byrd and Stanley (2009) point out, it is difficult to separate the experience of being a woman and being black. A question one might ask is: Why should we seek to honour/dishonour either identity? And is not a person made up of many characteristics that influence her or his experience?

Yet, in the curriculum of HRD programmes, race and gender are barely discussed (Alfred and Chlup 2010). For the most part, if scholars take up the issue of race in HRD, they do so from a less critical stance, choosing to examine an issue like careers or mentoring through the experience of black men or women (Alfred and Chlup 2010). A less critical stance might be to examine issues of race and gender from a social justice paradigm (Byrd 2014a, 2014b). A social justice paradigm works within the system to change the system. While CRT considers the approach of social justice to be slow, producing incremental results, with ever decreasing increments as time goes by, according to CRT, racism is pervasive and a complete overhaul of institutions, organisations, and society is needed. ‘CRT demands an approach to social change that is fundamentally different from the status quo of liberalism...arguing that liberalism focuses on deliberate, incremental change...while circumstances demand radical, systemic change’ (Bowman et al. 2009: 235). Few HRD scholars take up the issue of pervasive racism.

Byrd (2009) uses CRT in her work to examine ‘domination, oppression, alienation, and struggle within institutions, organisations, and social groups’ (583). She collects stories and counter stories of black female leaders in White organisations to understand sexism and racism. Rocco and Bernier (2003) have used the tenets of CRT as an analytical framework to examine the literature on diversity and marginalised people in HRD. Diversity is often a code word used to ignore differences between people of colour, gender, ethnicities, and abilities. For example, the case of mandated continuing legal education where a diversity or elimination of bias course is mandated. Yet, bias is so broadly defined that attorneys can fulfil the mandate and never take a course focused on racial bias (Bowman et al. 2009), while Scott (2007) used CRT ‘for the purpose of getting HRD more involved in developing strategies that can be used to dismantle lingering acts of racism’ (933).

CRT is at once a more radical theory and a more inclusive one. CRT is based on the concept of intersectionality honouring multiple characteristics which converge to make a person. Taking the next step, racism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and ageism are endemic and systemic and intertwined. Acknowledging this convergence of identities is an important step. The ability of the legal system and corporations to reduce a person to a single identity facilitates oppression and aggression. For CRT scholars, personal experiences of oppression and micro- and macro-aggression are real events, not imaginary slights, and must be told. The bottom line from the CRT paradigm is that radical change is needed in HRD curriculum, practice, and scholarship because racism is pervasive.

WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

This chapter began by raising some central questions: Why should we/practitioners and researchers care about equity? How can practitioners incorporate a concern for equity into corporate policies and procedures? Is

equity not code for taking power from White/straight/able-bodied men? Should not we teach our students about power structures alongside training techniques? How is this useful to the field? How can practitioners use these theories in their practice? We can/should also think about these questions as research questions worthy of investigation within the field of HRD. Critical paradigms and identity theories could be used to explore traditional HRD and workplace issues such as transfer of training, competence, engagement, and productivity. Does a concern for equity increase transfer of training, competence, engagement, or productivity? How does identity affect workplace issues? Research should be conducted that examines issues in terms of group identity instead of assuming that all people are the same. Scholars might consider developing conceptual frameworks which consist of both critical theories and more dominant management and HRD concepts, ideas, or outcomes. For example Shuck et al. (2016) recently utilised the concepts of power and privilege to interrogate assumptions often made in relation to the job demands resource model and employee engagement. In doing so, the authors questioned the extent to which organisations are presently committed to examining whether employee engagement is equally accessible to all employees, and if not, then why. Critical theory can be a useful tool for developing robust ideas, asking new questions, and presenting alternatives for practice whether one sees her or himself as critical.

Viewing equity from a radical perspective, we should care because the system is flawed and a flawed system creates disparities in income, workplace participation, and denies specific workers basic human rights. Viewing equity from a critical paradigm, we should care because improving organisational justice should decrease stress and increase gains in employee knowledge and skills, ultimately advancing organisational goals through the improvement of individuals' experiences. From a 'dominant masculine rationality' (Bierema 2009) perspective, scholars and practitioners who might not use critical paradigms can still appreciate the outcomes of discussions and actions informed by critical theories when this results in performance improvement and increased engagement (Shuck et al. 2016). Better equity practices can be included in policies and procedures retroactively in organisations but may not add much value if the institutional attitudes that lead to less inclusive initial policies and procedures are not eradicated. While that seems like a tall order, the idea that we all have something to gain from discussing the historical institutionality of oppression is not such a radical idea, but rather a practical one. Getting everyone to the table for such a discussion is a matter of the availability and dissemination of good information. Information or organisational data viewed through varied theoretical lens and analysed using a variety of paradigms will help insure that the perspective of workers from a variety of identity groups will be honoured and respected. Respect is an important element to maintain engaged workers and contributes to the dismantling of the 'dominant masculine rationality' when we/organisations bother to see the whole worker.

Yet, the systematic disengagement of workers through dismissal of culture, believing implicitly that some workers with certain characteristics just are not as capable as others, creates an uncomfortable (if not hostile) work environment. This does not mean that scholars who use critical or radical paradigms devalue the contributions of White men or disrespect White men. White men have become a symbol for the disparities because, as a collective, they earn more than workers from any other group when that group is viewed as a collective and as a group they have historically controlled access to jobs and resources. Change is in the best interest of White men. When all workers enjoy participatory educative practices at work, share an environment where organisational justice is for all workers, and understand that each worker's contribution is important to the organisation, we all benefit. Healthy, productive organisations are good for the economy and for society.

REFERENCES

- Adorno, T. (1973). *Negative dialectics*. London: Continuum.
- Alfred, M. V., & Chlup, D. T. (2010). Making the invisible, visible: Race matters in human resource development. *Advances in Developing Human Resources, 12*(3), 332–351.
- Argyris, C., & Schon, D. A. (1989). Participatory action research and action science compared a commentary. *The American Behavioural Scientist, 32*(5), 612–623.
- Armitage, A. (2010). From sentimentalism towards a critical HRD pedagogy. *Journal of European Industrial Training, 34*(8/9), 735–752.
- Baptiste, I. (2001). Educating lone wolves: Pedagogical implications of human capital theory. *Adult Education Quarterly, 51*(3), 184–201.
- Bell, D. A. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Belzer, A., Bierema, L. L., Cseh, M., Ellinger, A., Ruona, W., & Watkins, K. (2001). HRD on the margins: Exploring resistance to HRD in adult education. In R. O. Smith, J. M. Dirkx, P. L. Eddy, P. L. Farrell, & M. Polzin (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 42nd annual adult education research conference*. East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University.
- Bernier, J. D., & Rocco, T. S. (2003, October). Working in the margins of critical race theory and human resource development. In T. Ferro & G. Dean (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Midwest research-to-practice conference in adult, continuing, and community education*. Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University.
- Bierema, L. L. (1996). How executive women learn corporate culture. *Human Resource Development Quarterly, 7*(2), 145–164.
- Bierema, L. L. (1998). A feminist critique of human resource development research. In J. C. Kimmel (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 39th adult education research conference*. College Station, TX: University of Incarnate Word.
- Bierema, L. L. (2002). A feminist approach to HRD research. *Human Resource Development Review, 1*(2), 244–268.
- Bierema, L. L. (2009). Critiquing human resource development's dominant masculine rationality and evaluating its impact. *Human Resource Development Review, 8*(1), 68–96.

- Bierema, L. L., & Callahan, J. L. (2014). Transforming HRD: A framework for critical HRD practice. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 16(4), 429–444.
- Bierema, L. L., & Cseh, M. (2000). Evaluating HRD research using a feminist research framework. In T. M. Egan & S. A. Lynham (Eds.), *Proceedings of the academy of human resource development annual conference*. (pp. 1, 141). San Francisco, CA: Wiley.
- Bierema, L. L., & Cseh, M. (2003). Evaluating AHRD research using a feminist research framework. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 14(1), 5–26.
- Brookfield, S. D. (2010). Theoretical frameworks for understanding the field. In C. E. Kasworm, A. D. Rose, & J. M. Ross-Gordon (Eds.), *Handbook of adult and continuing education* (pp. 71–81). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Bierema, L. L., & Cseh, M. (2014). A Critical, feminist turn in HRD: A humanistic ethos. In N. Chalofsky, T. S. Rocco, & M. L. Morris (Eds.), *Handbook of human resource development*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Bierema, L. L., Tisdell, E., Johnson-Bailey, J. & Gedro, J. (2002). Integrating feminist research and practice in the field of HRD. In T. M. Egan & S. A. Lynham (Eds.), *Proceedings of the academy of human resource development annual conference*, 1(2), (ED474224).
- Bowman, L., Rocco, T. S., & Peterson, E. (2009). The exclusion of race from mandated continuing legal education: A critical race theory analysis. *The Seattle Journal for Social Justice*, 8(1), 229–251.
- Brooks, A. K., & Edwards, K. (2009). Allies in the workplace: Including LGBT in HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(1), 136–149.
- Butler, J. (1990). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Byrd, M. Y. (2009). Telling our stories of leadership: If we don't tell them they won't be told. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(5), 582–605.
- Byrd, M. Y. (2014a). Diversity issues exploring “Critical” through multiple lenses. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 16(4), 515–528.
- Byrd, M. Y. (2014b). A social justice paradigm for HRD: Philosophical and theoretical foundations. In N. F. Chalofsky, T. S. Rocco, & M. L. Morris (Eds.), *Handbook of human resource development*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Byrd, M. Y., & Stanley, C. A. (2009). Bringing the voices together. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(5), 657–666.
- Callahan, J. L. (2007). Gazing into the crystal ball: Critical HRD as a future of research in the field. *Human Resource Development International*, 10(1), 77–82.
- Chapman, D. D., & Gedro, J. (2009). Queering the HRD curriculum: Preparing students for success in the diverse workforce. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(1), 95–108.
- Collins, J. C. (2012). Identity matters a critical exploration of lesbian, gay, and bisexual identity and leadership in hrd. *Human Resource Development Review*, 11(3), 349–379.
- Collins, J. C., & Callahan, J. L. (2012). Risky business: Gay identity disclosure in a masculinised industry. *Human Resource Development International*, 15(4), 455–470.
- Collins, J. C., McFadden, C., Rocco, T. S., & Mathis, M. K. (2015). The problem of transgender marginalisation and exclusion critical actions for human resource development. *Human Resource Development Review*, 14(2), 205–226.
- Collins, M., & Collard, S. (1995). Examining the case for class analysis in adult education research. In S. Scott (Ed.), *Proceedings of the AERC/CASAE conference*. Edmonton: University of Alberta.

- Davis, D. (2009). Transgender issues in the workplace: HRD's newest challenge/opportunity. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(1), 109–120.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2001). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. New York: New York University Press.
- Dirkx, J. M. (1996). Human resource development as adult education: Fostering the educative workplace. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 72, 41–47.
- Durkheim, E. (2014). *The division of labour in society*. New York: Free Press.
- Elliott, C. & Turnbull, S. (2002). Critical thinking in HRD—A panel led discussion. In T. Marshall, T. Egan, & S. Lynham (Eds.), *Proceedings of the academy of human resource development*. Honolulu, HI: Academy of Human Resource Development.
- Fenwick, T. J. (2004). Toward a critical HRD in theory and practice. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 54(3), 193–209.
- Fenwick, T. (2005). Conceptions of critical HRD: Dilemmas for theory and practice. *Human Resource Development International*, 8(2), 225–238.
- Fenwick, T., & Bierema, L. (2008). Corporate social responsibility: Issues for human resource development professionals. *International Journal of training and Development*, 12(1), 24–35.
- Fenwick, T. (2014). Conceptualising critical HRD (CHRD): Tensions, dilemmas, and possibilities. In R. Poell, T. S. Rocco, & G. Roth (Eds.), *The routledge companion to human resource development*. New York: Routledge.
- Freire, P. (2014). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Bloomsbury.
- Fromm, E. (1941). *Escape from freedom*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart.
- Garavan, T. N., Gunnigle, P., & Morley, M. (2000). Contemporary HRD research: a triarchy of theoretical perspectives and their prescriptions for HRD. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 24(2/3/4), 65–93.
- Gedro, J. A., Cervero, R. M., & Johnson-Bailey, J. (2004a). How lesbians learn to negotiate the heterosexism of corporate America. *Human Resource Development International*, 7(2), 181–195.
- Gedro, J. (2007). Conducting research on LGBT issues: Leading the field all over again! *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 18(2), 153–158.
- Gedro, J. (2009). LGBT career development. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(1), 54–66.
- Gedro, J. (2014). *Lipstick or golf clubs? What lesbian leaders understand about success and what you can learn from them*. Chicago: Discovery Association Publishing House.
- Gedro, J., Collins, J. & Rocco, T. S. (2014). The “critical” turn: An important imperative for human resource development. In J. Gedro, J. Collins, & T. S. Rocco (Eds.), *Critical perspectives and the advancement of HRD*, In K. M. McDonald (Ed. in Chief). *Advances in Developing Human Resources* 16(4), 529–535.
- Gedro, J., Cervero, R. M., & Johnson-Bailey, J. (2004b). How lesbians learn to negotiate the heterosexism of corporate America. *Human Resource Development International*, 7(2), 181–195.
- Gedro, J., Mizzi, R. C., Rocco, T. S., & van Loo, J. (2013). Going global: Professional mobility and concerns for LGBT workers. *Human Resource Development International*, 16(3), 282–297.
- Gedro, J., & Mizzi, R. (2014). Feminist theory and Queer theory implications for HRD research and practice. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 16(4), 445–456.
- Githens, R. P. (2009). Capitalism identity politics, and Queerness converge: LGBT employee resource groups. *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development*, 23, 18–31.

- Habermas, J. (1972). *Knowledge and human interests*. London: Heinemann Educational Books.
- hooks, b. (2000). *Feminism is for everybody: Passionate politics*. London: Pluto Press.
- Howell, S. L., Carter, V. K., & Schied, F. M. (1999). Irreconcilable differences: Critical feminism, learning at work, and HRD. In Amy Rose (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 40th adult education research conference*. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University.
- Howell, S. L., Carter, V. K., & Schied, F. M. (2002). Gender and women's experience at work: A critical and feminist perspective on human resource development. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 52(2), 112–127.
- Kormanik, M. B. (2009). Sexuality as a diversity factor: An examination of awareness. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(1), 24–36.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1996). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (3rd ed., enl). University of Chicago Press.
- Lee, M. (2001). A refusal to define HRD. *Human Resource Development International*, 4(3), 327–341.
- Marcuse, H. (1974). *Eros and civilization: A philosophical inquiry into freud*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Marx, K. (2009). *Das kapital: A critique of political economy*. Washington: Regnery Publishing, Inc.
- Nackoney, C. K., & Rocco, T. S. (2008). Critically strategic HRD: Possibility or pipe dream? In S. L. Lundry & P. Isaac (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 49th annual adult education research conference*. St. Louis, MO: University of Missouri.
- O'Donnell, D., McGuire, D., & Cross, C. (2006). Critically challenging some assumptions in HRD. *International Journal of Training and Development*, 10(1), 4–16.
- Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and education methods, Qualitative research & education methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Rigg, C., Stewart, J & Trehan, K. (2007). A critical take on a critical turn in HRD. In C. Rigg, J. Stewart, & K. Trehan (Eds.), *Critical human resource development: Beyond orthodoxy*. Harlow: Prentice-Hall.
- Rocco, T. S., Bernier, J. & Bowman, L. (2014). 'Critical race theory and HRD: Moving race front and centre'. In J. Gedro, J. Collins, & T. S. Rocco, (Eds.), *Critical perspectives and the advancement of HRD*, In K. M. McDonald (Ed. in Chief). *Advances in Developing Human Resources* 16(4), 457–470.
- Rocco, T. S., & Gallagher, S. (2006). Straight Privilege and Moral/izing: Issues in career development. In S. Imel & J. M. Ross-Gordon (Series Eds.) & R. J. Hill (vol. Ed.), *New directions in adult and continuing education: Vol. 112. Challenging homophobia and heterosexism: Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer issues in organisational settings*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rocco, T. S., Landorf, H., & Delgado, A. (2009). Framing the issue/Framing the question: A proposed framework for organisational perspectives on sexual minorities. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(1), 7–23.
- Sambrook, S. (2004). A "Critical" time for HRD? *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 28(8/9), 611–624.
- Sambrook, S. (2014). Critical HRD. In N. Chalofsky, T. S. Rocco, & M. L. Morris (Eds.), *Handbook of Human Resource Development*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.
- Schied, F. M. (1995). "How did humans become resources anyway?" Him and the politics of learning in the workplace. In Sue Scott (Ed.), *Proceedings of the AERC/CASAE conference*. Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta.

- Schied, F. M., Carter, V. K., & Howell, S. L. (2001). Silent power: HRD and the management of learning in the workplace. In R. M. Cervero & A. L. Wilson (Eds.), *Power in practice: Adult education and the struggle for knowledge and power in society*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Scott, C. L. (2007). A Discussion of individual, institutional, and cultural racism, with implications for HRD. In Fredrick Nafukho (Ed.), *Proceedings of the academy of human resource development 2007 annual conference*. Indianapolis, IN: AHRD.
- Sen, A. (2009). *The idea of justice*. Cambridge, MA: The Balknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Sheared, V. (1999). Giving voice: Inclusion of African American students' polyrhythmic realities in adult basic education. *New directions for adult and continuing education*, 82, 33–48.
- Shuck, B., Collins, J. C., Rocco, T. S., & Diaz, R. M. (2016). Deconstructing the privilege and power of employee engagement: Issues of inequality for management and human resource development. *Human Resource Development Review*, 15(2), 208–229.
- Storberg-Walker, J., & Bierema, L. L. (2008). An historical analysis of HRD knowledge: A critical review of “the foreman: Master and victim of doubletalk”. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 32(6), 433–451.
- Swanson, R. A. (1995). Human resource development: Performance is the key. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 6(2), 207–213.
- Swanson, R. A. (2004). Unisex research. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 15(1), 117–119.
- Trehan, K. (2004). Who is not sleeping with whom? What's not being talked about in HRD? *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 28(1), 23–38.
- Trehan, K., & Rigg, C. (2011). Theorising critical HRD: A Paradox of intricacy and discrepancy. *Journal of European Industrial Training*, 35(3), 276–290.
- Ulrich, W. (1996). *A primer to critical systems heuristics for action researchers?*. South Humberstone: Centre for Systems Studies, University of Hull.
- Valentin, C. (2006). Researching human resource development: Emergence of a critical approach to HRD enquiry. *International Journal of Training and Development*, 10(1), 17–29.
- Weber, M. (1978). *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. Oakland, CA: Univ of California Press.
- Yang, B. (2003). Political factors in decision making and implications for HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 5(4), 458–479.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Tonette S. Rocco is a Full Professor at Florida International University of Miami, Florida where she teaches adult education and human resource development. She is Editor-in-chief of *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development* (Wiley). Her research interests include social justice and equity issues, career development and employability, and academic writing and publication. Her latest book (co-edited with R.C. Mizzi and S. Shore) is *Disrupting adult and community education: Teaching, learning, and working in the periphery* (SUNY, 2016).

Sunny L. Munn is a Program Manager for the Ohio Education Research Center at The Ohio State University (USA). She manages evaluation projects around career pathways, college access, welfare and workforce programming. Additional research includes the work-life system, organizational culture, social justice issues impacting non-traditional families including sexual minorities, and writing. Her latest publications include “A Common Methodology: Using Cluster Analysis to Identify Organizational Culture across Two Workforce Datasets” (*International Journal of Adult Vocational Education and Technology*, 7(2), 74–87, 2016) and (with Sanghamitra Chaudhuri) “Work–Life Balance: A Cross-Cultural Review of Dual-Earner Couples in India and the United States” (*Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 18 (1), 54–68, 2016).

Joshua C. Collins is an Assistant Professor of Human Resource Development at the University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, in Minneapolis, Minnesota. He is Assistant Editor of Perspectives in Human Resource Development for *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development* (Wiley). His research interests focus on issues of learning and work for racial, ethnic, gender, and sexual minorities, as well as critical Human Resource Development. His most recent work appears in journals such as *Human Resource Development Review* (SAGE) and *Adult Education Quarterly* (SAGE).

Learning and Identity Development at Work

Alan Brown and Jenny Bimrose

Abstract Brown and Bimrose map changing ideas about the development of identities at work and then outline two models of learning for supporting identity development at work. The most recent model by Brown and Bimrose draws attention to three representations of key factors influencing learning and identity development at work. The first representation views learning as a process of identity development: ‘learning as becoming’. The second way learning and identity development can be represented is as occurring across four domains: relational development; cognitive development; practical development and emotional development. Learning may involve development in one or more domains. The third way that learning and identity development at work can be represented acknowledges that learning takes place in the context of opportunity structures within which individuals operate.

INTRODUCTION: CHANGING IDEAS ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDENTITIES AT WORK

Identities at work are the meanings attached to an individual by the self and others and are displayed in the attitudes, behaviours and the stories we tell about ourselves to ourselves and others. The meanings and stories may be based on social identities, associated with work, or personal identities, based on personal characteristics, attitudes and behaviour an individual displays or which others attribute to him or her (Ibarra and Barbulescu 2010: 137). The focus of

A. Brown (✉) · J. Bimrose
Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick,
Coventry CV4 7AL, England, UK
e-mail: Alan.Brown@warwick.ac.uk

J. Bimrose
e-mail: Jenny.Bimrose@warwick.ac.uk

this chapter is upon learning as a driver of identity development at work and we need to consider how identities at work develop and change over time. Our first task, however, is to outline some key ideas about identity development, including putting these ideas into a historical perspective.

Traditional societies largely circumscribed social status and constrained choices so that an individual's place, expectations, rights and responsibilities in relation to work were broadly known within a system that offered relative stability and security. However, the process of individuation developed within industrial economies where occupational choice became more complex, whereby increasingly 'the individual was left alone; everything depended on his own effort; not on the security of his traditional status' (Fromm 2001/1942: 51). Hence development and maintenance of an occupational identity in modern societies started to become more individual, reliant on continued success in the labour market, and more dependent upon the recognition and affirmation of others. Riesman (1961/1950) believed that in modern societies, particularly in an American context, 'other-directed' characters were becoming predominant over 'inner directed' characters. The increasing 'other-directedness' of many individuals served to highlight the need for recognition by others in identities at work, as identities are socially constructed (Goffman 1959).

Identities at work evolve, but in ways that highlight a tension between continuity and change. There is continuity in the sense that an individual may have a sense of connection to an identity at work which extends beyond a particular role and exists over time. For example, on the one hand, I may perform a variety of different work tasks, change jobs or switch between companies, yet consider myself as belonging to my original occupation (Brown 2015a). On the other hand, as occupations change so identities at work shift too, and even within a relatively stable occupation, there can still be a clear sense of your role adapting over time, as your occupational identity moves through different stages of learning and development even without a formal change of role. For example, as your skills develop from being a novice, sticking fairly rigidly to rules and procedures, to a proficient experienced worker, with a holistic view of what is required, to an expert, supporting the work of more junior staff with an 'intuitive grasp of situations based on deep, tacit understanding' (Eraut 1994: 124, summarising Dreyfus and Dreyfus 1980 model of skill acquisition).

In most circumstances, a strong attachment to work brings considerable benefits, including a sense of career stability and having a career 'anchor.' Dewey (1963/1916) had seen an occupation as giving direction to life activities and as a concrete representation of continuity: a 'home' with clear psychological, social and ideological 'anchors.' Where the labour market is particularly challenging, with high levels of unemployment, high levels of participation in education and training and extended transitions into work, individuals having completed their initial education and training, especially if it had a vocational emphasis, may identify the desired occupation and take on aspects of their new identity, including self-definition, although they cannot get a job in that field at

present. Such people have an ‘occupational identity in waiting’, rather like actors and musicians ‘resting’ between jobs while working in another field, for example, waiting tables. Following the economic crisis of 2008, the set of occupations for which people may be ‘in waiting’ has increased dramatically (Brown and Bimrose 2012).

Another key aspect of the development of identities at work is that they are discursively produced, as individuals draw on social norms and discourses in how they present and represent themselves to others. Individual agency and social norms, therefore, interact in a dynamic and iterative way in the discursive production of occupational identities (Brown 1997). Indeed identity development at work links to structural aspects of how work and occupations are organised as choosing an occupation is itself partly a response to a societal offer. Erikson (1968) saw identity as intrinsically psychosocial, located in the core of the individual but also in the core of the communal culture (p. 22). Hence an occupational or work identity can be individual but it is also embedded in patterns of organisation within particular organisations and cultures. Identities at work also may or may not mesh well with other aspects of identity development related to gender, ethnicity, politics, religion or sociocultural issues.

Erikson (1968) considered that, as society became more complex, the stage of establishing an identity would take longer to achieve. Extended transitions for young people before meaningful occupational or work identities are established because of unfavourable labour market conditions and structures are now common in many countries (Roberts 1997; MacDonald et al. 2005). In addition to the occupational offers a society makes, other structural elements impinge upon occupational identity development, in that individual choice takes place within opportunity structures associated with particularities of time, place, labour market and the organisation of work (Roberts 2009). Especially when choice and development of identities at work are constrained, individuals are encouraged to use career self-management to position themselves so as to improve their employability (King 2004: 121).

A 10-country European study concluded that even where highly skilled individuals were overqualified for their current jobs, their interest in learning was often driven by the desire for personal development rather than career progression (Brown and Bimrose 2012). Indeed, given the strong emphasis of many respondents to learning for personal development, it may be that messages promoting learning for employability are less effective than those that primarily stress personal development, establishing personal networks and meeting new challenges. That is, career self-management messages could emphasise the immediate benefits of being a learner rather than where it leads in terms of employment, particularly if the opportunity structures available to an individual at that time are highly constrained (Brown and Bimrose 2012).

Work identity development processes and the associated learning pathways available and different sets of expectations about career choice and occupational mobility are framed within clear opportunity structures, which vary within and between sectors and countries. For example, in the information and

communications technology sector both learning and career patterns tend to be highly individualised in many European countries and, as informal learning plays a key role, formal qualifications and career progression are only loosely coupled in the development of identities at work. In engineering, on the other hand, there is quite a strong linkage between learning, careers and identities, as formal training has a key role for many, as there is close coupling between continuing vocational learning, individual career development and work identities (Brown 2004). In the European health sector, the linkage between learning, careers and identities is quite complex. In some cases making a career involves vertical mobility, with consequent changes in occupational identity and status, whereas in other cases individuals continue in a single specialisation, developing their expertise, or engage in horizontal mobility, with their core occupational identity intact. There was, however, strong continuity through highly formalised education and training pathways, whereby individual career progression was often linked to formal qualifications and clear learning and development pathways. Career pathways, occupational identities and their associated learning pathways were therefore strongly framed by organisational opportunity structures in the health sector (Brown and Bimrose 2012). The use of the term 'opportunity structures' itself neatly expresses the tension between openness and flexibility and structured development pathways (Roberts 2009).

Identities at work have both personal and social components, and it is clear that in the development of identities at work, a symbiotic relationship between these two realms is productive for individual and group learning and development. According to Warr (1987), we have developed positive identities at work when we have achieved emotional/affective well-being; are able to deal effectively with work tasks; exercise a degree of control over significant aspects of work; our aspirations are in line with broader work goals and a desire for improvement; and there is integrated functioning in that there is coherence between the personal and social elements of identity. Thus the development of identities at work goes hand in hand with the need for significant learning across a range of domains. For example, Eraut and Hirsh (2007) report on how the learning and confidence of newly qualified nurses depended in part on the extent of feedback, support and trust they experienced in their wards (p. 31) and there were huge differences in the learning climate between wards in the same hospital, which could be attributed to their ward managers (p. 61). This example clearly illustrates the importance of the interaction of personal and social factors for work identity development and associated learning.

This chapter will continue by outlining how models of learning for supporting identity development at work have themselves evolved. First, there is a consideration of a dynamic model of occupational identity formation, which focused on the processes of socialisation, interaction and learning as key components of identity development at work. Second, these ideas were extended with the proposition that learning at work can be effectively supported if it is represented as a process of identity development; a process of development in four interrelated domains; and taking place in the context of particular

opportunity structures. Each of these three representations is examined in greater detail. The conclusion weaves the strands together of how learning plays a key role in identity development at work, before finally considering the consequences of these processes for the role of individuals and groups in the world outside work.

MODELS OF LEARNING FOR SUPPORTING IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AT WORK

Brown (1997) developed a dynamic model of occupational identity formation (see Fig. 1), where the process of acquiring an occupational identity takes place within particular communities where socialisation, interaction and learning are key elements, with individuals taking on aspects of existing identities and roles, while actively reshaping other aspects in a dynamic way. An individual learns through interaction and communication with others. The process of learning at work though does not generate a single type of interaction. Rather learning takes place in contexts in which there may be multiple dimensions to the nature of the interactions: there may be a host of working and other relationships that have an influence upon the learning process.

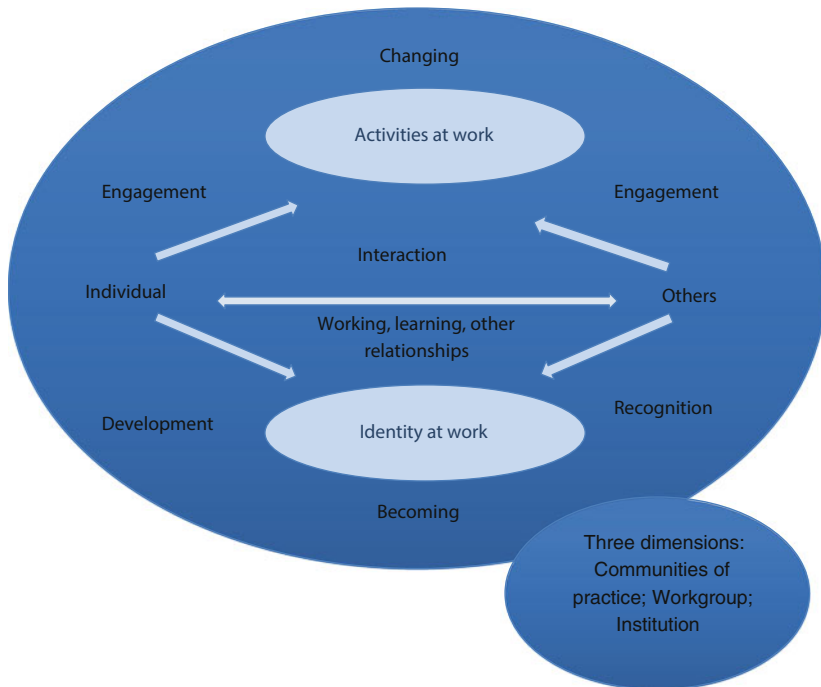


Fig. 1 Dynamic model of occupational identity formation (Brown 1997)

Learning is also generated through engagement with activities at work, particularly when these are changing. Through these processes individuals' occupational identities also start to change, partly in response to how the individual engages in work activities and colleagues, but also in response to the reactions of others, as when they recognise an individual's developing expertise. The recognition of significant others can come from colleagues in the immediate work group, institutionally from a work and/or an educational institution or from a broader (occupational) community of practice.

Individuals learn from a variety of sources and relationships. Not only are these relationships patterned differently, according to differences between individuals and contexts, but also the sheer variety in what, how and from whom learning occurs is sufficient to ensure there is not a linear transmission of learning. The formation, maintenance and change of occupational identities are always influenced by the nature of the relationships around which they are constructed. Over time, these interactions may lead to modifications and reshaping of these same structures, the communities of practice and the individual's work identity (Brown 1997).

That model was then used to devise the survey for a 10-country study carried out for the European Commission by Brown et al. (2010) on 'Changing patterns of working, learning and career development across Europe' and to underpin the research in two subsequent projects funded by the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP). These led to further developments in thinking about identity development represented below (Brown and Bimrose 2014). Learning at work can be effectively supported if it is understood that such learning can be represented as a process of identity development; a process of development in four interrelated domains; and taking place in the context of particular opportunity structures (see Fig. 2).

Figure 2 draws attention to three representations of key factors influencing learning and identity development at work. The first representation views learning as a process of identity development: 'learning as becoming' outlined in the strategic career and learning biographies of individuals. Key influences in this representation of learning include: the personal characteristics underpinning learning and development: learning through self-understanding; and development of personal qualities: sense of personal agency; personality; motivation (determination); resilience; self-efficacy (self-belief; 'efficacy belief'); commitment to own learning and professional development; career orientation (career decision-making style); and career adaptability (Brown and Bimrose 2014).

The second way learning and identity development can be represented is as occurring across four domains: relational development; cognitive development; practical development and emotional development. Learning may involve development in one or more domains and development in each domain can be achieved in a number of different ways, but development can be represented thematically, although the extent of development under particular themes can vary greatly between individual cases.

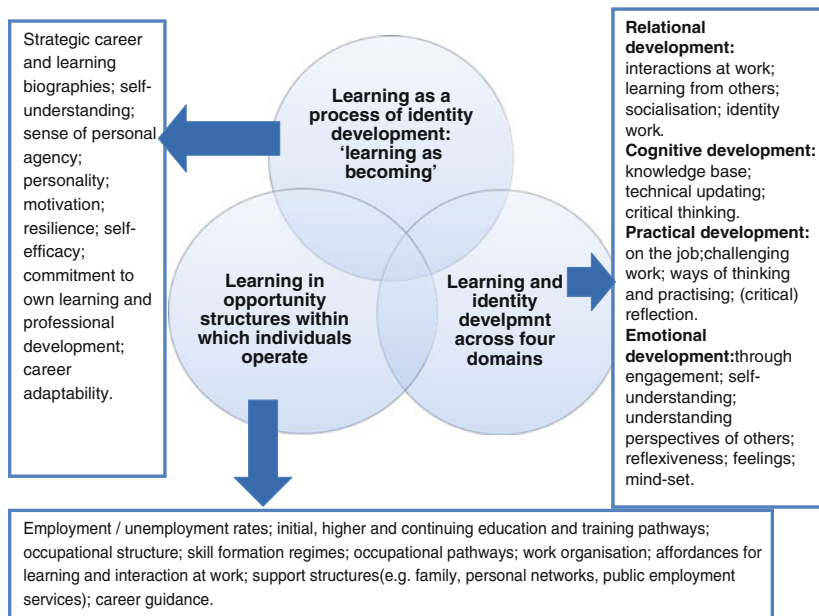


Fig. 2 Key factors influencing learning and identity development at work

A major route for relational development is learning through interactions at work, learning with and from others (in multiple contexts) and learning as participation in communities of practice (and communities of interest) while working with others. Socialisation at work, peer learning and identity work all contribute to individuals' relational development. Many processes of relational development occur alongside other activities but more complex relationships requiring the use of influencing skills, engaging people for particular purposes, supporting the learning of others and exercising supervision, management or (team) leadership responsibilities may benefit from support through explicit education, training or development activities.

A major work-related route for cognitive development involves learning through mastery of an appropriate knowledge base and any subsequent technical updating. This form of development makes use of learning by acquisition and highlights the importance of subject or disciplinary knowledge and/or craft and technical knowledge, and it will be concerned with developing particular cognitive abilities, such as critical thinking, evaluating and synthesising.

For practical development, the major developmental route is often learning on the job, particularly learning through challenging work. Learning a practice is also about relationships, identity and cognitive development but there is value

in drawing attention to this idea, even if conceptually it is of a different order to the other forms of development highlighted in this representation of learning as a process of identity development. Practical development can encompass the importance of critical inquiry, innovation, new ideas, changing ways of working and (critical) reflection on practice. It may be facilitated by learning through experience, project work and/or by use of particular approaches to practice, such as planning and preparation, implementation (including problem-solving) and evaluation. The ultimate goal may be vocational mastery, with progressive inculcation into particular ways of thinking and practising, including acceptance of appropriate standards, ethics and values, and the development of particular skill sets and capabilities associated with developing expertise.

For emotional development, the major developmental route is learning through engagement, reflexiveness that leads to greater self-understanding, and the development of particular personal qualities. Much emotional development may occur outside of work, but the search for meaning in work, developing particular mindsets, and mindfulness may be components of an individual's emotional development. Particular avenues of development could include understanding the perspectives of others, respect for the views of others, empathy, anticipating the impact of your own words and actions, and a general reflexiveness, which includes exploring feelings. Identity development at work may also be influenced by changing ideas individuals have about their own well-being and changing definitions of career success (Brown and Bimrose 2014).

The third way that learning and identity development at work can be represented acknowledges that learning takes place in the context of opportunity structures within which individuals operate. These structures may also play a key role in access to work which is rich in learning and development opportunities. These structures include: employment/unemployment rates; employer recruitment practices; initial vocational education and training and skill formation regimes; occupational pathways; continuing vocational training; progression to and permeability with HE from vocational education and training; affordances for learning and interaction at work; occupational structure; opportunities for recognition of prior learning; support structures (e.g. family, personal networks, public employment services); career guidance; support for reflection; and extent of opportunities for learning for personal development (Brown and Bimrose 2014).

The key to understanding learning and identity development at work is then to switch back and forth between representations. So, for example, those wishing to support such learning may start by helping an individual with the process of identity development, reflecting upon their career story, developing a sense of career direction and a commitment to their learning, professional development and career adaptability (Savickas 2011). The next phase of support could examine what types of learning and development were required across the four domains in order for individuals to achieve their goals. Both these processes

may need to be revisited in the context of particular opportunity structures within which decisions are being made.

In practice, the support offered by those wishing to support learning and identity development at work may start with any of the three representations. The crucial aspect is that, wherever, the starting point, they have to engage with processes of identity formation and development within and across the four domains and be sensitive to the particular opportunity structures within learning takes place. Also, there is a need to resist the temptation of offering support with a narrow focus, where, for example, career aspirations develop which are not grounded in any plan to make progress within the particular opportunity structures operating in the particular time and place. Key factors relevant to particular learning and identity development processes at work are likely to be drawn from the different representations. Each of the three representations will now be examined in greater detail.

FIRST REPRESENTATION OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AT WORK: 'LEARNING AS BECOMING'

Learning is at the heart of identity development at work, with 'learning as becoming' (Wenger 1998) driving the process. A set of personal characteristics fundamental to personal identity can underpin all aspects of learning and development. A major route for identity development is learning through self-understanding (Biesta and Tedder 2007: 144, call this 'learning about one's life and learning from life') and the development of personal qualities, which facilitate the processes of occupational identity development and, in some cases, organisational attachment. These personal qualities include a sense of personal agency, which can include learning to change and learning to be more agentic (Billett 2007), can act as a powerful driver of work-related identity development. For example, changes of employer, work role and occupation can throw up many challenges but a sense that you will be able to change in ways appropriate to the desired identity can itself facilitate the identity development process (Brown 2015b). The particular sense of personal agency exercised here can be underpinned by more general beliefs, such as self-efficacy and self-belief, with Bandura (2001) emphasising the value of 'efficacy belief', where an individual feels he or she can exercise a degree of control over their activities and environment.

Personality too plays a fundamental role in identity development. Personality traits such as openness to experience (how curious or cautious an individual typically is) and conscientiousness (how well-organised or easy-going an individual typically is) are likely to inform at some level how people approach their work, learn for their work and their willingness to change career direction (Furnham 2008). Other traits such as extraversion, agreeableness and neuroticism could also be included, but their very generality means they are not very powerful on their own in explaining actual behaviour as are lower level

traits, such as anxiety, assertiveness, compliance and deliberation. This paradox then poses a challenge in how to support learning and identity development at work. On the one hand, the value of learning for self-understanding means that people could benefit from understanding more about their personality type, particularly if it is used as a starting point for an individual in seeing how certain underdeveloped aspects of one's personality could be strengthened. On the other hand, having someone tell you that you need to change aspects of your personality can be toxic: a major identity threat in itself because it is very hard to do. Personality influences how work-related learning and identity development play out, but how this insight can be used to support the learning needs to be handled sensitively.

Motivation is another factor, which plays a key role in work-related learning and identity development (Creed et al. 2009; CEDEFOP 2014). Resilience was readily identifiable in the careers of many adults who had demonstrated career adaptability in successfully negotiating major changes in career direction (Brown 2015a, b). The importance of the development of resilience is already acknowledged in European policy, but the key is how to develop practical measures which will help workers overcome setbacks, engage in continuous learning and, if necessary, adopt new identities, which in some cases could almost amount to individual reinvention (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development 2004; Council of the European Union 2008; Field 2010). Support for the development of certain coping strategies, including emotional capacities, to overcome structural and/or dispositional barriers (Bimrose et al. 2008) could be important in this respect.

Learning as an integral part of the process of identity development at work is also clear in those individuals who have a very strong commitment to their own learning and professional development. These individuals show that people do not have fixed identities; rather identities are always in the process of 'becoming.' Career adaptability can be a powerful way to represent learning processes which underpin changes in occupational identity development: learning to take on different roles across a developing career. Career adaptability relates to the variable capacity of individuals in their 'readiness and resources for coping with current and anticipated tasks, transitions, traumas in their occupational roles' (Savickas 2008: 4–5). Again, as with developing resilience, the key challenge is how best to support individuals to invest time and effort in honing their adaptability skills. From earlier work on how career adaptability develops, how it is mediated and how it can be fostered across the life course (Bimrose et al. 2011; Brown et al. 2012), four key dimensions emerged relating to the role of learning in developing career adaptability:

- learning through challenging work (including mastering the practical, cognitive and communicative demands linked with particular work roles and work processes);
- updating a substantive knowledge base (or mastering a new additional substantive knowledge base);

- learning through (and beyond) interactions at work; and
- being self-directed and self-reflexive.

SECOND REPRESENTATION OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AT WORK: LEARNING CAN BE REPRESENTED AS OCCURRING ACROSS FOUR DOMAINS

The key processes to support learning as a process of identity development at work can be represented as occurring across four domains in the form of: relational development; cognitive development; practical development and emotional development. Learning may involve development in more than one domain but can be represented thematically within each domain in order to give a sense of where individuals might seek to improve their skills, knowledge, behaviour and understanding. In order to exemplify these processes, individual cases are outlined. These cases have been drawn from two major European studies of the strategic career and learning biographies of workers. The first focused on the skill development of workers working mainly in jobs requiring high-level skills in ten countries (Brown et al. 2010; Brown and Bimrose 2012), while the second examined the development pathways of workers working mainly in jobs requiring intermediate-level skills in seven countries (CEDEFOP 2014).

Relational Development

In studies of European workers with intermediate- or high-level skills acknowledged that their skills in how well they are related to others had been enhanced through interactions at work, including participation in particular communities associated with work (Brown and Bimrose 2012; CEDEFOP 2014). Thus interviewees may have learned particular ways of thinking and practising linked to their occupational roles (chefs, engineers, nurses, etc.) but they all stressed how they learned with and from others in their communities, as well as learning from and how to work with colleagues, clients and/or customers in multiple and increasingly complex contexts. Much of this learning comes from socialisation, peer learning, participation in communities of practice and different forms of identity work. Occupational socialisation processes relate to work processes, but also to pedagogical practices in more formal learning contexts. Thus, for example, for someone learning to practise an occupation, where, how and what it is deemed appropriate to learn varied enormously depending on whether the process was individualised, comprising essentially learning on-the-job, as with some of the Italian interviewees or else part of the formalised dual system of apprenticeship in Germany (CEDEFOP 2014).

Learning to become a member of a community of practice is not just a passive process, as individuals may also contribute to changing both the practice and the community (Brown 1997; Wenger 1998). Working well with others

may extend beyond collaboration and collegiality to include supporting others in their work (by sharing your own talent) and creating space for the achievement of others. These attributes were in evidence with some interviewees from the CEDEFOP (2014) study, such as with Lucia, an Italian fashion designer, who was very generous in sharing her talents, whereas others were more cautious and aware of the need to further their own career in competition with others and that organisations contain a political dimension. For example, Henri was firmly focused on achieving his goal of promotion within a hierarchical organisation, whereas Masuccio with his experience in an Italian Human Resources department was first promoted and then resigned after finding his work was a non-job in what turned out to be a process of representing the Italian company as forward-looking while in practice there was a retrenchment of power into the hands of the controlling family (CEDEFOP 2014).

In the aforementioned studies (Brown and Bimrose 2012; CEDEFOP 2014), there were also examples of people receiving continuing professional development which explicitly addressed issues associated with working with others (colleagues, clients, patients, etc.), influencing skills, supervision, management, or (team) leadership. Interestingly, one way in which interviewees sometimes learned more about themselves and how to work more effectively was when they were involved in supporting the learning of others, whether in a formal coaching relationship or more informally because they had a natural facility in helping others: for example, Mette was made a supervisor in her Danish company precisely because she was naturally supporting her colleagues in her previous non-supervisory role (CEDEFOP 2014).

Cognitive Development

For many employees in Europe their major developmental route concerning aspects of their cognitive development related to their vocation concerned learning through mastery of an appropriate knowledge base, although post-experience technical updating and applying relevant knowledge in a variety of contexts can also drive cognitive development (Brown and Bimrose 2012; CEDEFOP 2014). Many interviewees in those studies stressed the importance of the subject, disciplinary, craft or technical knowledge, skills and understanding they developed during their initial vocational education and training, higher education studies and/or other forms of (work-based) skills formation. Rigorous initial training could provide a platform for critical inquiry in practice. As well as the knowledge they learned, the development of particular cognitive abilities, such as critical thinking, evaluating and synthesising, could be associated with particular ways of thinking and practising necessary for successful occupational performance. Employees have to be able to interpret and/or transform knowledge to suit new situations and contexts (Eraut 1994) and these types of transformative behaviour and ways of thinking were apparent in the career development of highly skilled employees (Brown and Bimrose 2012; CEDEFOP 2014). Adèle, a French nurse, makes this very explicit, as well as

having had general and specialist nurse training, she points out that there are cognitive demands in how to transform what you already know to the particular requirements of the specific situation as ‘I learnt a new job even if it was still practising as a nurse: the job in the operating room, it’s different, thoracic or gynaecological surgical, it’s not the same thing. It’s not the same kind of interventions. You’ve got to learn.’ Even when you are highly skilled, applying relevant knowledge in a variety of contexts can still drive further cognitive development (CEDEFOP 2014).

Practical Development

For those engaged in work with a significant practical dimension, whether as carpenters, fashion designers or landscape gardeners, then a major developmental route was always learning on the job (CEDEFOP 2014). Although as Didier, a French landscape designer, made clear that such learning is dependent upon access to challenging work and he contrasted how limited his experience was when he worked for a company which was performing landscaping on an industrial scale to the challenge involved when he was involved in all stages of the work as an independent contractor. Learning a practice demonstrates the interrelated nature of learning across the domains as much of it is about relational and cognitive development too. It is just that for representational purposes it is useful to draw attention to the need for practical mastery—the French chefs, Émile and Achille, made this point very clearly. Practical development has also to be dynamic, with Henri, an engineer, highlighting how the practical focus in initial training can provide a platform for critical inquiry in practice (CEDEFOP 2014).

Practical development across the life course within an occupation has to accommodate innovation, new ideas about practice and changing ways of working (Brown 2015a). Interviewees in the aforementioned studies (Brown and Bimrose 2012; CEDEFOP 2014) highlighted how these processes could take place through a mix of the informal and formal way, including critical reflection on practice, project work and planning and preparation for new approaches to practice. Problem-solving and evaluation could be significant drivers of practical development, while a results (achievement) orientation could lead employee-centred innovation. More generally, a number of interviewees exemplified how vocational mastery was bound up with a continuing commitment to the development of their practical skills, knowledge and understanding. Their inculcation into particular ways of thinking and practising acted as drivers of the development of particular skill sets and capabilities associated with developing expertise: fashion designers, engineers and chefs all considered that their continuing vocational mastery of the practical aspects of their occupations was fundamental to how they viewed themselves (CEDEFOP 2014).

Emotional Development

Learning in the three other domains would be readily identified as integral to learning and development in most occupations. However, it was striking how often interviewees in the aforementioned studies (Brown and Bimrose 2012; CEDEFOP 2014) when outlining their strategic career and learning biographies pointed to emotional aspects of their work and whether or not they could cope with these. According to Warr (1987), one of the five aspects of work which is associated with a positive attitude to oneself and a positive work-related identity is emotional or affective well-being, represented at least by an absence of undue anxiety. However, in a number of cases interviewees highlighted how stress and/or being unable to handle the emotional dimensions of work associated with, for example, poor relationships with a superior or colleagues negatively affected their career development (CEDEFOP 2014).

Hans, for example, had undertaken a radical career shift in Denmark from salesman to classroom assistant in the search for greater meaning in his life and loved many aspects of his role, but he was not prepared for the emotional challenges in working with an autistic boy. He had difficulties handling the shift between work and home, as he thought a lot about the children at work while he was at home and he had a breakdown due to stress. A similar pattern emerged with other interviewees with a number making career decisions in response to what they perceived as stressful work. Adèle, a nurse, changed jobs twice on this basis and moved from France to Switzerland, partly because she found the working environment of large hospitals too stressful. Rainer found aspects of his work as a supervisor in a German factory very difficult. He felt he acted as the buffer between workers and management, having to bear the complaints and pressures from his team and the work pressures put on staff by the management. He finds himself in between, often mediating and negotiating. This he finds very difficult and associates it with expecting to be being burned out sometime in the future (CEDEFOP 2014). These individuals were faced with learning to become better able to handle stress or else facing the need to change jobs.

On the other hand, Saray, a Roma woman working in Spain, thought that her attitudes, skills and learning have all helped her not just to cope, but to thrive, with emotionally demanding work in a mortuary and in a hospital. She is now taking a psychology degree as a mature student because, according to her, her boss made her understand that she already has the appropriate attitudes for this subject: 'I like to pay attention to the people. I like to talk. I like to help them. I already noticed that I was the kind of friend that if somebody used to come to me, it was because this person was looking for advice. I helped them to overcome their problems. I had this attitude since I was a teenager. Then my boss told me that being such a person, I could go really far just with some training, because that is how I am.' Saray's case illustrates how for emotional development a major developmental route is learning through engagement (CEDEFOP 2014).

Learning as a process of identity development at work often contains a significant emotional component, which may act as a driver or barrier to individual career development. The interlinking of learning and emotional development could also be seen in the desire for self-understanding and a search for meaning in life. In the CEDEFOP (2014) study, a number of interviewees were all explicitly seeking greater meaningfulness from their working lives, especially during times of transition. Emotional development can come from increasing awareness, reflexiveness and engagement at work, as the case of Diana showed where she developed an approach to credit collection in Italy which was based on understanding, empathy and ethics (CEDEFOP 2014). Training interventions to support employees' emotional development may be expressly targeted at helping people understand the perspectives of others and show respect for the views of others, although employers may also seek to manage how employees' present themselves to others. Such emotional work may have a clear commercial rather a developmental drive (Hochschild 1979, 1983; Warhurst and Nickson 2001).

The answer to the question of when and whether to help people show greater empathy is more nuanced. While desirable in many settings, the appropriate role of empathy in our dealings with others at work is highly dependent on the context and many occupations try to steer a course between showing care while remaining professional in not becoming too emotional. Those working in health and social care need to be aware of but not too sensitive to the emotions of others, and need to be able to not overinvest their own emotions, or else their own effectiveness to offer support may be compromised, as in the case of Hans, mentioned above, who had a nervous breakdown due to the inability to prevent work-related emotions affecting his home life (CEDEFOP 2014).

Other aspects of emotional development, such as anticipating the impact of your own words and actions and developing reflexiveness, including exploring feelings, relate to personality and identity development more generally. These aspects are actively promoted within certain workplace cultures, such as in health settings, where reflection upon experience is actively encouraged and could be an important component of developing expertise. Emotional development may also be a vehicle for those seeking to change jobs or to combat work-related stress. For example, individuals could attend a mindfulness course and/or receive coaching support and be encouraged to reflect upon their life narratives and whether work should be such a dominant influence. Such cases also illustrate the usability of narrative approaches in career guidance and how, particularly in mid-career, individuals may welcome the opportunity to reflect upon their (changing) ideas about own well-being and definitions of career success. Many radical career shifts among interviewees in the aforementioned studies seemed to be driven by (a desire for) changes in their own emotional development and what they valued (Brown and Bimrose 2012; CEDEFOP 2014).

In conclusion, in the second representation of learning and identity development at work can be represented as comprising learning in four domains:

relational development; cognitive development; practical development and emotional development. Most learning will involve elements of one or more or indeed all of these domains. The model is simply a device to draw attention to what aspects of development may need to be considered in order to support learning and identity development at work.

The first two representations of learning at work have focused on individual and social aspects of learning and identity development, concerning intrapersonal development, identity work and more effective interactions with others (colleagues, clients, customers, etc.). However, what has been missing so far has been any sense of variation in the context within which these processes take place—this omission will be corrected with the third representation of learning, which can help us understand more about how to support learning and identity development at work.

THIRD REPRESENTATION OF IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT AT WORK: LEARNING TAKES PLACE IN THE CONTEXT OF OPPORTUNITY STRUCTURES WITHIN WHICH INDIVIDUALS OPERATE

Learning at work as a process of identity development takes place in the context of the particular opportunity structures within which individuals operate. Country contexts offer a wide variation in their unemployment rates; openness of job offers (that is, whether they are advertised and the nature of the recruitment process); in their skill formation systems; and the extent to which they offer permanent or temporary employment. Hence the meaning attached to working early in your career as a hairdresser can be very different depending on whether it is part of a clearly prescribed progression pathway to a position as a skilled worker with a strong sense of occupational identity (linked to a recognised occupation or ‘Beruf’ as in Germany). Where this is not the case as, for example, in rural areas in Southern Italy, where your employment is only temporary and is unlikely to last more than a few years, then establishing a career as a hairdresser may be linked to a willingness to leave your home region and on the strength of your (family) networks and their willingness to support your transition to work in, for example, Rome (CEDEFOP 2014).

Recruitment practices are another example of a factor which influences how and whether individuals become aware of job opportunities. When job offers are scarce, some may not come on to the open market, with the strength of your networks being influential in whether you are recommended or can even find out about the opportunities. Personal networks were particularly important for career development in some sectors in Italy. On the other hand, in the CEDEFOP (2014) study a woman working for a local employment agency in Germany had to resign from her post in order to be eligible to apply for a post elsewhere in the organisation as recruitment was only open to external applicants. In labour markets where many jobs are initially temporary, the search for permanent or stable employment may last decades for some people rather than

being a transitory phenomenon. In many countries, the search for a sense of job security was a real quest and the trade implicit in ‘flexicurity’ was breaking down even in Denmark, people felt the labour market was more flexible, but the promise of security until you found another job rang hollow for many of the Danish interviewees (CEDEFOP 2014).

The type of initial vocational education and training pathways available and the likelihood that they lead to employment opportunities vary greatly within and between countries. Initial vocational education and training varies in the degrees of breadth and specificity of the learning they require and the balance expected between learning in education, training and employment. For older adults, the national continuing vocational training systems could influence the opportunities available for skill development through formal training, varying from the fragmented Italian system to the fairly comprehensive Danish system, although the latter was much more supportive of upskilling within a sector than it was of an individual who wanted to change sectors.

Work itself structures opportunities individuals have for learning and development because work varies in the affordances it offers for learning and interaction at work (Billett 2007). However, as well as formal support structures through the provision of public employment services, transition regimes, recognition of prior learning and career guidance influencing how individuals perceived the career opportunities available to them, so the strength of family and personal networks could be similarly influential. The extended transitions of many young people into work and the low pay and precarious nature of some early career work meant they were often dependent upon continuing family support (Roberts 1997; MacDonald et al. 2005). On the other hand, for older adults family responsibilities might constrain career development. For example, the overall health of the economy and the high unemployment rates in Italy and Spain meant that there are sometimes limited opportunities for individuals to address skills mismatches if their skills were underemployed in the work they were doing, but they see limited opportunities for changing their job. In such circumstances, Sergi had opted to engage in formal learning through continuing education for reasons of personal development. That is, he recognised that there was little chance that the continuing education and training would transform his future job prospects in Spain, but he wanted to develop his skills for his own benefit. The situation may appear a little strange at first, as his response to having his skills underemployed in his current job was to make this mismatch even wider. However, the reason is understandable as he did not wish to give up a permanent post at a time of high unemployment, even though he wanted more challenging work (CEDEFOP 2014).

CONCLUSION

Learning can act as a powerful driver of identity development at work and in order to understand the underlying processes of learning and development it is useful to represent them in three ways. The relevance of the first representation

which views learning as a process of identity development depends upon the value of 'learning as becoming' as a central idea for all those practitioners involved in the delivery of career support, advice and guidance. This representation can also help learners consider the interrelationships between their learning, careers and identities in their own career narratives and the strategic career and learning biographies of individuals.

The second way learning and identity development can be represented is as occurring across four domains: relational development; cognitive development; practical development and emotional development. This representation of learning can help draw attention to the different directions learning and development at work can take and the linkages between identities at work and individuals' learning identities. For example, a major route for increasing understanding and improving work practice and relational development is learning through interactions at work, learning with and from others (in multiple contexts) and learning as participation in communities of practice (and communities of interest) while working with others. Socialisation at work, peer learning and identity work all contribute to individuals' relational and practical development. However, these forms of learning may also support cognitive development (sense making) and emotional development (for example, anxiety reduction and positive feelings associated with developing expertise). Typically learning at work may involve development in one or more domains and development in each domain can be achieved in a number of different ways.

The third representation of learning acknowledges that learning takes place in the context of opportunity structures within which individuals operate. These vary between and within countries, organisations and occupations and could include unemployment rates; employer recruitment practices; vocational education and training systems and pathways; affordances for learning and interaction at work; occupational structures; support structures (e.g. family, personal networks, public employment services); career guidance; support for reflection; and extent of opportunities for learning for personal development. This representation is particularly important when individuals are considering their options for occupational choice and career development.

Overall then, learning at work can be effectively supported if it is understood that such learning can be represented as a process of identity development; a process of development in four interrelated domains; and taking place in the context of particular opportunity structures. This approach to learning at work, which focuses on context, learning processes and identity development, brings together thinking which previously tended to be more compartmentalised into just one or two of these areas. Learning plays a key role in identity development at work, but what are the consequences of these processes for the role of individuals and groups in the world outside work?

Individuals upon entering the world of work already possess both personal identities, based on their personal characteristics, attitudes and behaviours and the reactions of other people, and social identities associated with family, leisure roles, group affiliations and so forth (Ibarra and Barbulescu 2010). Dewey (1963/

1916) saw an occupation as giving individuals direction to their life activities and a sense of belonging which also had clear social and ideological anchors. However, over the last century, the process of individuation in relation to work in industrial economies (Fromm 2001/1942) extended to other areas of life, whereby the beliefs people hold about themselves and the stories they tell themselves became part of an expanding process of self-construction (Glover 1988).

Giddens (1991) took this analysis a stage further where he saw reflexivity as the defining feature of the self. It enables people to reflect on the experience and act in the social realm in a way that means they do not have to follow existing social practices but can actively participate in shaping them. In this view, identity is being shaped by the reflexive project of the self, which is striving for coherence even while being constantly reshaped around choices made and reflexively making plans for the future. Giddens (1991) argued that ‘a person’s identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor—important though this is—in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going’ (p. 541). This means that individuals’ identities at work are now more loosely coupled to their roles in relationship to family, leisure, citizenship, democracy and so on. This means that there is a greater scope for choice in relation to outcomes, but that the processes, including learning, at work in the construction of identities at work are similar to those processes in the development of identities outside work. Individuals ‘must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing “story” about the self’ (Giddens 1991: 541), so they may wish to align narratives in their work and non-work in order to create a ‘common story’ or indeed develop narratives where different aspects of their lives are kept largely separate. It is the processes of identity development in different realms of our lives which transfer: identity as narrative means we have to negotiate between the personal and social in all areas of our lives in order to create our own ‘stories’.

REFERENCES

- Bandura, A. (2001). Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52(1), 1–26.
- Biesta, G., & Tedder, M. (2007). Agency and learning in the lifecourse: Towards an ecological perspective. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 39(2), 132–149.
- Billett, S. (2007). Exercising self: Learning, work and identity. In A. Brown, S. Kirpal, & F. Rauner (Eds.), *Identities at work*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Bimrose, J., Barnes, S.-A., & Hughes, D. (2008). *Adult career progression and advancement: A five year study of the effectiveness of guidance*, Institute for Employment Research (IER). Coventry: University of Warwick.
- Bimrose, J., Brown, A., Barnes, S.-A., & Hughes, D. (2011). *The role of career adaptability in skills supply. Evidence report 35. Main report*. Wath-upon-Dearne: United Kingdom Commission for Employment and Skills.
- Brown, A. (1997). A dynamic model of occupational identity formation. In A. Brown (Ed.), *Promoting vocational education and training: European perspectives*. Tampere: University of Tampere.

- Brown, A. (2004). Engineering identities. *Career Development International*, 9(3), 245–273.
- Brown, A. (2015a). Developing career adaptability and innovative capabilities through learning and working in Norway and the United Kingdom. *Journal of the Knowledge Economy*, 6(2), 402–419.
- Brown, A. (2015b). Mid-career reframing: The learning and development processes through which individuals seek to effect major career changes. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 43(3), 278–291.
- Brown, A., & Bimrose, J. (2012). Role of vocational training and learning at work in individual career development across the life-course: Examples from across Europe. In A. Bolder, R. Dobischat, G. Kutscha, & G. Reutter (Eds.), *Beruflichkeit zwischen institutionellem Wandel und biographischem Projekt* [Professionalism through institutional change and biographical projects]. Wiesbaden: Springer.
- Brown, A., & Bimrose, J. (2014). Model of learning for career and labour market transitions. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 9(3), 270–286.
- Brown, A., Bimrose, J., Barnes, S.-A., & Hughes, D. (2012). The role of career adaptabilities for mid-career changers. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 80(3), 754–761.
- Brown, A., Bimrose, J., Barnes, S.-A., Kirpal, S., Grønning, T., & Dahlen, M. (2010). *Changing patterns of working, learning and career development across Europe*, IER. Coventry: University of Warwick.
- CEDEFOP [Brown, A., Bimrose, J., & Merrill, B.]. (2014). *Navigating difficult waters: Learning for career and labour market transitions*. Research Paper 42. Thessaloniki: CEDEFOP.
- Council of the European Union. (2008). *Council resolution on better integrating lifelong guidance into lifelong learning strategies*. Brussels: Council of the European Union.
- Creed, P., Fallon, T., & Hood, M. (2009). The relationship between career adaptability, person and situation variables and career concerns in young adults. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 74(2), 219–229.
- Dewey, J. (1963/1916). *Democracy and education*. New York: Macmillan.
- Dreyfus, S. E., & Dreyfus, H. L. (1980). *A five-stage model of the mental activities involved in directed skill acquisition*. Berkeley, CA: Operations Research Centre, University of California.
- Eraut, M. (1994). *Developing professional knowledge and competence*. London: Falmer Press.
- Eraut, M., & Hirsh, W. (2007). *The significance of workplace learning for individuals, groups and organisations*. Oxford: Centre on Skills, Knowledge and Organisational Performance (SKOPE), Oxford University.
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. London: Faber.
- Fromm, E. (2001/1942). *Fear of freedom*. London: Routledge.
- Field, J. (2010). Preface. In K. Ecclestone, G. Biesta, & M. Hughes (Eds.), *Transitions and learning through the lifecourse*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Furnham, A. (2008). *Personality and intelligence at work*. London: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and self-identity: Self and society in the late modern age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Glover, J. (1988). *I: The philosophy and psychology of personal identity*. London: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The presentation of self in everyday life*. Garden City: Doubleday Anchor.

- Hochschild, A. (1979). Emotion work, feeling rules, and social structure. *American Journal of Sociology*, 85(3), 551–575.
- Hochschild, A. (1983). *The managed heart: Commercialization of human feeling*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ibarra, H., & Barbulescu, R. (2010). Identity as narrative: Prevalence, effectiveness and consequences of narrative identity work in macro work role transitions. *Academy of Management Review*, 35(1), 135–154.
- King, Z. (2004). Career self-management: Its nature, causes and consequences. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 65(1), 112–133.
- MacDonald, R., Shildrick, T., Webster, C., & Simpson, D. (2005). Growing up in poor neighbourhoods: The significance of class and place in the extended transitions of ‘socially excluded’ young adults. *Sociology*, 39(5), 873–891.
- Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). (2004). *Career guidance and public policy: Bridging the gap*. Paris: OECD.
- Riesman, D. (1961/1950). *The lonely crowd*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Roberts, K. (1997). Prolonged transitions to uncertain destinations: The implications for careers guidance. *British Journal of Guidance and Counselling*, 25(3), 345–360.
- Roberts, K. (2009). Opportunity structures then and now. *Journal of Education and Work*, 22(5), 355–368.
- Savickas, M. (2008). *Report of framework and follow-up studies (Meeting July 19, 2008)*. Berlin: Life-design International Research Group—Career Adaptability Project, Humboldt University.
- Savickas, M. (2011). *Career counselling*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Warhurst, C., & Nickson, D. (2001). *Looking good, sounding right*. London: Industrial Society.
- Warr, P. (1987). *Work, unemployment, and mental health*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice: Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Alan Brown is a Professorial Fellow at the Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick, England. His current research, which has a strong international orientation, focuses upon changing occupational identities, promoting career adaptability in a changing labour market, and supporting knowledge sharing and development and learning in professional communities of practice.

Jenny Bimrose is a Professor at the Institute for Employment Research, University of Warwick, England. She has over 30 years’ experience in higher education, researching, managing and teaching. Her research interests include supporting career guidance practitioners in their use of labour market information; the implications for career guidance of women’s career development; and the application of career adaptability in careers practice. Recent publications include co-editing *Women’s career development throughout the lifespan: An international exploration* (Routledge 2015).

Lifelong Learning as an Emancipation Process: A Capability Approach

Pepka Boyadjieva and Petya Ilieva-Trichkova

Abstract The chapter offers a theoretical outline of the heuristic potential of the capability approach in conceptualizing lifelong learning and tests the capacity of this approach to guide empirical studies on lifelong learning. It argues that the capability approach provides a theoretical framework for the understanding of lifelong learning as an agency process which is embedded in different social and institutional contexts, for grasping its different meanings for individuals and society and for its critical evaluation against the background of important values, such as justice, freedom and identity development. Drawing on data from the Adult Education Survey (2007), the chapter suggests an index of fairness in participation in adult education and explores various meanings of adult education and obstacles to participation in it.

INTRODUCTION

‘Lifelong learning’ is certainly one of the most fashionable concepts nowadays. Recently, it has become a slogan and an ‘incantation formula’ for European policies, especially those related to employment. However, the rising policy importance of lifelong learning over the last 2 decades has been accompanied by two other processes. On the one hand, academic circles are becoming more

The authors have made equal contributions and are listed in alphabetic order.

P. Boyadjieva (✉) · P. Ilieva-Trichkova
Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge,
Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Sofia, Bulgaria
e-mail: Pepka7@gmail.com

P. Ilieva-Trichkova
e-mail: petya.ilievat@gmail.com

critical of the epistemological status of the concept itself and of the goals and functions of lifelong learning policies and practices. The concept of ‘lifelong learning’ has been regarded as being vague and potentially serving too great a variety of political objectives (Smith 1996, 2001), as a ‘chameleonic concept’ (Grace 2004: 385), as ‘bungee jumping’ (Boshier 2001: 361), as a ‘catch-all concept, a problematic umbrella descriptor for all and sundry kinds of formal, non-formal and informal learning’ (Grace 2004: 389) and even as a ‘Goliath term’ (Duke 2001: 503). With regard to its results, critics have labelled lifelong learning as part of the hegemonic neo-liberal project, for which all that matters is the economy and the market (Preston 1999; Borg and Mayo 2004, 2005; Crowther 2004) and as a form of social control and a mechanism promoting the marginalization of the excluded and reasserting the social reproductive functions of education (Preston 1999; Field 2001; Jarvis 2001; Crowther 2004).

On the other hand, data from various analyses and surveys have shown that lifelong learning is not an unproblematic value and that its practical implementation faces numerous challenges. Studies reveal that educational advantages have a cumulative character, in that the advantages (or disadvantages) in early adulthood continue to influence lifelong learning capability throughout life (Yaqub 2008; Walker 2012). As a result, the higher the education a person has, the higher the probability of engaging in lifelong learning. Data also show that there are significant differences across countries in participation in lifelong learning. In some countries, such as Bulgaria and Romania, the participation rate in lifelong learning for 2014 among people aged 25–64 was about 2%, whereas this rate in Denmark and Switzerland was higher than 30% (http://appsso.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/nui/show.do?dataset=trng_lfs_01&lang=en). These statistics point to the importance of the context/structure and the diversity of settings in which people can make choices regarding lifelong learning and can participate in educational activities. In such a situation, fresh theoretical frameworks are needed to provide new perspectives for discussing and capturing the essence of lifelong learning and its missions and values.

Authors use different terminology and suggest different understandings of the concepts in the sphere of lifelong learning (Jarvis 2010; Blossfeld et al. 2014; Holford et al. 2014). Lifelong learning includes different kinds of knowledge and skills (institutionalized and informal, organized and sporadic, purposeful and unintended) within different perspectives (personal and social, employment and citizenship, leisure and work). We view adult education and adult learning as the most important forms of lifelong learning.

Against this background, the aim of this chapter is twofold: first, to theoretically outline the heuristic potential of the capability approach in conceptualizing and understanding lifelong learning; second, to test the capacity of this approach to guide empirical studies on lifelong learning and to propose an index of fairness in participation in adult education. We argue that the capability approach provides a theoretical framework for (a) understanding lifelong learning as personality-driven and a process of agency; (b) grasping different meanings of lifelong learning for individuals and society (both intrinsic and

instrumental); (c) revealing how lifelong learning as a practice is embedded in different social and institutional contexts and how these contexts frame lifelong learning activities and learners' experiences and (d) critically evaluating lifelong learning policies and results obtained against the background of important personal and social values, such as freedom, agency and identity development, justice and well-being (not restricted to economic achievements).

The study proceeds as follows. First, we give an overview of the capability approach and studies that apply this theoretical framework in the sphere of education. Then, we discuss how lifelong learning may be conceptualized via the capability approach perspective. This is followed by an empirical analysis of adult education based on data from the Adult Education Survey (2007) which are interpreted via the capability approach lens. The final part of the chapter raises the question whether lifelong learning is an emancipating force or a form of social control.

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH AND STUDIES ON EDUCATION

Brief Overview of the Capability Approach

The capability approach is associated mainly with the work of the Nobel Prize-winning economist Amartya Sen and the political philosopher Martha Nussbaum. It is a social justice normative theoretical framework for conceptualizing and evaluating phenomena such as inequalities, well-being and human development. According to the capability approach, it is not so much the achieved outcomes (functionings) that matter, but the real opportunities (capabilities) that one has for achieving those outcomes. Sen (1992) argues that a person's capability to achieve functionings that he/she has reason to value provides a general approach to the evaluation of social (including educational) arrangements. For Sen, capabilities are freedoms conceived as real opportunities (Sen 1985, 2009). More specifically, capabilities as freedoms refer to the presence of valuable options, in the sense of opportunities that not only exist formally or legally but are also effectively available to the agent (Robeyns 2013). Sen pays special attention not only to negative freedom (Sen 1985: 217–220) but to positive freedoms as well—‘(the freedom “to do this” or “to be that”) that a person has’ (Sen 1985: 201). These can be various things such as the freedom to be employed, educated, happy, to have shelter and to enjoy a healthy life.

In contrast to Sen's version, Nussbaum's version of the approach is rather political. She endorses a universal, cross-cultural list of 10 central capabilities (i.e. life, bodily health, bodily integrity, senses, imagination and thought, emotions, practical reason, affiliation, other species, play, control over one's environment), which in her view must provide the basis of constitutional guarantees (See Nussbaum 2011 for more details). Although Sen (1992) also recognizes that the concept of freedom is loaded by internal plurality, he stresses that human beings are diverse and is not in favour of limiting the range of capabilities people have. Thus, every person is seen to have a particular capability

set, which includes all capabilities they have. Overall, a person's capability set depends on a variety of factors, 'including personal characteristics and social arrangements' (Sen 1999: 33). In other words, the capability approach acknowledges that different people have different abilities to convert the goods they have (such as resources or opportunities) into real achievements. This is taken into account via the so-called 'conversion factors'. Conversion factors refer to a wide range of factors which influence the extent to which a person can be, or is, free to convert the characteristics of the good or service into individual functioning. There are three different types of conversion factors: personal, social and environmental conversion factors (Robeyns 2005; Crocker and Robeyns 2009). These factors provide a bridge between diverse individual biographies and social arrangements and underscore the difficulty of focusing solely on the subjective wants of learners since these might be adapted in ways that do not necessarily serve learners' best interests (Unterhalter 2009). In this sense, an acknowledgement of human diversity, the diversity of settings and the extent to which they shape the capability space is an inseparable part of the evaluation of the capabilities of people.

Last but not least, the capability approach is very sensitive to 'the importance of the agency aspect' of freedom, which is related 'to the view of persons as responsible agents' (Sen 1985: 203–204). Regarding education, this framework acknowledges that 'having education affects the development and expansion of other capabilities, so that an education capability expands other important human freedoms' (Walker 2012: 454). It is very important that the capability approach sets a framework for the critical evaluation of current developments in education and the results obtained by paying special attention to personal and social values, such as freedom, agency and personal (identity) development, justice and well-being.

Main Studies Applying the Capability Approach to Research in Education

Currently, there is a huge body of literature that has explored the potential of the capability approach in the evaluation of the learning opportunities, processes and outcomes of education, and also for the conceptualization, measurement and evaluation of inequalities or social justice in education (for example, Saito 2003; Biggeri 2007; Otto and Ziegler 2006; Walker 2006; Terzi 2007; Walker and Unterhalter 2007; Brighouse and Unterhalter 2010; Wilson-Strydom 2014; Ribeiro 2015). However, versions of this approach diverge, which is one of the reasons why Sen's and Nussbaum's versions are applied in different studies on education. Thus, whereas Sen's work has been used mainly in general discussions of policy and critiques of theories regarding education and economy, Nussbaum's work has been of considerable interest because of her concern with the content and process of education (Unterhalter et al. 2007).

Overall, the studies that have, to date, explored education via the capability approach lens, have focused predominantly on either children's education or higher education, as they are mainly concerned with different vulnerable groups

such as women, children, young people, people with a disadvantaged socio-economic background and people with disabilities. Moreover, while the majority of studies focus on developing countries in Africa, Latin America or Asia, the capability approach has been applied in developed countries as well.

Most of the studies focus on formal education and, in particular, on the role of education in human development and well-being, since it is related to the enhancement of people's capabilities such as literacy, numeracy and empowerment. Expanding capabilities for formal education can also be related to ensuring better opportunities for people to access education. For example, is there safe public transport to the nearest school or is schooling affordable for all? (See Vaughan and Walker 2012). However, research has also shown that formal education structures may not always entail an enhancement of capabilities and substantive freedom but can have negative effects on capabilities or diminish them (Flores-Crespo 2007; Walker and Unterhalter 2007). With some exceptions (for example, Walker 2012), less attention has been paid to the non-formal and informal forms of learning and how they influence the capabilities of people or whether people have capabilities to access such forms of learning. Melanie Walker's critique shows that if we look at the current practices and policies in lifelong education via the capability approach lens they can be recognized as narrowly defined, for example, as related mainly to the employability of people. She argues that not all versions of lifelong education enhance agency and foster good lives.

*Multiple Roles of Education—The Capability Approach as a Way to Go
Beyond the Human Capital Approach*

The capability approach provides a broader perspective to education in comparison to the human capital perspective. The latter has served as a general framework for the European policy agenda in the sphere of education in the Lisbon strategies and the Europe 2020 strategies and has underpinned the rise of the knowledge policy discourse. The recently published report on adult education in Europe (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice 2015) is also elaborated mainly within the human capital approach. This perspective is associated with the work of the economists: Theodore W. Schultz (1961), Mincer (1984) and Becker (1993). In his seminal study *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*, Becker (1993) perceives education and training as 'the most important investments in human capital' (p. 17). This view is based on the assumption that, by providing knowledge and skills, schooling and learning, and training outside schools (e.g. on-the-job training) people's earnings and their productivity may rise. Another major assumption of this theory is that all human capital is homogeneous, which conflicts with the reality of qualitative differences in types of education, on-the-job training, informal learning, etc. The human capital theory advocates an entirely instrumental perspective to education:

education thus loses its intrinsic value as knowledge and as a crucial process for individuals' identity formation.

The capability approach goes beyond the human capital theory by adopting a much richer vision of human development and acknowledging both the intrinsic and the instrumental roles of education. According to Sen, the human capital theory looks at human beings mainly as the means of production, while they are also 'the end of the exercise' (Sen 1997: 1960). Sen emphasizes that: '[t]he benefits of education thus exceed its role as human capital in commodity production. The broader human capability perspective would record—and value—these additional roles' (Sen 1997: 1959). What is more, the instrumental role of education is narrowly perceived as limited only to economic productivity. In fact, investment in education could lead to other personal and social benefits as well and may be motivated by various reasons that may not be only job-related. Bearing in mind the importance of human capital theory in emphasizing that education is a form of investment in human capital and a key factor for economic growth, yet considering the narrowness and inadequacy of its economistic, ahistorical and instrumentalist approach, we share Sen's view that 'we must go *beyond* the notion of human capital, after acknowledging its relevance and reach. The broadening that is needed is additional and cumulative, rather than being an alternative to the "human capital" perspective' (Sen 1997: 1961).

The notion of capability in Sen's view implies a larger scope of benefits from education than improving economic production and includes influencing social change and enhancing the well-being and freedom of individuals and peoples. The human capability perspective focuses on the impact that education may have on expanding human ability to lead a valuable life and to enhance the substantive choices people have (See Sen 1999: 292–297). Nussbaum (1997, 2006) pays special attention to the role of (liberal) education, arguing that it cultivates humanity by developing three capacities crucial for the health of democracy: the capability for critical self-examination and critical thinking about one's own culture and traditions; the capacity to see oneself as a human being who is bound to all humans with ties of concern and the capacity for narrative imagination; and the ability to empathize with others and to put oneself in another's place. Furthermore, education is of key importance for the development of all 10 capabilities included in her list and it 'potentially enables other capabilities' (Walker 2007: 178).

The Capability Approach and Social Justice in Education

In fact, Sen's and Nussbaum's versions of the capability approach also differ regarding how social justice may be provided. While Nussbaum's approach, which offers a partial theory of justice, considers that the state should provide a threshold of ten essential capabilities to ensure a life worthy of the dignity due to each human being, Sen's account of justice is concerned with how people's

well-being may be improved and their societies become fairer. He insists on the active role of the individual in the recognition of injustice and in its removal.

Sen outlines two distinctive traditions of justice. The first approach aims to identify what perfectly just social arrangements might be and concentrates primarily on getting the institutions right. Sen calls it ‘transcendent institutionalism’. The second approach—realization-focused comparison—is concerned with ‘social realizations’ resulting from actual institutions, actual behaviour and other influences (Sen 2009: 5–7). According to Simon Marginson (2011), these two understandings of justice resonate in the two perspectives from which social equity in higher education has been recently conceptualized: *inclusion* and *fairness*. The inclusion perspective points ‘to the significance of improvement in participation of any particular group irrespective of how other groups have fared’ (Clancy and Goastellec 2007: 146). The fairness perspective ‘implies ensuring that personal and social circumstances—for example gender, socio-economic status or ethnic origin—should not be an obstacle to achieving educational potential’ and thus ‘access to, participation in and outcomes of tertiary education are based only on individuals’ innate ability and study effort’ (Santiago et al. 2008: 13–14). Thus, whereas the first approach ‘focuses on growth in the *absolute number* of people from hitherto under-represented socio-economic groups, as defined in terms of income measures or social or occupational status’, the second one focuses on the *proportional distribution of student places* (or graduations) between different social groups (Marginson 2011: 23–24).

We argue that for explorative and explanatory purposes, both perspectives should be simultaneously taken into account. In so saying, our view is consistent with Patrick Clancy and Gaële Goastellec (2007: 146), who emphasize the importance of taking into account ‘changes both in relative and absolute levels of participation’. This means that we need to answer at least three main questions: *What growth?*, *Access for whom?* and *Access to what?* in order to outline the situation in lifelong learning in a given country. The answer to the first question will show the increase in absolute numbers of people involved in lifelong learning. The second question will reveal the relative chance of representatives of different social groups to enter different forms and programmes of lifelong learning. The third question refers to the differences in quality and prestige of different providers of lifelong learning and programmes, and thus its answer will show the existence of additional inequalities, caused by the internal differentiation and stratification of lifelong learning systems.

CONCEPTUALIZING LIFELONG LEARNING WITHIN THE CAPABILITY APPROACH PERSPECTIVE

Just as mass-scale school education is a response to the needs of early modern societies, the concepts, practices and policies of lifelong learning become fully understandable only in the context of late modernity, with its radical individualization of individual life trajectories and unprecedented ‘permeability’ of

formerly invincible social boundaries (Boyadjieva et al. 2013). Lifelong learning is a ‘manifestation’ of the interpenetration between education and life and may be defined as ‘a metaphor that highlights both the fact that education is without boundaries, i.e. that it is not reducible to previously envisaged results or formal instructions, and its post-modern quality, that is its non-systematicity, signifying power and socio-cultural contextuality’ (Usher 2001: 166). Bearing in mind the ongoing debate about whether the most proper term is lifelong learning or lifelong education (e.g. Wain 2001; Tuijnman and Boström 2002; Jarvis 2010; Holford and Milana 2014), we follow Peter Jarvis’s argument that ‘lifelong education became lifelong learning’ (Jarvis 2010: 36) and prefer using the term lifelong learning, for three main reasons. First, whereas education refers to the provision of learning opportunities in an institutionalized and planned manner, learning is a wider term that could embrace not only formal but also non-formal and informal forms of learning. Second, by moving the focus from structures and institutions to individuals, it emphasizes the agency aspect of the educational and learning processes and the active role of the individual in them. Third, lifelong learning pays special attention to the individual, who can make his/her own choice regarding what he/she wants to learn in accordance with what he/she has reason to value. In particular, it is of key importance when we consider post-compulsory forms of education.

The capability approach offers a theoretical framework that takes into account the above-mentioned three main reasons and overcomes the main criticism of the concept of lifelong learning, namely that it is a part of the neo-liberal project which considers individuals only as consumers and takes away the responsibility from society and the state. The capability approach takes into account both individuals/agency and society/structures when conceptualizing lifelong learning. It pays special attention to agency and regards each person as a dignified and responsible human being who shapes his/her own life in the light of goals that he/she has reason to value. Understanding lifelong learning not only as agency achievement but also as an agency process is very important if we want to capture its difference from traditional school education with respect to the positions of the actors involved in it. In lifelong learning, students are subjects of their own action, for their inclusion in education can only occur as a result of their personal decision. Furthermore, ‘lifelong learning’ may be understood as ‘a positive process of deepening understanding and reflection in which learning forms our distinctive agency as rich human beings who are economic agents, but much, much more than this’ (Walker 2012: 190).

Thus, Sen’s understanding of agency (1992, 1999) allows us to outline several new perspectives for research on lifelong learning, focusing on a) different meanings of lifelong learning: lifelong learning subject as someone who acts purposefully from someone who brings about change; b) taking into account the possibility that people engaging in lifelong learning can help improve not only their individual well-being but also that of other people and c) distinction between agency-enhancing learning and simply acquiring new skills.

Within the proposed framework, it is also possible to capture a wider range of benefits of lifelong learning for individuals and thus to overcome the narrowness of the human capital theory in which human lives are viewed as means to economic gains.

Recently, some authors have suggested that, in order to understand lifelong learning, we have to consider contextual conditions such as the broader structures and culture as well as past habits and routines. Therefore, the agency of people is in fact, and should be understood as, ‘bounded’ (Evans 2007; Rubenson and Desjardins 2009). This concept is important from a life course perspective as it regards an individual’s life events as resulting from the interaction between the broader structural conditions and targeted policy measures, on the one hand, and the individual’s conceptual apparatus, on the other. Thus, it allows us to move ‘beyond assumptions of standardised models that illuminate only part of human behaviour towards models that take into account and depict the complexities of factors that impact on choices and decision-making through the life course’ (Evans et al. 2013: 26). The capability approach acknowledges the ‘deep complementarity between individual agency and social arrangements’ (Sen 1999: xii). Although the idea of choice is central in the capability approach, the individual is not viewed as a freely choosing subject but as acting within specific social and institutional arrangements which could function also as social constraints. Thus, the capability approach may be conceived as a particularly productive theoretical approach in the context of lifelong learning, through specific consideration of individual agency and its formation and through the interaction of this agency with institutional contexts where people live.

Applying the capability approach, Jean Drèze and Amartya Sen (2002: 38–40) discuss five different ways in which education can be valuable to the freedom of a person: *intrinsic importance*, *instrumental personal roles*, *instrumental social roles*, *instrumental process roles* and *empowerment and distributive roles*. Ingrid Robeyns (2006: 70–71) proposes a modified version of this typology in accordance with two aspects: economic–non-economic and personal–collective. Although the Robeyns typology is more systematically developed, it does not fully recognize two important aspects of the capability approach perspective of education. First, Drèze and Sen (2002) emphasize the social dimension, not only of education outcomes but of the process of improving education as well. Second, the non-economic personal role should not be confined to its instrumental role as a *transfer* of knowledge that produces non-economic personal benefits, but should also pay attention to the substantial *transformative power* of education as a factor for identity formation and agency empowerment. We think that this transformative and empowering role is an essential part of education and it should not be understood as having purely instrumental character, given that the transformation and empowerment can be fully realized only when the intrinsic aspects of knowledge and values are taken into account.

A CONCEPTUAL MODEL OF LIFELONG LEARNING ROLES

Taking into account the above discussions, we develop *a model of roles of lifelong learning* following two lines of reasoning: (1) *level of influence*: individual or societal and (2) *character of influence*: intrinsic, instrumental and transformative/empowering (See Table 1). The model clearly demonstrates the complex nature and plurality of roles and values of lifelong learning and the heuristic potential of the capability approach for capturing them. At the macro (societal) level, in addition to the widely acknowledged role of lifelong learning for economic and cultural development, we identify the role of lifelong learning for validation of different types of knowledge and the legitimization of important social values. At the individual level, we differentiate the roles of lifelong learning related to different aspects of personality development, alongside graduates' employability, and classify them according to their instrumental, intrinsic or transformative/empowering value. We also take into account the role of lifelong learning for human development in two different perspectives: an instrumental one, in terms of improvement of the population's knowledge

Table 1 Model of lifelong learning roles in a capability approach perspective

<i>Character of influence</i>	<i>Level of influence</i>	
	<i>Individual</i>	<i>Society</i>
Instrumental	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formation of status identity as a learner • Employability (formation of learners' abilities to find employment by developing relevant knowledge, skills, attitudes and identities) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human development (viewed as improvement of human capital) • Promoting economic growth • Diversification of cultural and intellectual centres
Intrinsic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Valuing and acquiring knowledge for its own sake 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Validation of different types of knowledge • Legitimization of values in society: progress, rationality, equity (as both inclusion and fairness), tolerance, freedom of thought and diversity
Transformative/Empowering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Personality development - Formation of responsible identity - Development of abilities for independent and critical thinking and imagination - Agency development and empowerment of a person to control his/her environment • Promoting the individual's mobility 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human development (understood as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy) • (Re)distributive—facilitating social group mobility and the ability of different groups, disadvantaged included, to organize and express their interests

and skills, and an empowering one, in terms of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy.

We define this model as an ideal type in the Weberian sense. This means that it is simply a cognitive instrument for capturing and understanding the diversity of missions and roles of lifelong learning and has no ontological reality. The missions or roles of lifelong learning can refer to a national, a European, or a regional system of lifelong learning. Thus, the missions/roles of lifelong learning are regarded as embedded in different social and organizational contexts. At this stage, our model does not present any specific indicators. It provides a first step that must be followed by a discussion of the most suitable instruments and indicators for assessing how each one of the lifelong learning roles is realized in different social and institutional contexts. For example, we have applied an adapted version of this model for rethinking missions of higher education built upon the capability approach and the institutional perspective (Boyadjieva and Ilieva-Trichkova 2016).

THE CAPABILITY APPROACH LENS FOR EMPIRICAL STUDIES ON ADULT EDUCATION

Data

In the second part of the chapter, we will try to test the heuristic potential of the capability approach in empirical research on lifelong learning, focusing on adult education. We differentiate between adult education and adult learning. Adult education relates to institutionally organized forms of education of adults, more concretely, to formal and non-formal adult education and training. Adult learning is a broader concept and includes all learning activities of adults, both institutionalized and informal. The following analysis refers to adult education.

The empirical basis of our study is the Adult Education Survey. The survey covers participation in education and training (formal, non-formal and informal learning) of people aged 25–64 who live in private households. The reference period for the participation in education and training is 12 months prior to the interview. This survey was conducted, using random sampling procedure, two times—in 2007 and 2011. We use the survey data from 2007 and will focus only on formal and non-formal education. Our analysis refers to 26 countries for which data on the followed measures were available. More specifically, drawing on these data and following a mainly macro-level approach, we will use different measures calculated separately for each country and discussed via the capability approach lens with the aim to: (a) capture both aspects of justice in the participation in adult education (inclusion and fairness); (b) explore the various meanings of adult education and (c) differentiate the obstacles for participation in different forms of adult education.

Inclusion and Fairness in Participation in Adult Education

As already discussed in the first part of the chapter, the capability approach allows us to conceptualize social justice in lifelong learning by differentiating two different aspects of participation in adult education: *fairness* and *inclusion*. Thus, we can capture not only the growth in the *absolute number* of people engaged in adult education but also the *proportional distribution* of different social groups in adult education activities. More specifically, *we define fairness in adult education as related to the diversity of the student population. That is, the idea that the student body entering, participating in and completing different adult education activities should reflect the diversity of the country's population.*

For capturing the two aspects of justice, we use different measures. For measuring the inclusion aspect, we use the proportion of people aged 25–64 participating in formal and non-formal education. In order to capture the fairness aspect, we develop an *index of fairness in participation in adult education* (IfairAE). This index has been further developed in a dynamic perspective (for more details see Boyadjieva and Ilieva-Trichkova 2017). The IfairAE measures the representation of the population within a given social group in adult education. We will focus only on one social group from the population participating in adult education with respect to completed level of initial education compared with the educational structure of the society as a whole. This index could be assessed also in relation to the place of residence of participants, participants' socio-economic origin and participants' socio-economic status. The IfairAE measures the representation of the population within a given initial educational level in adult education. It uses information on the educational level of the participants in adult education and on the educational structure in a given society. It is calculated by dividing the proportion of participants in adult education, aged 25–64 with a given initial level of education, by the proportion of people with the same educational level in the entire national population aged 25–64. An index above 1 indicates overrepresentation of the given social group, (defined in our case by the completed level of education of the respondents) in the entire population whereas an index below 1 shows that this group is under-represented. A value 1 of this index means that a given social group is perfectly represented within adult education in the respective country. For this chapter, we tested the measure for two social groups: those with a low level of education—ISCED 1997 0–2 and those with a high level of education—ISCED 1997 5–6. For the actual participation in the population, we used data from Eurostat that correspond to these two groups.

The analysis of the participation in formal and non-formal adult education reveals that countries differ in terms of their inclusion of people in lifelong learning (see Fig. 1). Thus, whereas Croatia, Greece, Hungary, Poland and Romania are among the least inclusive, Finland, Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom are among the most inclusive countries.

Figure 2 demonstrates the values of IfairAE for the group of people with higher education degree and the group of people with low levels of education. The results show that in all countries the group of people with higher education

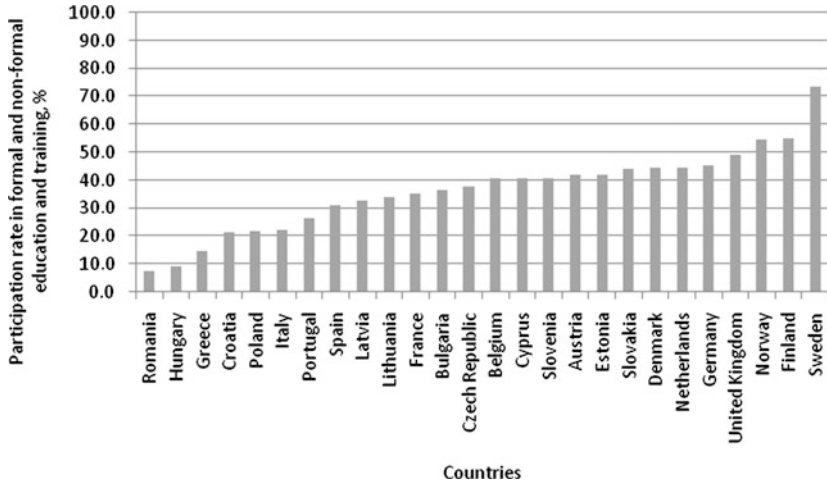


Fig. 1 Participation rate in formal and non-formal adult education and training (last 12 months) in 2007 by countries, %. Source Eurostat, extracted on 12.05.2017, trng_aes_100

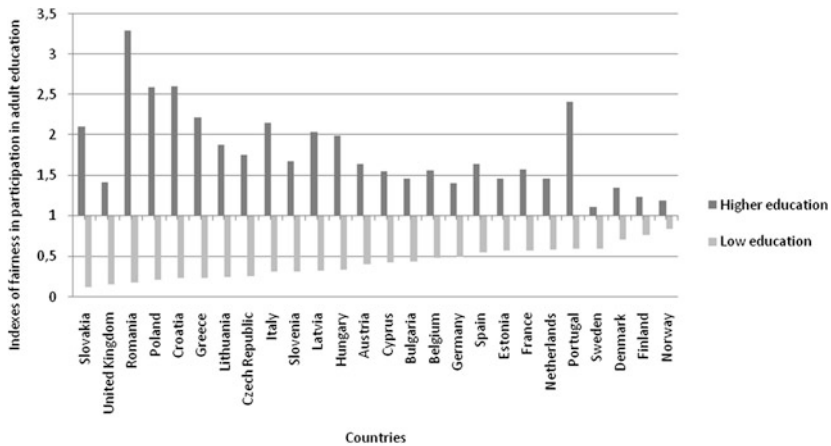


Fig. 2 Indexes of fairness in participation in adult education for people with low (ISCED 0-2) and higher education (ISCED 5-6). Note Data for the participation rate in adult education for Croatia, Latvia, Lithuania, Romania and Slovakia from Adult Education Survey 2007 for low education (ISCED 0-2) are with low reliability according to Eurostat reliability thresholds. Source Adult Education Survey 2007 (own calculations, weighted data—coefindw) & Eurostat, data for 2007 extracted on 12.05.2017, edat_lfs_9903

is overrepresented, whereas the group of people with low level of education is under-represented in all countries. This suggests that adult education reproduces already-existing educational hierarchies. Despite this, there are country

differences in the extent to which these groups are represented. The data also show that in some countries, like Finland, Norway and Sweden, inclusiveness goes hand-in-hand with fairness. At the same time, in Croatia, Greece, Poland and Romania the high levels of IfairAE for low and highly educated people go hand-in-hand with low inclusiveness. However, we cannot identify a clear country pattern.

Viewing lifelong learning through the lens of the capability approach clearly demonstrates the narrowness of the benchmark for participation in lifelong learning at policy level, namely the percentage of people engaged in lifelong learning activities and the need for this indicator to be complemented by indicators capturing inequalities in participation in lifelong learning. A promising line of future research is the analysis of the dynamics in inclusion and fairness aspects of adult education in different countries using data from the next waves of Adult Education Survey and also from other surveys (e.g. Labour Force Survey). It is well known that adult education is characterized by its internal diversity, and its programmes vary according to the quality of education offered. Therefore, a fruitful direction for future research is also to calculate the indexes separately for formal and non-formal adult education or for job-related and non-job-related non-formal adult education.

Value of Adult Education

The capability approach broadens our understanding of how lifelong learning may be understood beyond the narrow human capital agenda, in which human lives are viewed exclusively as means to economic gain. By looking at people and their well-being as ends, the capability approach provides grounds to conceptualize the different meanings of lifelong learning and to take into account the plurality of its outcomes. From this perspective, employability, which is high on the policy agenda, is very important but not the sole and all-embracing mission of lifelong learning.

For the identification of the various meanings of adult education, we use the distinction between job-related and non-job-related/personal reasons. In particular, we calculated the proportions of people who participated in formal education and non-formal education and training activities because of these two types of reasons. We presented only the data for the first of these activities reported by the respondents.

Figures 3 and 4 illustrate that, alongside the purely instrumental, job-related reasons, people also engage in formal education or non-formal education and training activities for personal reasons. This shows that people want not only to improve their employability but also to participate in adult education for its own sake or for personal development. However, these figures also reveal that there are cross-national variations in this regard for participation in both types of adult education. Recognizing the motivation of people for participation is crucial for understanding the agency of people and is important in tackling low participation rates in adult education.

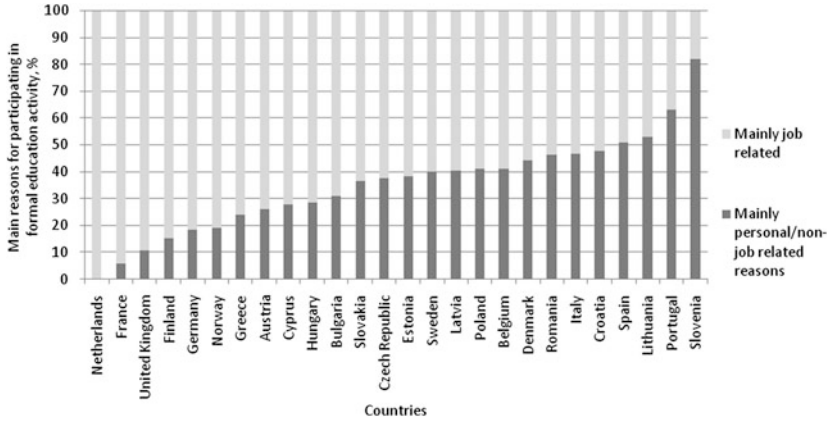


Fig. 3 Main reasons for participating in formal education activity by countries, %. *Note* Data for Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, France, Greece, Hungary, Latvia and the United Kingdom are with low reliability according to Eurostat reliability thresholds. *Source* Adult Education Survey 2007 (own calculations, weighted data—coefindw)

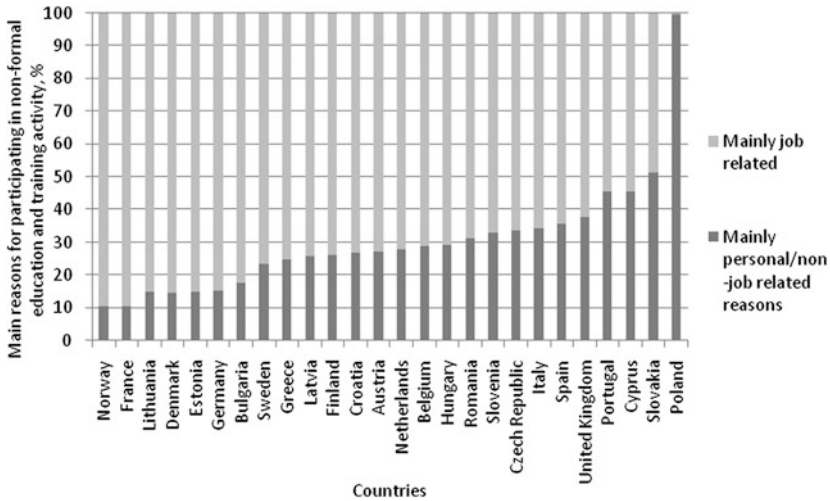


Fig. 4 Main reasons for participating in non-formal education and training activity by countries, %. *Source* Adult Education Survey 2007 (own calculations, weighted data—coefindw)

Obstacles to Participation in Adult Education

Given that we are also concerned whether people from different countries have equal capability to participate in adult education, we also looked at the constraints that prevent people from engaging in adult education activities. In other

words, we had to consider the reasons for non-participation. We focused on constraints at two levels, which both reveal issues related with access to adult education. The first level refers to people's aspirations. To a great extent, the aspirations are relational and show the range of opportunities people have and whether they envisage adult education as an opportunity itself. The second level refers to more concrete reasons that constrain one's agency.

We tried to check if there were country differences in the obstacles to people's aspiration to participate in adult education and in the obstacles that limit actual participation once people have aspired to some education and training. For this sake, we used two variables: *The most important reason why the respondent did not want to participate in education and training* and *the most important reason why the respondent did not participate or did not participate still more in education and training, though wanted to*. In both cases, we present the results only for the most important reason reported by the highest proportion of people (as a percentage) in a given country.

The results of the analysis show that countries differ in terms of the main reasons why people do not want to participate in education and training that are reported by the highest proportion of their population (Table 2). In almost half of the countries, the majority of people did not aspire to adult education because they did not need it for a job. This suggests that efforts should be made in these countries not to look at learning mainly in an instrumental way but to reveal the intrinsic value of education. At the same time, there are also many countries in which the majority of people do not aspire for other reasons—mainly physical ones related to their health. This suggests that in order to boost adult education in these countries, a way should be found to address these problems because they constrain people's aspirations and their agency to continue their learning. It seems that raising learners' aspirations in their life course requires solving problems in other areas of life—such as health, or the perceptions of people that their age is too advanced for them to be active learners.

Table 2 The most important reason why the respondent did not want to participate in education and training by countries. *Source* Adult Education Survey 2007 (own calculations, weighted data—coefindw)

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Countries in which the respective reason is reported as the most important by the highest proportion of the population (in percentage)</i>
Did not need it for the job	Austria (17.86), Bulgaria (31.79), Croatia (27.57), Czech Republic (48.06), Finland (32.6), Germany (26.88), Hungary (33.63), Latvia (26.07), Netherlands (33.65), Norway (41.57), Romania (28.35), Slovakia (41.38) and Slovenia (29.09)
Health or age of the respondent	Belgium (31.1), Estonia (27.92), Lithuania (29.54), Poland (24.16), Portugal (19.52) and Sweden (24.25)
Did not have time because of family responsibilities	Cyprus (32.89), Greece (21.97) and United Kingdom (26.01)
Other	Spain (29.89)

Table 3 The most important reason why the respondent did not participate or did not participate still more in education and training, though they wanted to (by countries) *Note* Data for Germany are with low reliability according to Eurostat reliability thresholds. *Source* Adult Education Survey 2007 (own calculations, weighted data—coefindw)

<i>Reason</i>	<i>Countries in which the respective reason is reported as the most important by the highest proportion of the population (in percentage)</i>
Training conflicted with the work schedule	Belgium (27.01), Czech Republic (28.6), Finland (27.64), Lithuania (34.55), Latvia (24.67), Norway (25.76), Sweden (25.14), Slovenia (30.54) and United Kingdom (31.81)
Training was too expensive or the respondent could not afford it	Bulgaria (37.13), Croatia (31.00), Estonia (31.52), Poland (31.25), Romania (36.81) and Slovakia (19.87)
Did not have time because of family responsibilities	Austria (25.35), Cyprus (44.55), Greece (27.34), Germany (19.98), Netherlands (18.63) and Portugal (20.21)
Other	Spain (29.69) and Hungary (94.67)

In contrast to the reasons why people did not want to participate in adult education, which seem to be mainly individual, the reasons that are reported as the most important ones that explain why the respondents did not participate or did not participate still more in education and training, though they wanted to, are to a great extent institutional and family related (see Table 3). This suggests that in addition to the efforts necessary to raise people's aspirations, another set of efforts should be directed to the improvement of the offer of adult education so that it allows people to combine it with work or family lives.

The empirical analyses of the reasons why people do not want to participate in formal and non-formal education allow us to conclude that the agency of adults to participate in adult education is in fact bounded by the settings people live in. Specifically, the bounded agency is a socially situated agency, influenced, but not determined, by social structures and environments (Evans 2002, 2007; Rubenson 2009). The concept of bounded agency sees actions in the contingencies of the present moment as influenced not only by past habits and what people believe to be possible for them in the future but also by subjective perceptions of the structures they have to negotiate, the social landscapes which affect how they act (Evans et al. 2013). The analysis of the obstacles pointed to problems of the social conversion factors, particularly those related to the institutional offer of adult education. Obviously, they constrain people's ability to convert the resources (such as time or money) which they have into actual participation because they do not allow people to combine their studies with family responsibilities or work. These constraints also differ by countries and these differences should be taken into account in designing country-specific policies to foster adult education in order to meet the Europe 2020 national targets for lifelong learning. The participation rates could be enhanced only

through solving concrete problems, which go far beyond education—such as health, work, family and the social sphere.

By broadening perspectives for the empirical study of lifelong learning, the capability approach makes visible some shortcomings and challenges stemming from the characteristics of available datasets and indicators used to measure practices, achievements and policies in lifelong learning. It becomes obvious that there is a need for enriching the available data by including indicators which capture the plurality of values (for both individuals and societies) of lifelong learning and the inequalities in participation in lifelong learning of different social groups.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION: LIFELONG LEARNING—AN EMANCIPATING FORCE OR A FORM OF SOCIAL CONTROL?

Now we will go back to the beginning of this chapter and try to discuss the question regarding the social role of lifelong learning: Is it simply a mechanism for realizing the hegemonic project of global capitalism, or is it a specific way of life that enables the individual to develop their creative abilities and activity in life to the maximum.

Lifelong learning is a radical and all-encompassing change in education and learning, taking place in the conditions of societies of late modernity. It implies a quantitative growth of education opportunities, a constant rethinking of the contents of education activities, the unfolding of new forms of education and educational initiatives, significant changes in the status of the individuals and institutions involved in the education process, and qualitative changes in the lifestyle of individuals. In practical terms, and from the viewpoint of its results, lifelong learning could be defined as both a means of reproducing existing social inequalities and a factor for mitigating and even eliminating them. In other words, it might work as a mechanism of social control, but also as an emancipating force for groups and individuals. However, the social role of lifelong learning cannot be postulated beforehand and unequivocally outside social time and space. Its concrete role reflects the ways in which lifelong learning is realized in concrete historical conditions and in the framework of the concrete relations of this activity with the other social spheres. The practices of lifelong learning are always produced by concrete historical circumstances, due to the existing links and interaction between specific national institutional systems, such as the educational system, labour market and social policies (See Blossfeld 2003). Thus, our analyses show that lifelong learning has different meanings in different societies.

It may be assumed with a great degree of probability that lifelong learning will not have the same social and personal impact in highly developed, democratic societies as in weakly developed ones, and also that in each of these groups there might be differences engendered by the specific national institutional systems and by the local manifestations of these systems. Differences might also

appear in the way the end result is achieved: for instance, the role of lifelong learning for social reproduction might be fulfilled smoothly and without obstacles, but then again, it might come as an end result of processes, among which some are reproductive, while others lead to new social relations. In this respect, Wain's analysis is indicative: it shows that there are important differences in the way lifelong learning and the learning society are understood and function in Japan as compared with Europe. In Japan, education is viewed as an inseparable part of life, just like 'eating and drinking', while in Europe the initial humanistic ideas of the mid-twentieth century that tried learning to the overall development of the individual have gradually been substituted by the instrumental discourse that is limited to vocational training (Wain 2001: 189). By providing a theoretical framework for the understanding of lifelong learning as an agency process which is embedded in different social and institutional contexts, the present chapter has demonstrated that the capability approach broadens the perspectives both for grasping different meanings of lifelong learning for individuals and society and for its critical evaluation against the background of a given country's development and the most important social values.

Acknowledgements The authors gratefully acknowledge the support of the project 'Culture of giving in the sphere of education: social, institutional and personality dimensions' (2014–2017) funded by the National Science Fund (Contract Number K02/12, signed on 12.12.2014), Bulgaria. We would like to thank the editors of this handbook for their valuable comments on an earlier version of this chapter. This chapter is based on data from Eurostat, Adult Education Survey, 2007, obtained for the needs of Research Project Proposal 339/2015-AES. The responsibility for all conclusions drawn from the data lies entirely with the authors.

REFERENCES

- Becker, G. (1993). *Human capital: A theoretical and empirical analysis with special reference to education* (3rd ed.). London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Biggeri, M. (2007). Children's Valued Capabilities. In M. Walker & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Blossfeld, H. P. (2003). Globalization, social inequality and the role of country-specific institutions: Open research questions in a learning society. In P. Conceicao, M. V. Heitor, & B. A. Lundvall (Eds.), *Towards a learning society: Innovation and competence building with social cohesion for Europe*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar.
- Blossfeld, H. P., Kilpi-Jakonen, E., Vono de Vilhena, D., & Buchholz, S. (2014). *Adult learning in modern societies. An international comparison from a life-course perspective*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Borg, C., & Mayo, P. (2004). Diluted wine in new bottles: The key messages of the EU memorandum (on lifelong learning). *Lifelong Learning in Europe (Line)*, 9(1), 19–25.
- Borg, C., & Mayo, P. (2005). The EU memorandum on lifelong learning. Old wine in new bottles? *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 3(2), 203–225.

- Boshier, R. (2001). Lifelong learning as bungee jumping. In New Zealand what goes down doesn't always come up. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(5), 361–377.
- Boyardjieva, P., Milenkova, V., Gornev, G., Petkova, K., & Nenkova, D. (2013). The lifelong learning hybrid: The case of Bulgaria. In E. Saar, O. B. Ure, & J. Holford (Eds.), *Lifelong learning in Europe. National patterns and challenges*. Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Boyardjieva, P., & Ilieva-Trichkova, P. (2016). Rethinking missions and values of higher education: Insight from the capability approach and the institutional perspective. In R. M. O. Pritchard, A. Pausits, & J. Williams (Eds.), *Positioning higher education institutions: From here to there*. Rotterdam: Sense.
- Boyardjieva, P. & Ilieva-Trichkova, P. (2017). Between Inclusion and Fairness: Social Justice Perspective to Participation in Adult Education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 67(2), 97–117.
- Brighouse, H., & Unterhalter, E. (2010). Education for primary goods or for capabilities? In H. Brighouse & I. Robeyns (Eds.), *Measuring justice. primary goods and capabilities*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Clancy, P., & Goastellec, G. (2007). Exploring Access and Equity in Higher Education: Policy and Performance in a Comparative Perspective. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 61(2), 136–154.
- Crocker, D., & Robeyns, I. (2009). Capability and agency. In Ch. Morris (Ed.), *Amartya Sen*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crowther, J. (2004). 'In and against' lifelong learning: Flexibility and corrosion of character. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 23(2), 125–136.
- Drèze, J., & Sen, A. (2002). *India: Development and participation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Duke, C. (2001). Lifelong learning and tertiary education: The learning university revisited. In D. Aspin, J. Chapman, M. Hatton, & Y. Sawano (Eds.), *International handbook of lifelong learning* (pp. 501–528). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice. (2015). *Adult education and training in Europe: Widening access to learning opportunities*. Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union.
- Evans, K. (2002). Taking control of their lives? Agency in young adult transitions in England and the New Germany. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5(3), 245–269.
- Evans, K. (2007). Concepts of bounded agency in education, work and personal lives of young adults. *International Journal of Psychology*, 42(2), 85–93.
- Evans, K., Schoon, I., & Weale, M. (2013). Can lifelong learning reshape life chances? *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 61(1), 25–47.
- Field, J. (2001). Lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(1/2), 3–15.
- Flores-Crespo, P. (2007). Situating education in the human capabilities approach. In M. Walker & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grace, A. P. (2004). Lifelong learning as a chameleonic concept and versatile practice: Y2 K perspectives and trends. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 23(4), 385–405.
- Holford, J., & Milana, M. (2014). Introduction: European adult education policy in question. In M. Milana & J. Holford (Eds.), *Adult education policy and the European Union: Theoretical and methodological perspectives*. Rotterdam: Sense Publisher.

- Holford, J., Milana, M., & Mohorčič Špolar, V. (2014). Adult and lifelong education: The European Union, its member states and the world. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 33(3), 267–274.
- Jarvis, P. (2001). The changing educational scene. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *The age of learning: Education and the knowledge society*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2010). *Adult education and lifelong learning. Theory and practice* (4th ed.). London: Routledge.
- Marginson, S. (2011). Equity, status and freedom: A note on higher education. *Cambridge journal of education*, 41(1), 23–36.
- Mincer, J. (1984). Human capital and economic growth. *Economics of Education Review*, 3(3), 195–205.
- Nussbaum, M. (2006). Education and Democratic Citizenship: Capabilities and Quality Education. *Journal of Human Development*, 7(3), 385–395.
- Nussbaum, M. (2011). *Creating capabilities. The human development approach*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (1997). *Cultivating Humanity: A Classical Defense of Reform in Liberal Education*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Otto, H.-U., & Ziegler, H. (2006). Capabilities and education. *Social Work & Society*, 4, 269–287.
- Preston, R. (1999). Critical approaches to lifelong learning. *International Review of Education*, 45(5/6), 561–574.
- Ribeiro, A. S. (2015). *Mapping vulnerability through a capabilities approach. A biographical study of first generation students in Portuguese higher education*. Ph. D. thesis, Bielefeld, Germany. Retrieved December 6, 2015, from <http://pub.uni-bielefeld.de/luur/download?func=downloadFile&recordOID=2783154&fileOID=2783160>.
- Robeyns, I. (2005). The capability approach: A theoretical survey. *Journal of Human Development*, 6(1), 93–117.
- Robeyns, I. (2006). Three models of education: Rights, capabilities and human capital. *Theory and Research in Education*, 4(1), 69–84.
- Robeyns, I. (2013). Capability ethics. In H. LaFollette & I. Persson (Eds.), *The blackwell guide to Ethical theory* (2nd ed.). New York: Blackwell.
- Rubenson, K., & Desjardins, R. (2009). The impact of welfare state regimes on barriers to participation in adult education. A bounded agency model. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 59(3), 187–207.
- Saito, M. (2003). Amartya Sen's capability approach to education: A critical exploration. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 37(1), 17–33.
- Santiago, P., Tremblay, K., Basri, K., & Arnal, E. (2008). *Tertiary education for the knowledge Society* (Vol. 2). Paris, France: OECD.
- Schultz, T. W. (1961). Investment in human capital. *The American Economic Review*, 51(1), 1–17.
- Sen, A. (1985). Well-being, agency and freedom: The Dewey lectures 1984. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 82(4), 169–221.
- Sen, A. (1992). *Inequality re-examined*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A. (1997). Editorial: Human Capital and Human Capability. *World Development*, 25(12), 1959–1961.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, A. (2009). *The idea of justice*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

- Smith, M. K. (1996, 2001). Lifelong learning. *The Encyclopedia of Informal Education*. Retrieved December 7, 2015, from <http://www.infed.org/lifelonglearning/b-life.htm>.
- Tuijnman, A., & Boström, A. K. (2002). Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning. *International Review of Education*, 48(1/2), 93–110.
- Unterhalter, E. (2009). Education. In S. Deneulin & L. Shahani (Eds.), *Introduction to the human development and capability approach. Freedom and agency*. London: Earthscan.
- Unterhalter, E., Vaughan, R., & Walker, M. (2007). The capability approach and education. *Prospero*, 13(3), 13–21.
- Usher, R. (2001). Lifelong learning in the postmodern. In D. Aspin, J. Chapman, M. Hatton, & Y. Sawano (Eds.), *International handbook of lifelong learning*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Vaughan, R., & Walker, M. (2012). Capabilities, values and education policy. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities: A Multi-Disciplinary Journal for People-Centered Development*, 13(3), 495–512.
- Wain, K. (2001). Lifelong learning: Small adjustments or paradigm shift? In D. Aspin, J. Chapman, M. Hatton, & Y. Sawano (Eds.), *International handbook of lifelong learning* (pp. 183–198). Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Walker, M. (2012). Egalitarian policy formulation in lifelong learning: Two models of lifelong education and social justice for young people in Europe. In D. N. Aspin, D. J. Chapman, K. Evans, & R. Bagnall (Eds.), *Second international handbook of lifelong learning*. London: Springer.
- Walker, M., & Unterhalter, E. (2007). The capability approach: Its potential for work in education. In M. Walker & E. Unterhalter (Eds.), *Amartya Sen's capability approach and social justice in education*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wilson-Strydom, M. (2014). University access and theories of social justice: Contributions of the capabilities approach. *Higher Education*, 69(1), 143–155. doi:10.1007/s10734-014-9766-5.
- Yaqub, S. (2008). Capabilities across the lifecycle: At what age does poverty damage most? In F. Comim, M. Qizilbash, & S. Alkire (Eds.), *The capability approach. Concepts, measures and applications*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Pepka Boyadjieva is Professor at the Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS) and Vice-Chair of the General Assembly of the BAS. She is member of the Editorial Board of the International Sociological Association's Sage Studies in International Sociology Books. Her research focuses on higher education, lifelong learning and university/school to work transitions. Her recent publications include the co-authored book *The Lifelong Learning Hybrid: Policy, Institutions and Learners in Lifelong Learning in Bulgaria*, Iztok Zapad, 2012.

Petya Ilieva-Trichkova (PhD from the Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań) is Assistant at the Institute for the Study of Societies and Knowledge at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Her research focuses on social justice in higher education, graduate employability and lifelong learning. Her recent publications include (with Pepka Boyadjieva) "Rethinking Missions and Values of Higher Education: Insights from the Capability Approach and the Institutional Perspective" in R.M.O. Pritchard, A. Pausits & J. Williams (Eds.) *Positioning Higher Education Institutions*, Sense, 2016.

Knowledge Production as Organisational Learning: The Case of Danish Universities

Bente Elkjaer

Abstract One of the political means to encourage competitive knowledge production in universities is to employ strategic management, but is this a promising method? I explore this question through a practice-based and pragmatist version of organisational learning as well as the Nordic tradition of work and education to suggest ways for sustainable knowledge production. University scholars not only participate in research practices at their home university but also in worldwide knowledge production driven by passions for specific fields of inquiry. Further, the Nordic countries have a tradition of active participation from ‘below’ as a prerequisite for learning and innovation. Research leadership that works in collaboration with peers rather than maintaining a focus on strategic management could be an answer to more competitive and sustainable knowledge production.

INTRODUCTION

Knowledge production through innovation and learning is a crucial part of contemporary knowledge-based economies (Edmondson 2012), and universities are ascribed a central role in this endeavour (Bleiklie and Byrkjeflot 2002). One of the ways this has materialised worldwide is through new, politically implemented ways to manage universities so that they fulfil their contribution to society (Deem 2001; Carney 2006; Wright and Williams Ørberg 2008; Halvorsen and Nyhagen 2011). The Danish university system is no exception, and, over the last 10–15 years, university employees have witnessed an increased emphasis on ‘professional management’ occupied with formulations of distinct

B. Elkjaer (✉)

Danish School of Education, Aarhus University (Campus Copenhagen),
Tuborgvej 164, DK-2400, Copenhagen, Denmark
e-mail: elkjaer@edu.au.dk

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_16

289

strategic goals in combination with a closer monitoring of quantitative measurements of research outputs (Wright 2011). In 2003, the university system in Denmark was changed from a system in which managers at all levels were elected by their peers to a system in which a board with a majority of external members (i.e. people who are not employed at the university) is the highest authority of the university.

These changes have created some turmoil within universities, which led two employees at Aalborg University in Denmark to claim: ‘A crucial problem in this development is that it risks undermining the social cohesion and the *potential for organisational learning* in the basic units of the university, i.e. the departments, centres and study environments’ (Rasmussen and Staugaard 2012: 8, my translation and underlining). Rasmussen and Staugaard do not elaborate what it means to undermine the ‘potential for organisational learning’ other than referring to the undermining of social cohesion.

The impetus for writing this chapter is the lack of information on how new forms of managing universities may undermine the potential for organisational learning at universities. I do not think that the important issue is the weakening of social cohesion of universities (although social cohesion is important); instead, I believe that recognising knowledge production as a process of organising for learning—of organisational learning—may help fulfil the politically stated goals for the university’s new role in knowledge-based economies. In other words, I propose that recognising universities as organisations in which ‘people [are] doing things together’ (Becker 1986; Hughes 2015) and in which learning is driven by uncertainties (Dewey 1933/1986), tensions (Elkjaer and Huysman 2008) and passion (Gherardi et al. 2007) may prove more fruitful for dealing with knowledge production at universities than concentrating on the management of universities. I believe this is particularly relevant for Denmark, given the Nordic tradition for work, management (Sørensen et al. 2014) and education (Kemmis 2014), where there is a long tradition of educating active participation from ‘below’.

This chapter takes its point of departure in the changes taking place at Danish universities. I introduce and discuss these changes through the field of organisational learning, in particular, the practice-based and pragmatist version of organising for learning with its roots in work practices and learning understood as an aspect of participation in these practices. I also discuss changes in university management against the background of the Nordic tradition for work, management and education, because this tradition feeds into the above notion of participation and as such stresses the pivotal organising aspect of research and knowledge production. I will begin by presenting the changes before discussing them within the context of organisational learning. I will then present the Nordic model for work, management and education, which, like practice theory and pragmatism, emphasises working and learning as participation. Finally, I will explore how an emphasis on professional and strategic management could be

replaced by a supportive and coordinating peer leadership (Hansson and Mønsted 2008; Wilkinson and Kemmis 2015) in close proximity with colleagues. I suggest that the strategic management of universities can only take us so far because university scholars are not only organised through their home university but are also organised through their many networks and research communities worldwide. It is this latter, more encompassing organising for learning, which is often driven by passion and care for the development of a research field that could prove instrumental in competitive knowledge production; for example, through creating the foundation for international collaborations around applications for research grants, writing and publishing papers and articles as well as organising conferences.

The chapter is primarily based on work my colleagues have conducted on university management and it is upon this foundation that I contribute conceptual ideas from the field of organisational learning in order to initiate a debate about the assumptions that underlie the emphasis on university management rather than the organising processes of work, learning and peer leadership. Since I have been a university scholar for many years and have also held various managerial positions (including Head of Department), I cannot claim to be writing this chapter from the principle of arm's length; instead, I am writing from a situated position and as somebody with a passion for knowledge production.

CHANGING CONDITIONS FOR WORK AT DANISH UNIVERSITIES

In 1970, the former professorial power of universities was replaced by a new statute for universities, which provided all employed university teachers, administrative staff and students at universities with some influence in the governing bodies at three levels: the university, the faculty (e.g. the Faculty of Arts) and the department. The representatives of the different governing bodies were elected within the different interest groups (for example, teachers and students), and all managers were also elected. This law was resisted by some professors, who lost power, as well as some parts of the business world, who saw the law as an expression of weak university management and a neglect of management responsibility for the development of universities (Rasmussen and Staugaard 2012). This resistance was supported by the right-wing government during the 1980s, but it was actually the social democrats who, in 2000, began to advocate the need for a 'stronger' management of the universities, which resulted in the new University Act of 2003 (Rasmussen and Staugaard 2012).

According to the 2003 University Act, the university board is composed of a majority of external members and is the highest authority of a university, and the chair of the university board is elected amongst the external members. The board appoints the rector (vice chancellor) and agrees the so-called 'development contract' with the minister:

The board is responsible for administering the university's budget and for providing a framework for the rector's day-to-day management of the institution. (...) In turn, rectors are to be responsible for appointing deans and department heads, leading to what policy makers hope will be a 'professional administration' unencumbered by parochial interests. (Carney 2006: 222)

The 2003 University Act represents a departure from the principles of autonomy grounded in professional collegiality and it could be interpreted as distrust in the ability of university scholars to judge their role in society. Due to the developmental contract, which indicates quantitative measurements and results from research and teaching, the new structures of management are hierarchical and controlled by the minister. The professionalisation of management empowers management and administration in relation to research and teaching at all levels of the university and the departments. This means that the discretionary power of the professionals is undermined and their work becomes a matter of fulfilling the goals and producing the results set by the developmental contract.

These changes have been described in the following way:

The reforms attempt to change not only the way institutions are governed but the very notion of democracy and engagement in higher education. In short, a long-established tradition for university governance based on the internal election of staff and students has been replaced by the formation of university boards comprising a majority of members external to the university. In most cases the leadership of these boards has fallen to senior executives from the commercial sector with a mandate to reform decision-making processes, to encourage the reorientation of educational programmes to the labour market, and to make research more accessible to industry and commerce. (Carney 2006: 221)

What is left of professional collegiality and university democracy is an academic council with a mandate to advise the vice chancellor and the board on academic matters but with no decisive power. And what is now present is an external board whose role is to ensure that universities adhere to what they see as best for society. This board often places importance on management, since its members usually share a background in managing public and private enterprises.

I compared the number of academic staff with the number of publications over a 5-year (2009–2013) period at a university in Denmark (Aarhus University), and, so far, the changes in university management do not seem to have significantly influenced academic output (although it is possible to see a slight rise in journal publications—see Table 1). I am aware that we have only seen the early consequences of the changes (Barry et al. 2001), but, nevertheless, this could suggest that it would be fruitful to identify ways other than more professional and strategic management from 'above' to achieve competitive knowledge production in universities. For example, in times of austerity, perhaps certain mobilisation strategies from 'below' could be a feasible way forward. It is this suggestion that leads me to the field of organisational learning to explore whether organising for learning may help us to view knowledge

Table 1 Number of academic publications produced by staff employed at Aarhus University over a 5-year period (2009–2013)

<i>University of Aarhus</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>2010</i>	<i>2011</i>	<i>2012</i>	<i>2013</i>
BFI (rounded off)	5491	5354	5582	5984	6217
Total publications	4734	4696	5077	5418	5550
Journal publications	3549	3850	4377	4657	4668
Scholarly staff ^a	1998	2062	2144	2184	2238
BFI pr. scholarly staff	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.8
Publications pr. scholarly staff	2.4	2.3	2.4	2.5	2.5
Journal publications pr. scholarly staff	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.1	2.1

Sources

The Research and Innovation Indicators 2010–2013

Figures on Aarhus University (AU) 2009–2013: Full-time equivalents by faculty and job categories

^aProfessors, Associate and Assistant professors and postdocs

production in a way that does not involve it being controlled by more of management and measurement.

THE FIELD OF ORGANISATIONAL LEARNING

Organisational learning is a field of practice and research concerned with how organisations manage knowledge production to allow them to adapt, innovate and survive in the market. The issue that has haunted (and continues to haunt) the field of organisational learning is how we can capture ‘the organisational’ in organisational learning and knowledge production in order for us to understand learning beyond the learner as an individual human being. In other words, how is it possible to work with an organisation as a learner and to detect learning as part of the organising practices of work? One solution has been to view individuals as acting on behalf of organisations: ‘Organizational learning occurs when individuals within an organization experience a problematic situation and inquire into it on the organization’s behalf’ (Argyris and Schön 1996: 16). However, this solution relies on everybody within the organisation knowing what the interest of the enterprise is and the interests themselves being clearly formulated. This is not the case with knowledge production at universities, which is supposed to be new and innovative given the imperative of research.

Another solution has been to understand organisations as routines, which are ‘transmitted through socialization, education, imitation, professionalization, personal movement, mergers and acquisitions’ (Levitt and March 1988: 320). Although humans are involved in making the routines, the idea is that routines work independently of individual actors. Again, when looking at knowledge production at universities, it cannot be understood as routines. This is not to say that there are no routines at universities—there are many, particularly surrounding the ‘handling’ of students and exams—but, with regard to research and teaching, it is more difficult to talk about cases of routinisation.

A third solution is to draw attention away from individuals and view organisational learning as ‘legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice’ (Brown and Duguid 1991; Lave and Wenger 1991). With this approach, organisations are understood as communities of practice (Wenger 1998) or just practices and learning as a part of these practices (Gherardi 2009). In this version of organisational learning, learning is linked to the access to participate in the organisational practices of work rather than an organisation’s ability to change routines. It is relevant to examine the legitimacy of participation regarding knowledge production at universities because the many layers of university scholars—from Ph.D. students to professors—often have different legitimacies; moreover, the high number of scholars now employed on different (often short-term) contracts makes the issue of legitimate patterns of participation particularly relevant.

Despite the usefulness of the notion of learning as legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice, it is, however, less clear how learning and knowledge production take place in these participation patterns of organisational members (Elkjaer 2004, 2009; Brandi and Elkjaer 2011). It is for this reason that I appeal to pragmatism—both as a theory of learning and knowing as well as pragmatist sociology of work—as a way to understand the organising practices of work and learning. By appealing to a practice-based version of organisational learning supplemented with pragmatism, I attempt to understand learning and knowledge production from the social and material worlds of the participants and their commitment to work, in this case, university scholars’ research and knowledge production.

ORGANISATIONAL LEARNING AS ACCESS TO PARTICIPATE IN COMMUNITIES OF PRACTICE

The inspiration for a practice-based version of organisational learning primarily comes from Lave and Wenger’s (1991) influential work, in which learning is understood as ‘legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice’ and not primarily as educational processes of knowledge acquisition. Brown and Duguid (1991) also show how organisational learning is grounded in the non-canonical practices of work that escape descriptions of standard operating procedures, which means that they cannot be captured by a priori mental models of actions and descriptions of content readily available for education. Learning as legitimate peripheral participation in communities of practice no longer views the individual as the locus of learning but locates learning in the social and material worlds of action and interaction, in which learning is about access to participate in communities of practice. This participation enables members of a community to learn to research and ‘produce’ knowledge (for example) but also to learn to be members of an institutionalised practice; for example, the practice of university scholars (Gherardi and Nicolini 2002). It is through participation that learning unfolds as process and result, which makes

access to participation pivotal and downplays the individual's motivation to learn. Learning is connected to the patterns ('from peripheral to non-peripheral') and possibilities ('legitimacy') of participation in communities of practice. This move into learning as participation signals a change from a dominant focus on teachers (or managers) as the key to learning to a focus on organisational learning that includes other participants—for example, colleagues from across the world—and access to resources of many kinds—for example, research money, conferences, publications and the media.

A practice-based version of organisational learning does not create a dualism between organisational members and the organising of work. Organisational members are embedded in the historical, social and material conditions that constitute the organisation over time, which means it is impossible to think of university scholars without including the conditions for membership of the different networks involved in the working life of a university scholar. Furthermore, organisational members are always embedded in and understood as part of communities, which cannot be reduced to the member's home university; the community includes activities that extend beyond the university and play a vital role in knowledge production; for example, obtaining research grants, attracting Ph.D. students and other international activities. This conceptualisation of organisations as communities of practice includes informal social and material processes that take place in a variety of organisational spaces, which is very much the case for Danish university scholars, who, at an early stage in their career, are encouraged to form part of international research networks.

In a practice-based version of organisational learning, practice is the foundational unit of analysis for organisational learning. Here, it is stressed that practice and practising are the keys to understand what an organisation is and how it learns. Practice-based versions of organisational learning are a critique both of the individual as the subject of learning and of mental modelling as the focal point of learning (see also Fenwick et al. 2011). This version of organisational learning problematises both an understanding of individuals as travelling containers consisting of mental models and an understanding of knowledge and organisations as routines. By contrast, a practice-based version understands knowledge as embedded in situations in which knowledge is created and enacted (Cook and Brown 1999).

What is missing in a practice-based version of organisational learning is an explanation of how learning occurs in the movements of participation, how new knowledge is produced and how (personal) expertise is developed. In other words, this version of organisational learning neglects to explain how learning and innovation unfold in the participation patterns of organisational members when they practise working. In the case of university scholars, it is difficult to pinpoint what initiates research and the production of new knowledge given that the participation patterns may be complex and varied. It is here that I bring pragmatism into the sphere of organisational learning.

TENSIONS AND PASSIONS IN KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

A practice-based version of organisational learning is inspired by the field of organisational learning, but some questions remain unanswered. One of these questions is how people and their commitment to work matter. For example, does it matter whether a member of academic staff is more or less passionate in what he/she does? Does a full professor with plenty of research money show more commitment than a research assistant transcribing interviews? Another question is what the triggers of organisational learning are. Is there any point in the process of participation when learning is required and when it is impossible to continue in a habitual way?

Within the field of organisational learning, either ‘errors’ (Argyris and Schön 1996) or ‘routines no longer working’ (Levitt and March 1988) are mentioned as occasions for learning in which the notion of inquiry and the inspiration from John Dewey’s pragmatist philosophy is evident. In Dewey’s philosophy, an inquiry is a way to make uncertainty less uncertain. He defines inquiry as ‘the controlled or directed transformation of an indeterminate situation into one that is so determinate in its constituent distinctions and relations as to convert the elements of the original situation into a unified whole’ (Dewey 1938/1986: 108).

Following this definition, organisational learning is understood as a process that transforms an uncertain organisational situation into a more settled situation by creating and employing knowledge that may subsequently result in changed organisational habitual routines and practices. A core issue in organisational inquiry is that it is affected by many different individual, social, cultural and material aspects that need to be understood, related and studied in order to understand the uncertain situation. The process of unpacking and solving uncertainties is part of the organisational learning process, which may result in organisational knowledge production (Brandt 2010). Pragmatism assumes no a priori propositions or categories and no universal cognitive structures or mental models that shape knowledge, which means that organisational knowledge is not defined beforehand as the sum of individuals’ learning. Organisational learning in a pragmatist version derives from the lived experience of organisational life and work in which humans are at work with their environments on a continuous basis (Dewey 1925a/1981, 1925b/1984; Dewey 1938/1986). This means that, to understand learning at universities, one has to know what the living and lived experiences of university scholars are; and it is precisely here that I argue that this cannot be seen solely in light of university management, because the organising of university scholars’ work includes many other people and ways of organising.

To understand organisations as the mutual constituency between people and organisations, it is helpful to appeal to the sociology of work—more specifically the Chicago School of sociology, the members of which are sometimes referred to as the ‘interactionists’ (Fisher and Strauss 1978; Colomy and Brown 1995; Abbott 2009). The interactionists draw explicitly on the works of Dewey—in

particular, what is sometimes called Dewey's social-psychological account (Dewey 1922/1988)—and George H. Mead (Clarke 1991; Strauss 1993). Their focus is on actions and interactions, and how these processes organise work in social arenas/worlds in which commitment is the central tenet. In their work, the locus of analysis is social worlds organised in social arenas. These social worlds are not a priori defined social units or structures bounded by space or formal membership but performed commitment to organisational actions and practices, which is visible through discourse and action (Shibutani 1955; Becker 1970; Clarke 2003).

In social arenas 'various issues are debated, negotiated, fought out, forced and manipulated by representatives' of the participating social worlds and subworlds (Strauss 1978: 124). Power, tensions, competition and negotiation are stressed and unfold within and between social worlds, which may result in subworlds and new social worlds. The use of the notion of social arenas/worlds helps us to understand that participation not only involves induction, inclusion and membership but that the performance of different commitments is marked by tensions and negotiations, which may lead to exclusion and expulsion as well as creative and innovative new knowledge (Hendley et al. 2006; Elkjaer and Huysman 2008). With regard to our case, Danish universities, we could ask whether the changes in management will affect the participation patterns in the social worlds of university scholars. This question can be asked in light of what I mentioned above; namely, that university scholars are part of the entire research world of the fields in which he or she works. For example, it may be difficult for university management to 'manage' a scholar who comes to the university with considerable funding and/or local or international celebrity status. In such a situation, there are other 'forces' at play, but forces that may nevertheless result in knowledge production.

In order to understand organisational learning and knowledge production in a social arenas/worlds version, it is helpful to think in terms of time and trajectory, which denotes that every social world unfolds as a process in time and is shaped through this process (Strauss 1978, 1982, 1993). This means that issues such as finances, policy, culture and power are part of the fabric that makes up the social worlds. Again, it is probably relevant to note that different generations of university scholars see the current development of university management in different lights. For example, as a 'mature' scholar and former Head of Department, it is clear to me that the younger generation demands clearer managerial guidelines in contrast with older colleagues; this is most likely because we as older scholars are more closely embedded in our international relationships and less inclined to follow the latest words of where the money streams are currently running, or maybe more able to twist the calls for research money to make them fit our interests and passions.

It is also important to include the conditions that create the possibilities for social worlds and subworlds to emerge; for example, the sharing of resources, information and assumptions; common activities or work objects; technologies and signs; spaces and buildings; people; plans and rules; and a certain division of

labour. Despite various control regimes, universities are also hierarchical organisations. This is due to internal as well as external ranking. As such, younger colleagues may actually surpass older ones because they were more strongly supported in their international outlooks and activities than their older colleagues. We, therefore, see ambiguous trends that complicate the whole notion of university management and strategic goals as the way forward to competitive knowledge production.

Finally, one should not overlook the significance of tensions and negotiations in terms of the formation of social worlds and subworlds. Negotiation is a fundamental process that illustrates both the dynamic and political characteristics of social worlds. Every social world is characterised by intersections and segmentation, caused by both internal as well as external (between social worlds) conflicts and contradictions, which convey negotiations and give rise to processes of segmentation and intersecting and new subworlds, which is a deeply political process and a potential road for renewal. These processes take place both with and without management regimes because university scholars organise and reorganise for research on a continuous basis.

The organising in social worlds is performed in time, space and through tensions and negotiations, which accentuates an experimentalist type of reasoning found in Deweyan pragmatism, which is based on ‘what-if’ relations using different notions and concepts as ‘tools to think with’. In Dewey’s terminology, this is called ‘instrumentalism’ (Marres 2007; Elkjaer 2009). It is to Dewey’s experimentalism and instrumentalism that I now turn. In particular, I will explore his notions of experience, inquiry and expertise, because these concepts help us further in understanding knowledge production at universities.

EXPERIENCE, INQUIRY AND EXPERTISE

The pragmatist inspired version of organisational learning is not just a descriptive but also a normative theory that follows Dewey’s version of pragmatism in particular (Dewey 1925b/1984). This version of organisational learning asks questions about the ‘what’ and the ‘why’ of work as well as how work is organised and managed. It is through these questions that the notion of learning and knowledge production may be answered, i.e. how does management matter? Does it matter and why? These questions also tap into the notion of expertise and how expertise is developed and maintained. Dominant ways of conceptualising expertise in the social sciences focus on knowledge as content rather than on knowledge practices in a broader sense (Cook and Brown 1999). This means that there is less focus on experience and the way it is transformed from practice to generalised knowledge—from its social organisation to its distribution and application—which is open to reflection and revision (Beck 2015/2009). This helps to shed light on the many different ways to organise scholarly work. For example, a scholar may be involved in an EU or other international project and at the same time be conducting a small evaluation project for a local school or other enterprise.

In pragmatism, experience is first and foremost ontological; it is about being, living and working, and it is only secondarily associated with knowledge. Living is the continuous interaction (later: ‘transaction’, which may best be understood as recursive movements) between people and their environments (Dewey and Bentley 1949/1991). To become knowledgeable is only one way of experiencing, and most of the experiences are non-cognitive, but cognition and communication are important when experience is to be shared with others or result in learning. The pragmatist version of the term inquiry helps when trying to understand how experience, expertise and knowledge are formed and produced in gradual steps via active involvement with material-discursive environments. At this point, it is helpful to appeal to Dewey’s distinction between ‘experience’ and ‘an experience’ (Dewey 1934/1987). Experience occurs continuously as an unavoidable result of our interactions in the worlds of which we are a part, but ‘an experience’ is characterised by the unity of emotional, practical and intellectual dimensions of the situations or events and perceived as having a certain aesthetic quality (Beck 2015/2009). The latter points to the importance of emotion and passion in knowledge production (Dey and Steyaert 2007; Gherardi et al. 2007). Of course, knowledge production can be made without passion, but this may show in its quality.

It is in experience—in the transactions—that difficulties arise and it is with experience that problems are resolved by inquiry. Inquiry (or critical and reflective thinking, which are all synonymous) is an experimental method by which new experience and, in turn, new knowledge may be gained—not only by doing but also using ideas and concepts, hypotheses and theories in an instrumental way as ‘tools to think with’. Inquiry is concerned with consequences, and pragmatism views people as future-oriented, situated in the present through which the past is interpreted and used when formulating aspirations for the future. This is evident when people exercise playful anticipatory imagination (‘what-if’) rather than causal thinking based upon a priori propositions (‘if-then’). The consequence of the orientation towards the future is that knowledge or ‘warranted assertibilities’ is provisional, transient and fallible because future experience may act as a corrective to existing knowledge. This points to the need for slack, which Danish Nobel prize winner Jens Christian Skou (2013) recently stressed in his critique of current research- and university policies with all their emphasis on (narrow) strategies and (strong) demands for quantitative and fast outputs.

Experience has traditionally been viewed as beyond logical reasoning, but a pragmatist understanding of experience is that there is no conscious experience without logical reasoning (Dewey 1917/1980; Bernstein 1966/1967). Anticipatory thinking is always present in conscious experience by way of theories and concepts, ideas and hypotheses. This is an important difference between a pragmatist understanding and a more traditional understanding of experience, because, by pointing out that experience is not primarily epistemological and by claiming that the systematic process of knowledge is a form of experience, the method of inquiry becomes the road to knowledge production.

Inquiry is triggered in lived difficult situations and inquiry is the means through which it is possible to transform these situations through the mediation of thinking and action. Furthermore, experience and inquiry are not limited to what is mental and private. Situations always have both subjective and objective elements, and, through inquiry, it is possible to change the direction of experience. People live, act and react in ‘real’ social and material worlds, and the transactions here are not automatic or blind but oriented towards ‘something’. This is very evident in knowledge production, which, in research projects, is always directed (albeit in an experimental way) and not flowing freely in the air. A pragmatist mindset is a ‘scientific’ mindset, which is demonstrated by exerting an increasingly informed inquiry. But how is this mindset connected to the production of knowledge? This may be answered through the notion of expertise and how this, in turn, is connected to Dewey’s notion of experience.

Thus, in a pragmatist understanding of expertise, experience is the core term, and the following relevant questions arise:

[H]ow do certain abilities, skills, capabilities and aptitudes emerge in actors? How are they stabilized (using which technologies?) and how are they put into a form of practice that necessarily involves improvisation and creativity (to cope with known and unknown un-knowings)? How and through which social, cultural and cognitive processes is *experience* gradually turned into *expertise*? (Beck 2015/2009: 10, emphasis in the original)

Note that Beck emphasises the concept of ‘knowings’ rather than knowledge and an understanding of knowledge as generated within a field of practices. Furthermore, Beck includes bodily movements in the process, which means that knowings need to be conceptualised as ‘emplaced and embodied’ (Beck 2015/2009: 11). This notion of expertise may also be captured in the notion of expertise as ‘trans-local’:

(...) expertise occurs in many locales concurrently; each with their own trajectory and history; and that expert activity feeds upon the connections established and maintained between locales. Accordingly, expertise is not so much distributed or relational as it is trans-local. Being an expert implies not only being socialised and becoming versed in the local doing; it also implies participating in, learning to navigate, and exploiting alternative potentially competing circuits of knowledge. (Mørk et al. 2015: 1)

This emphasis on learning and knowledge production as related to experience, expertise and inquiry that emerge from moving in and out of fields of action makes it difficult to see that these are processes that can be managed through enhanced strategic and professional management. Of course, the ties on resources matter, and these may be restricted, but, in the tradition in the Nordic countries, there is still a prevalent type of egalitarianism, and it is this tradition I now wish to discuss.

THE NORDIC TRADITION FOR WORK, MANAGEMENT AND EDUCATION

The Nordic tradition can be traced back to when the social democrats came into government in the 1930s. It was at this point that the issue of participation became important. However, from the early 1960s to the mid-1970s, it was the quality of working life movement—inspired by the work of Kurt Lewin and the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations—that became inspirational (Gustavsen 2011). Although the Nordic tradition for management was heavily inspired by Lewin and others, it was written into the ‘Nordic model’ of society:

The Nordic model of management and democracy, which existed primarily between 1945 and 1990, was an attempt to combine economic growth with democratic stability: a program for increased equality and extensive democratization of society. (Byrkjeflot 2003: 17)

This quote underlines that management practices are embedded in local contexts and times (see also Czarniawska and Sevón 2003a; Læg Reid 2007).

The Nordic model is not only focused on management but is deeply interested in the practice of organising (Czarniawska and Sevón 2003b) and it has developed a special touch on industrial democracy (Westenholz 2003). Together, this has led to an interest in the development of work and the question: ‘What forces and actors are needed to *create* the good work?’ (Gustavsen 2011: 464, emphasis in the original). It is within this context that a specific Nordic model has appeared, whose core element is cooperation between organised labour market parties and between labour market parties and the state, also termed the ‘corporatist state’ (see also Westenholz 2003).

Social democracy was one of the several responses to the contradiction between democracy and capitalism. The Nordic response was a model of ‘Politics against Markets’, a system in which a regime of industrial planning and welfare redistribution balanced market forces. It was the Nordic vision to establish hegemony for a policy of social planning and redistribution, and thereby to initiate the process of market abandonment as the central principle of economic governance:

Along with most models of social mobilization in the early post-war era, the Nordic ‘third way’ depended on a strong belief in the possibility of reaching a new stage of social and human development. Civil servants and politicians in the Nordic region had not developed any strong ideological attachment to the idea of free markets; rather they wanted to use markets deliberately to foster the development of wealth and welfare. (Byrkjeflot 2003: 27)

The Nordic social democratic version of history presents a ‘constitutional’ view of management in contrast to a ‘paternalistic’ or ‘professional’ view of management that was more influential in Continental Europe and in the Anglo-Saxon countries (Byrkjeflot 2003). These models of management were linked to a phase of modernity referred to as ‘organised capitalism’, which has

been in transition since the 1980s due to the rise of global markets, the shareholder value movement and the disorganisation of national models. Constitutional management is based upon the idea of managers as representatives of a community of associations, an ideal that places a strong demand on managers to seek compromise among conflicting interests. The constitutional manager is trusted to arrive at an agreeable position and to cultivate skills related to agreements between particular groups in society.

During the 1990s and early 2000s, there was a notable change among management scholars and in the news media towards a heroic view of corporate managers, and, with this, the ideas of ‘professional management’ based on the idea that it is possible to learn how to manage, either through participation in practices of a career or through management education. The transition from the social democratic model of management towards something that looks like a combination of the shareholder value model and the professional model of management is linked to the rise of the more individualistic middle classes as well as the development of a managerial knowledge community consisting of business schools, management consultants and the business press (Byrkjeflot 2003). In all Nordic countries, there is now a relatively large group of people who earn their living by talking about management and providing advice to management; and this group relies on the ebb and flow of concepts like ‘shareholder values’ and movements that cherish enterprises as the central unit of society and believe that entrepreneurial skills should be developed in education (Byrkjeflot 2003). This is visible in the changes in university management, whose external board members are expected to ensure that research and teaching meet the needs of labour markets and enterprises.

The Nordic tradition for management and work is, however, still cherished for both its ability to further the well-being of workers and for its innovation, and it rests on the assumption that trust is an important way to establish cooperation and employee participation in organisations (Nielsen et al. 2012; Sørensen et al. 2014). For example, we have recently witnessed an increased interest in issues like employee-driven innovation to stress participation from ‘below’ as a prerequisite for learning and innovation (Høytrup 2010). Also, when looking at education, the notion of ‘Bildung’ still exists, which

concerns the simultaneous formation of each person as an active *participant* in the social life of a community and wider society, each citizen as an active in the political life of local government and the nation-state, and, especially in the second half of the twentieth century, each worker as a contributor to enhanced forms of industrial, professional and economic life and organisation through which the different Nordic people, communities and societies could prosper. (Kemmis 2014: 205, author’s emphasis)

This notion is very much related to Dewey’s notion of growth as the purpose of education (Dewey 1916/1980; Kemmis 2014).

ORGANISING FOR LEARNING VERSUS STRATEGIC MANAGEMENT

I began this paper by questioning whether the university policy to focus more on management is the correct way to pursue the political goal of knowledge production driven by universities as a competitive means. My point of departure was the Danish 2003 University Act in which the management system was changed from having an elected board to having appointed managers at all levels and a board with a majority of external members. I appealed to the field of organisational learning as a promising way to approach the notions of organising for learning and knowledge production. I asked whether changes in university management would actually fulfil the intentions of the policies for public universities, though I am aware that it is perhaps a little early to make any decisive claims about this new development.

The dilemma is that, on the one hand, universities are called upon to play a leading role in knowledge economies but, on the other hand, universities consist of a variety of people. The important question is thus whether universities are best controlled from above with more management and clearer strategic goals for the output of knowledge production. I argue that, given the Nordic tradition for management and work combined with the idea that learning and expertise is developed through a combination of tensions and passion, we should aim to organise learning and knowledge production from 'below' rather than implementing more control from 'above' if universities are to contribute to knowledge production as a competitive resource.

I supported my argument by discussing the university changes through the field of organisational learning, which concerns the issue of how organisations manage their knowledge production through learning. The challenging issue within this field is how to work with an organisation as a learner and I suggest viewing organisation as practices of organising in which learning and knowledge production is an aspect. This is inspired by practice-based theory supplemented with a pragmatist understanding of learning and knowing. In this, I draw upon the social-psychological version of pragmatism in which organising is understood as commitments (or passions) to certain activities like work, and in which tensions and negotiations in time and space are played out, which may lead to inquiry, learning, creation of expertise and knowledge production.

Shifting the focus from management to practices of organising that include learning and knowledge production also entails shifting the focus towards how research can be supported through other means than strategic management. It also puts less emphasis on distrust and more emphasis on trust, because academic staff are able to read the societal signs themselves, to organise for knowledge production driven by the desire to know and the passion for knowledge, and to learn in collaboration with many different communities and networks. This is in line with not only a Nordic tradition for education ('Bildung') but also a long tradition of adult education and learning with its

notion of adults as autonomous and self-directed learners (Brookfield 1986; Knowles 1973/1990). I believe that, in the long run, such an impetus will prove more sustainable than power from above.

We live in

a world of rapid turnover and change in organizations, a world of continuous organizational restructurings and financial prestidigitation, of networks and arm's length relationships, a world in which the employment and production structures that were laboriously built by scientific management and human relations have been deconstructed through outsourcing and offshoring, a world that deals with its human relations problems by denying and outrunning them. (Abbott 2009: 419)

I propose that this continuous lack of stability may be remedied by management leadership in a much closer proximity to researchers and with the aim of creating collaborative and creative social worlds of researchers joined in specific commitments to different fields of research. Some have called this entrepreneurial leadership because it is the ability to recognise current possibilities—for example, collaboration, money and capacity building—and to organise around these possibilities to develop and maintain an innovative research environment (Hansson and Mønsted 2008).

It is difficult to foresee the future of the university, but we can examine what we already know about learning and the development of expertise as well as organisational learning in order to situate knowledge production at universities. On the one hand, universities have become more complex organisations and there is continuous pressure to strategise them as rational knowledge producing entities with distinct goals and fields of work. On the other hand, universities also consist of passionate people and, with them, a polyphony of actions and voices, which results in many different translations of the what, why and how of knowledge production and the development of expertise (Czarniawska and Sevón 2003a; Elkjaer 2005; Clegg et al. 2006). And perhaps 'top management does not have a monopoly over the interpretation of the best interest of the [university]' (Hasle and Sørensen 2013: 24).

I hope to have shown the value of regarding university scholars as important for knowledge production at universities. University scholars should not be understood in isolation but in the ways in which they are enmeshed in the organising practices of their work—in this case, knowledge production. This means being embedded in the whats, the whys and the hows of not only their own and their colleagues' work but also the destinies of the university and where it is heading. In my view, being aware of this will contribute to a more sustainable development of knowledge production, which, in the long term, may provide competitive advantages for knowledge-based economies in which universities play an important—if not an essential—role.

REFERENCES

- Abbott, A. (2009). Organizations and the Chicago school. In P. S. Adler (Ed.), *Sociology and organization studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Argyris, C., & Schön, D. A. (1996). *Organizational learning II. Theory, method, and practice*. Reading: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Barry, J., Chandler, J., & Clark, H. (2001). Between the ivory tower and the academic assembly line. *Journal of Management Studies*, 38(1), 88–101.
- Beck, S. (2015/2009). The problem of expertise: From experience to skilful practices to expertise. Ecological and pragmatist perspectives. *European Journal of Pragmatism and American Philosophy*, 7, 8–23.
- Becker, H. S. (1970). Notes on the concept of commitment. In H. S. Becker (Ed.), *Sociological work. Method and substance*. Chicago: Allen Lane The Penguin Press.
- Becker, H. S. (1986). *Doing things together: Selected papers*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.
- Bernstein, R. J. (1966/1967). *John Dewey*. New York: Washington Square Press.
- Bleiklie, I., & Byrkjeflot, H. (2002). Changing knowledge regimes: Universities in a new research environment. *Higher Education*, 44, 519–532.
- Brandi, U. (2010). Bringing back inquiry—Organizational learning the Deweyan way. In S. Jordan & H. Mitterhoffer (Eds.), *Beyond knowledge management—Sociomaterial and sociocultural perspectives within management research*. Innsbruck: Innsbruck University Press.
- Brandi, U., & Elkjaer, B. (2011). Organizational learning viewed from a social learning perspective. In M. Easterby-Smith & M. A. Lyles (Eds.), *Handbook of organizational learning and knowledge management* (2nd ed.). Chichester: Wiley.
- Brookfield, S. D. (1986). *Understanding and facilitating adult learning*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Brown, J. S., & Duguid, P. (1991). Organizational learning and communities-of-Practice: Toward a unified view of working, learning, and innovation. *Organization Science*, 2(1), 40–57.
- Byrkjeflot, H. (2003). Nordic management: From functional socialism to shareholder value? In B. Czarniawska & G. Sevón (Eds.), *The Northern lights. Organization theory in Scandinavia*. Trelleborg: Liber AB.
- Carney, S. (2006). University governance in Denmark: From democracy to accountability? *European Educational Research Journal*, 5, 221–233.
- Clarke, A. E. (1991). Social worlds/arenas theory as organizational theory. In D. R. Maines (Ed.), *Social organization and social process. Essays in the honor of Anselm Strauss*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Clarke, A. E. (2003). Situational analyses: Grounded theory mapping after the postmodern turn. *Symbolic Interaction*, 26, 553–576.
- Clegg, S. R., Kornberger, M., Carter, C., & Rhodes, C. (2006). For management? *Management Learning*, 37(1), 7–27.
- Colomy, P., & Brown, J. D. (1995). Elaboration, revision, polemic, and progress in the second Chicago school. In G. A. Fine (Ed.), *A second Chicago school? The development of a postwar American sociology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Cook, S. D. N., & Brown, J. S. (1999). Bridging epistemologies: The generative dance between organizational knowledge and organizational knowing. *Organization Science*, 10, 381–400.

- Czarniawska, B., & Sevón, G. (2003a). Introduction: Did the vikings know how to organize? In B. Czarniawska & G. Sevón (Eds.), *The Northern lights. Organization theory in Scandinavia*. Trelleborg: Liber AB.
- Czarniawska, B., & Sevón, G. (Eds.). (2003b). *The Northern lights. Organization theory in Scandinavia*. Trelleborg: Liber AB.
- Deem, R. (2001). Globalisation, new managerialism, academic capitalism and Entrepreneurialism in Universities: Is the local dimension still important? *Comparative Education*, 37, 7–20.
- Dewey, Y. J. (1916/1980). Democracy and education. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The middle works of John Dewey, 1899–1924*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1917/1980). The need for a recovery of philosophy. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The middle works of John Dewey, 1899–1924*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1922/1988). Human nature and conduct. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The middle works of John Dewey, 1899–1924*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1925/1981). Experience and nature. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925–1953*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1925/1984). The development of American pragmatism. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925–1953*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1933/1986). How we think: A restatement of the relation of reflective thinking to the educative process. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925–1953*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1934/1987). Art as experience. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925–1953*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J. (1938/1986). Logic. The theory of inquiry. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925–1953*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dewey, J., & Bentley, A. F. (1949/1991). Knowing and the known. In J. A. Boydston (Ed.), *The later works of John Dewey, 1925–1953*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Dey, P., & Steyaert, C. (2007). The troubadours of knowledge: Passion and invention in management education. *Organization*, 14, 437–461.
- Edmondson, A. C. (2012). *Teaming: How organizations learn, innovate, and compete in the knowledge economy*. San Francisco: Wiley.
- Elkjaer, B. (2004). Organizational learning: The ‘third way’. *Management Learning*, 35, 419–434.
- Elkjaer, B. (2005). Organisational learning: An arena of many voices. In S. Gherardi & D. Nicolini (Eds.), *The Passion for Learning and Knowing. Proceedings of the 6th International Conference on Organizational Learning and Knowledge*. Italy: University of Trento.
- Elkjaer, B. (2009). Pragmatism. A learning theory for the future. In K. Illeris (Ed.), *Contemporary theories of learning. Learning theorists ... in their own words*. Abingdon, NY: Routledge.
- Elkjaer, B., & Huysman, M. (2008). Social worlds theory and the power of tension. In D. Barry & H. Hansen (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of new approaches in management and organisation*. London: Sage.

- Fenwick, T., Edwards, R., & Sawchuk, P. (2011). *Emerging approaches to educational research. Tracing the sociomaterial*. London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.
- Fisher, B., & Strauss, A. L. (1978). The Chicago tradition and social change: Thomas, Park and their successors. *Symbolic Interaction, 1*, 5–23.
- Gherardi, S. (2009). Community of practice or practices of a community? In S. J. Armstrong & C. V. Fukami (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of management learning, education and development*. London: Sage.
- Gherardi, S., & Nicolini, D. (2002). Learning in a constellation of interconnected practices: Canon or dissonance? *Journal of Management Studies, 39*, 419–436.
- Gherardi, S., Nicolini, D., & Strati, A. (2007). The passion for knowing. *Organization, 14*, 315–329.
- Gustavsen, B. (2011). The Nordic model of work organization. *Journal of the Knowledge Economy, 2*, 463–480.
- Halvorsen, T., & Nyhagen, A. (Eds.). (2011). *Academic identities—Academic challenges? American and European experience of the transformation of higher education and research*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hansson, F., & Mønsted, M. (2008). Research leadership as entrepreneurial organizing for research. *Higher Education, 55*, 651–670.
- Hasle, P., & Sørensen, O. H. (2013). Employees as individually and collectively acting subjects—Key contributions from Nordic working life research. *Nordic Journal of Working Life Studies, 3*, 9–29.
- Hendley, K., Sturdy, A., Fincham, R., & Clark, T. (2006). Within and beyond communities of practice: Making sense of learning through participation, identity and practice. *The Journal of Management Studies, 43*, 641–653.
- Hughes, J. (2015). Looking elsewhere: Howard S. Becker as unwilling organisational theorist. *Organization, 22*, 769–787.
- Høyrup, S. (2010). Employee-driven innovation and workplace learning: Basic concepts, approaches and themes. *Transfer: European Review of Labour and Research, 16*, 143–154.
- Kemmis, S. (2014). Reflections on how the theory of practice architectures is being used in the Nordic context. In K. Rönnerman & P. Salo (Eds.), *Lost in practice: Transforming Nordic educational action research*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Knowles, M. (1973/1990). *The adult learner: A neglected species*. Houston: Gulf Publishing Company.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning. Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levitt, B., & March, J. G. (1988). Organizational learning. *Annual Review of Sociology, 14*, 319–340.
- Læg Reid, P. (2007). Organization theory: The Scandinavian way. *Nordiske Organisasjonsstudier (NOS), 9*, 76–82.
- Marres, N. (2007). The issues deserve more credit. Pragmatist contributions to the study of public involvement in controversy. *Social Studies of Science, 37*, 759–780.
- Mørk, B. E., Nicolini, D., Masovic, J., & Hanseth, O. (2015). Expertise as trans-situated. The case of Tavi. *OLKC, Organizational Learning and Knowledge Capabilities*. Milano.
- Nielsen, P., Nielsen, R. N., Bamberger, S. G., Stamhus, J., Fonager, K., Larsen, A., et al. (2012). Capabilities for innovation: The Nordic model and employee participation. *Nordic Journal of Working Life Studies, 2*(1), 85–115.

- Rasmussen, P., & Staugaard, H. J. (2012). Professionalisering, decentralisering og styringsmaskering: Paper til Nordisk Konference om professionsforskning, NORPRO, Århus 25–26 oktober 2012. *Nordisk Netværk for Professionsforskning*.
- Shibutani, T. (1955). Reference groups as perspectives. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 60, 562–569.
- Skou, J. C. (2013). *Om heldige valg - eller hvad frøer, krabber og hajer også kan bruges til*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Strauss, A. L. (1978). A social world perspective. *Studies in Symbolic Interaction*, 1, 119–128.
- Strauss, A. L. (1982). Interorganizational negotiations. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 11, 350–367.
- Strauss, A. L. (1993). *Continual permutations of action*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.
- Sørensen, O. H., Hasle, P., & Madsen, C. U. (2014). Trust, performance and well-being in Nordic working life and management research. *7th Nordic Working Life Conference: Threats and Possibilities Facing Nordic Working Life*. University of Gothenburg.
- Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of practice. Learning, meaning, and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Westenholz, A. (2003). Organizational citizens—Unionized wage earners, participative management and beyond. In B. Czarniawska & G. Sevón (Eds.), *The Northern lights. Organization theory in Scandinavia*. Trelleborg: Liber AB.
- Wilkinson, J., & Kemmis, S. (2015). Practice theory: Viewing leadership as leading. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 47, 342–358.
- Wright, S. (2011). Universitetets performancekrav. Viden der tæller. In K. M. Bovbjerg, S. Wright, J. Krause-Jensen, J. B. Krejsler, L. Moos, G. Brorholt, & K. L. G. Salamon (Eds.), *Motivation og mismod. Effektivisering og stress på offentlige arbejdspladser*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.
- Wright, S., & Williams Ørberg, J. (2008). Autonomy and control: Danish university reform in the context of modern governance. *Learning and Teaching*, 1(1), 27–57.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Bente Elkjaer is a Professor at the Danish Department of Education, Aarhus University (Campus Copenhagen). She researches on the ‘crossroads’ between educational and organisational research inspired by American pragmatism, particularly the works of John Dewey. One of her most recent papers is “Organizations as real and ephemeral. On pragmatism and learning as bridging organization and organizing” in *Zeitschrift für Weiterbildungsforschung* (2017), 40(1): 53–68.

Scale and Movement

INTRODUCTION

In Part II, the chapters consider the conceptual and practical entanglements and tensions between adult education, adult learning, lifelong education and lifelong learning in different places and over time. The part is entitled ‘Scale and Movement’ in order to suggest that on the one hand, sociocultural and political practices construct boundaries (at national, regional and global levels) in which adult education, lifelong education and lifelong learning are developed and understood depending on the scale of attention. On the other hand, the section also recognises that these boundaries are permeable and vary over time and place. In particular, as the flows of people within and across geographical spaces and national and regional boundaries increase, the ideas and capacities carried by those moving and by those encountering this movement are challenged, resisted or shifted.

In order to consider the effects of changing boundaries and understandings, Part II of this Handbook is subdivided into four sections; the chapters are grouped under the following subheadings: *Global*, *Regional*, *National* and *Transience*. Nevertheless, in each of these subdivisions, the research issues discussed draw on broader conceptual ideas that may have applicability to a wide range of contexts, even though the argument is often developed and supported by drawing on specific locations in countries, regions or periods in time. In order to help navigate these chapters, the chapter titles identify the key concepts under discussion and where appropriate, the geographical location.

Accordingly, the *Global* part considers issues that go beyond national borders such as the work of international organisations, policy discourses, as well as the conceptualisations used in policy work and those used and developed by researchers. Several of the contributions to this part consider the implications of these analyses for social justice, equity and sustainability, whilst the insights provided by the other chapters should be relevant to researchers interested in global policy developments and comparative research. Camilla Addey opens the

part with a chapter that considers the tensions arising from two different conceptualisations of literacy: on the one hand, the view that literacy is a social practice and on the other hand, the view that literacy is a skill independent of its users and contexts of practice. Addey uses Latourian Actor-Network theory to provide an account of the process through which international organisations assemble and make a singular story of global literacy that can be standardised and measured to enable comparison across all contexts and cultures. Kjell Rubenson continues this focus on issues arising from the collection and use of international data. He highlights problems in the conceptualisation of participation in adult learning which impact on the type of data that are collected and the ways in which these data are classified. Locating his discussion within a concern for social equity in adult learning and education, Rubenson reveals inequalities in participation and differences according to types of welfare state regimes. Lyn Tett also discusses participation in adult learning, but she focuses on literacy. Using the lenses provided by Nancy Fraser and the concepts of redistribution, recognition and participatory parity, Tett investigates how participation in adult literacy education might alleviate social injustices. Tett shows that in case studies taken from Scotland, there is evidence that adult literacy programmes can make a difference in counteracting social injustice. In the chapter by Moosung Lee and Shazia Jan, the conceptual lens is turned to the policy discourses of four major international organisations, namely the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Union (EU) and the World Bank. Lee and Jan provide a detailed narrative of lifelong learning policy discourses comparing the period since the year 2000 with that which preceded. A focus on policy discourse is the concern of Elizabeth Lange's chapter, which considers the concept of sustainability and sustainability education. Contested meanings are identified and the implications for learning to enable shifts towards more transformative notions of sustainability are outlined. The final chapter of the part turns to the work of researchers. Through a meta-investigation, Marcella Milana explores how researchers' conceptualisations have constructed the types of knowledge and understandings developed in comparative research on adult education. Milana offers a typology of ways that comparative researchers have conceptualised and researched the field, which is highly informative for future researchers.

The *Regional* and the *National* subsections reveal how different territorial processes arising from sociocultural, political or geographical contiguities frame policy, provision and research on adult and lifelong education and learning. The *Regional* subsection focuses on four regions: Latin America; Europe; the Mediterranean and Southern Africa. Danilo Streck and Cheron Moretti take a historical approach. Beginning with the 1950s and 1960s, they take the reader through to the present to explore how different approaches to adult education have developed in relation to the power structures of Latin America. Their account reveals tensions and the need for dialogue between conceptualisations of adult education as a form of institutional-based education for adults and

young people and population education, which has largely been identified with liberation movements. Eric Verdier in the context of Europe takes a comparative system-focused approach to examine the development of different lifelong learning systems. Verdier argues that in spite of the growing influence of transnational agencies, it is still important to consider local and national alliances and organisational dynamics in order to understand the development of different lifelong learning systems. Peter Mayo also explores different approaches to adult education and the connections and distinctions being developed in the Mediterranean. Recognising the heterogeneity of this region and the diversity of alliances in adult education that connect parts of this region with other regions such as Latin America, Europe and Africa, Mayo provides a historical and encyclopaedic overview of landmarks in adult education ideas and practices in this heterogeneous space. Idowu Biao and Tonic Maruatona similarly examine the challenges and prospects for lifelong learning in Southern Africa. Applying a comparative lens to the policies and practices of the Southern African Development Community, Biao and Maruatona note a weakness in these policies because of the absence of a focus on early childhood care and development. Looking to the future, they argue that lifelong learning could be improved in a cost-effective manner if it could build on traditional African education.

Chapters in the *National* subsection explore similar processes in country-specific spaces to show not only how sociocultural values and traditions and political structures and alliances within the national space but also within and across regions have framed research on adult and lifelong education and learning. Lidia Mercedes Rodriguez extends the discussion of the earlier chapter on Latin America. In the context of Argentina, Rodriguez focuses on the debate between lifelong learning as a strategy for modernisation promoted by the military government and popular education as a movement and practice of resistance and liberation in adult education. Michael Tagoe explores the perspective of one country in Africa, Ghana. Tagoe provides a historical account of the national development of adult education and argues that the present policy would benefit from looking back to the ideas of social movement theory and the practices influenced by other regions that instigated adult education in Ghana in the 1950s and 1960s. Rabab Tamish takes up the philosophical and methodological dilemmas for understanding and implementing adult education in the context of Palestine. Tamish's contribution brings to the fore the political nature of engaging in adult education research or practice and highlights the heterogeneity of the earlier contribution in this volume on the adult education landmarks in the Mediterranean region. Roger Boshier also takes a historical approach to reflect on adult education in the current period in China. Boshier (a North American) acknowledges that he is an author writing about China from the outside, but he argues that as a good friend of China, he is able to provide critical insights into a country that is engaging with adult education ideas in the context of Confucian and Marxist understandings of education and learning. Prem Kumar's account of the ways that the Singaporean government have

sought to use lifelong learning as a strategic driver of development also highlights the tensions between different understandings of lifelong learning and lifelong education. Acknowledging the sociocultural and economic challenges faced by this small country with a diverse population, which looks both to the West and to the East, Kumar identifies a direction for lifelong learning that embraces both skill development and personal growth. A very contrasting context is explored by Robert Boughton in his chapter about the way that Timor–Leste, one of the world’s newest countries, initiated a national literacy campaign after independence by drawing on the support of a literacy model for adult education devised in Cuba. In this regard, Boughton’s chapter also brings to light the permeability of national, regional and global boundaries in shaping policy, provision and research.

The final subsection of Part II of this handbook questions even further the processes of territorialisation of research, policy and provision. This *Transience* subsection recognises that transnational migration is ubiquitous. Taking the movement of people and ideas as a starting point, the chapters in this subsection identify some conceptual and practical dilemmas for researchers, teachers and learners in these reconfigured spaces. The subsection begins with a chapter by Linda Morrice who draws on research in the UK and elsewhere to explain how lifelong learning has been co-opted by governments to support and manage the immigration policies of nation states through the priorities nation states have given to language and citizenship education. Morrice turns our attention to the perspective of adult learners and educators and the prominent paradigm of transformative learning to argue that educators and researchers should explore everyday pedagogies and value the learning arising from the cultural destabilisation of new forms of mobility. Shibao Guo similarly considers the opportunities, challenges and tensions for lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration. Informed by research on the experiences of transnational migrants to the main immigrant-receiving countries, Guo draws on critical scholarship on lifelong learning to reconsider how democracy and citizenship are being understood in the contexts in which adult immigrants are encountering adult and lifelong learning. Such an analysis raises questions about how adult and lifelong education might create a socially just and inclusive education in the context of transnationalism. The chapter that follows takes up the challenge posed by Guo and develops Morrice’s idea that transnationalism requires a new pedagogy. Hongxia Shan draws on the theoretical frame of pedagogies of difference to generate new pedagogy—distributed pedagogy of difference (DiPeD)—to advance social justice in workplace and professional practice. Shan argues that the DiPeD is a way to (re)distribute responsibility for learning and teaching so that the experiences, skills and knowledge which immigrants bring to their new workplaces may be valued, rather than being assumed to be deficient. Sahara Sadik also attends to adult learners in the context of employment. Drawing on the lived experiences of the growing group of non-permanent workers in Singapore and their accounts of how they learn to navigate their careers in precarious employment, Sadik raises questions for

learning and development policies and provision. Sadik argues that lifelong learning and professional development policies are largely framed for those in permanent work. Consequently, these policies and provision miss opportunities to build on the creativity of the learning practices developed out of necessity by those in non-permanent work. The final chapter of this subsection on transience provides a historical analysis of migration and transnationalism that focuses on the movement of ideas and take up of ideas from one country context to another. Henrik Nordvall examines the global spread of the Nordic folk high school idea and offers three ideal types of dissemination patterns, each of which acknowledges the importance of key actors who have been geographically or intellectually mobile. Yet in explaining how such actors have been successful in transferring ideas across borders, Nordvall argues that the contingency of the local translation processes, as well as global power structures and discourses need to be taken into account. In this regard, Nordvall's contribution provides a link between this subsection on *Transience* and the arguments of the previous three parts about the permeability of global, regional and national boundaries.

Assembling Literacy as Global: The Danger of a Single Story

Camilla Addey

Dedicated to the memory of Brian Street

Abstract This chapter enquires into the dominant conceptualization of literacy in international assessments of adult literacy. Framed by debates about evolving conceptualizations of international commensurative practices on literacy, it explores how a single story of literacy has been chosen, defined, organized, measured, legitimated and interpreted in international large-scale assessments. Taking a New Literacy Studies (NLS) ontological approach to literacy as its point of departure, the analysis draws on the theoretical assumptions of Latourian Actor-Network Theory and Adichie’s experience of ‘The danger of a single story’ to propose a concept of ‘global literacy’, which is described as both assembled and single. The chapter argues that global literacy is not intrinsically bad, but that, in Adichie’s words, it is only one of the many literacy stories. The epistemological pluralisms of literacy include global literacy, but only as one of many literacy stories.

INTRODUCTION

Over the last few decades, literacy has increasingly been understood as an internationally comparable, countable skill—so much so that *literacy as numbers* (literacy represented as a counted fact to inform policy—see Hamilton et al. 2015) frames most statements on education. In the 1980s, ethnographic

Special thanks to Mary Hamilton and Néstor López for their valuable feedback on the draft version of this chapter.

C. Addey (✉)
Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany
e-mail: Camilla.Addey@hu-berlin.de

research by Shirley Heath in *Ways with Words* (1983), by Brian Street in *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (1984) and by Ruth Finnegan in *Literacy and Orality* (1988) argued literacy be viewed as social practices embedded in everyday life, challenging the dominant conceptualization of literacy as a skill independent of its users and contexts of practice. The two conceptualizations have remained in tension, each existing and advancing in different settings until the beginning of the phenomenon of international large-scale assessments (ILSAs) altered the conceptualization of literacy. With the advent of ILSAs, literacy has become once again widely conceived as a skill which can be standardized and compared across every context and culture, providing the same economic, social and cultural implications for all.

Framed by debates on the evolving conceptualizations of literacy and the international commensurative practices of literacy, this chapter explores how a single story of literacy has been chosen, defined, organized, measured, legitimated and interpreted in international education assessments. Departing from a New Literacy Studies (NLS) ontological approach to literacy, the analysis discussed in this chapter draws on the theoretical assumptions of Latourian Actor-Network Theory and Adichie's experience of '*The danger of a single story*¹' to put forward the concept of *global literacy*, described as assembled and single. The assembled nature of this concept helps understand how a global literacy has come to dominate the epistemological pluralisms of literacy, whilst the parallelism between global literacy and Adichie's single story provides insights into the limits of flattened educational narratives. The questions that arise from this argument feed into debates concerned with the way ILSAs are changing educational policy and practices to form global citizens for a competitive global economy.

COUNTING LITERACY: AUTONOMOUS, PLURAL, GLOBAL

The debate on how to define literacy is an open-ended one, in part because it is a concept which evolves as text-based activities evolve, and partly because no definition can do justice to such a plural practice (UNESCO 2008; Robinson 2014). What makes this debate interesting is that although the social practice theory of literacy has moved debates away from literacy conceived as an autonomous model (Street 1984), it appears that the phenomenon of ILSAs has reintroduced the autonomous model in a dominating way, making literacy no longer only autonomous but also global. This section recounts how literacy activities (for instance the measurement of literacy) and debates have shaped how the concept of literacy has been changing. A historical reconstruction of such literacy conceptualizations requires an analysis of UNESCO's literacy activities between the 1940s and 1990s. As of the 1990s, this section includes the OECD alongside UNESCO, given the appearance of the OECD's education assessment activities and its significance in education policy and practice globally—making it a key player in redefining the conceptualization of literacy.

Initially narrowly defined and measured by UNESCO and national statistical offices as the simple ability to read and write, literacy was conceptualized as a

dichotomous skill that one either had or did not have. This implied it was possible to measure literacy indirectly with a census question (i.e. ‘Are you literate?’ or ‘Can you read and write?’)—a question which actually measures one’s perceived state of literacy rather than one’s actual ability. The dichotomous understanding of literacy/illiteracy goes hand in hand with literacy conceived as a skill that can be learnt out of context and applied in all settings, having an autonomous, deterministic effect on the life of the newly literate (i.e. on his economic situation). Extensive research has supported abandoning the dichotomous conceptualizations and measures (Street 1984, 1995; Boudard and Jones 2003; Maddox and Esposito 2011). Having been involved in and carried out research on adult literacy programmes adopting such an approach, Brian Street suggested a different way of thinking of literacy, which contrasted sharply with what he calls the autonomous model or the skills theory. In 1984, Street’s ethnographic research substantiated his argument that the autonomous model of literacy infers literacy is autonomous of social context, which he contrasts with an ideological model. This research established the NLS (first mentioned by Gee in 1990) or Literacy as Social Practice, an understanding of literacy which, as we will see, has been key in the way organizations have conceptualized literacy.

The ideological model highlights how literacy is ‘deeply integrated with social and ideological conditions’ (personal communication with Street in 2015), and thus the meanings and values of literacy cannot be understood separately from social, cultural and institutional context of practice (Hamilton 2001, 2013). Text-mediated literacy is thus a historically and culturally embedded social practice, situated in social structures involving the social relationships, values, attitudes and feelings of individuals (Barton et al. 2000). For this reason, the NLS conceptualize literacy as plural (many vernacular literacies) with different literacies according to the different domains of life and defined by the individual and wider community goals and cultural practices (eds Barton et al. 2000, p. 8).

Ethnographic accounts have been used to illustrate individual’s vernacular everyday, contextualized, literacy practices—practices which are not counted as literacy. In *Hidden Literacies*, Nabi et al. (2009) recount stories of people who consider themselves (and are labelled) illiterates but on a daily basis rely on their complex literacy and numeracy practices:

An illiterate domestic servant ‘reads’ when preparing breakfast and ‘writes’ when taking a message over the telephone or making a note about laundry given to the cleaner. An illiterate street beggar keeps a record of the money she acquires and the loans she makes. Shop keepers and self-employed workers have their own informal literacy and numeracy practices. To these people, what they are doing does not count as ‘literacy’; only the kind of literacy which is taught in schools or in adult literacy learning programmes is ‘real literacy’ – and they have not been to school or adult literacy class. So they still think of themselves as ‘illiterate’. (2009, p. ix)

Street's (1984) ethnographic research tells similar stories: people labelled as illiterate using their religious-related literacy in their everyday commercial activities. In Laos, remote rural dwellers living near the border with Vietnam speak ethnic languages (they do not speak the official language, Lao) but have literacy skills in Vietnamese as this is the language of their commerce. These are just some of the many literacy stories. And although none of these literacies count, they count for their users. One of the greatest contributions of NLS has been the recognition that social institutions and power relationships create vernacular and dominant literacies, the former being devalued by the latter.

UNESCO, the first and only intergovernmental organization with an official mandate for literacy, has been the most authoritative and globally recognized organization in the field of literacy since its foundation in 1945 (Jones 1990; Spring 2004). As part of UNESCO's literacy activities including setting norms and standards, clearing house, capacity building and policy advice and advocacy, the Organization has been defining what literacy is. Treating literacy as a policy problem, the Organization assumes that in order to manage what it defines as a literacy challenge (UNESCO 2008), literacy needs to be counted. This need to transform the literacy challenge into numbers has been at the heart of all the Organization's literacy definitions.

UNESCO's early definitions were dichotomous and skills theory-based: people were calculated as having literacy skills below or above a universal literacy threshold. The 1958 UNESCO definition of literacy, 'reading and writing with understanding a short simple statement on his or her everyday life', and the 1978 functional definition of literacy 'the ability to use literacy in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning of his group and community' (UNESCO 2005: 153–154) allowed UNESCO and national statistical offices to declare how many people were illiterate (mainly through proxy calculations² and census questions). Robinson (2014) states that the understanding of literacy as a social practice (Street 1984) and the failing skills model³ (i.e. the Experimental World Literacy Programme—see UNESCO and UNDP 1976) changed the way literacy was understood by UNESCO, with the focus becoming 'what kind of literacy people use in the context of their local and global relations and of identifying the socio-political and cultural factors which structure the use of literacy' (2014: 3632).

Informed by a social practice understanding of literacy, but driven by the need 'to develop a conceptual framework and an operational definition of literacy for literacy assessment and contribute to a major literacy assessment programme⁴' (UNESCO 2005: 3), UNESCO convened an Expert Meeting on literacy (10 to 12 June 2003 at UNESCO Paris) during which the Organization reviewed its literacy definition. This reviewed definition built upon the operational definition that the OECD together with Statistics Canada and Educational Testing Services developed and used for the first international literacy assessment in 1994—the International Adult Literacy Survey known as IALS, which reads as follows: 'the ability to understand and employ printed information in daily activities, at home, at work and in the community—to

achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential⁵' (OECD 2000: x).

The 2003 UNESCO Expert Meeting members agreed that the revised literacy definition would have to: be understood in the framework of communication; be related to text and the written word; include the manipulation of numbers—numeracy; give importance to context; imply some ability, skill or knowledge; be concerned with use in relation to life goals; be linked to participation in society; and be multi-dimensional, with connections among all of these characteristics (list adapted from UNESCO 2005: 21).

Framing the definition as an operational one for the purposes of national and international assessments, the Expert Meeting outcome document (UNESCO 2005) proposes that literacy be defined as follows:

'Literacy is the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning in enabling individuals to achieve his or her goals, develop his or her knowledge and potential and participate fully in community and wider society.'⁶ (UNESCO 2005: 21)

Shortly after, the Organization made an important addition to the definition by stating that 'Since literacy is a plural and dynamic concept, neither this nor any other definition is the final word' (UNESCO 2008: 18). The Organization's recognition of the hyper-diversity of literacy practices (Hamilton 2013) and the acknowledgement that literacy is a concept that can hardly be defined remain at odds with UNESCO's commensurative activities, publications and fact-based discourse of literacy. Indeed, just as stated in Amartya Sen's extensive literature on poverty (Sen 1999), if there is no final word on how to define poverty but it is still measured in decimals, then there is obviously something conceptually and methodologically wrong. The same can be said for literacy.

By collecting and publishing the literacy rates of its Member States on an annual basis and developing an ILSA programme (the Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme—LAMP), the Organization is still counting literacy and turning it into ordered facts. But UNESCO is not alone. As of the early 1990s, the OECD stepped up its presence in the education field (Papadopoulos 1994; Grek 2009, 2014), and over only one decade, it established its ILSA programmes as the most prestigious and sought after. The reach and scope of the OECD's ILSAs, but also the extent to which the data and assessment frameworks have become foundational in education policy and practice, substantiate the need to understand how the OECD's ILSAs conceptualize literacy.

As actors around the world move away from proxies and census data (Maddox and Esposito 2011) and move towards psychometric-based measuring of learning outcomes, adult literacy has seen not only an increase in national literacy assessments (Benavot and Tanner 2007), but also the appearance of four

ILSAs which have been widely implemented (Thorn 2009): the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS), the International Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (ALL), the Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP) and the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC).

The IALS, ALL, LAMP and PIAAC programmes all require countries participating to translate and submit standardized tests to individuals in randomly sampled households. The results are then placed along a continuum of competencies from poorly literate to proficiently literate, doing away with the concept of illiteracy. The standardized tests are problematic for multiple reasons, but most importantly no standardized test which is the same for everyone can fairly represent the literacy practices of all. A standardized international test will by definition represent an elected literacy, one of the many literacies (Hamilton and Barton 2000). This elected literacy—which is supposedly the same for all across the world whatever their literacy practices, contexts and purposes—is what this chapter refers to as global literacy. Analysing the framework of ILSAs (Kirsch 2001), through the theoretical lens of NLS and Actor-Network Theory (ANT), offers an insight into how this global literacy is chosen, defined, organized, measured, legitimated and interpreted.

Espeland and Stevens (2008) make a solid case for the importance of understanding how international assessments construct and change the realities and ontologies they measure, by creating a language to describe reality and providing the techniques to manage and manipulate what was formerly unstable, uncertain, elusive and too rich of complexity. Gorur (2015) supports this argument indicating that numbers are performative: they bring worlds into being whilst constituting the worlds they describe. Espeland and Stevens further argue that measurement and the powerful institutions behind the measurement practices construct what is measured, change meanings and intervene in the social worlds depicted, causing ‘people to think and act differently’ (2008: 412). Global literacy has the power to make people think and act differently unless there is awareness of the single story and the value of epistemological pluralisms of literacy.

A LENS OF ANALYSIS

Apart from drawing on the theoretical contributions of NLS, this chapter applies conceptual tools and assumptions from ANT and highlights implications for literacy and adult learning that can be drawn from *The Danger of a Single Story* (2009) by Chimamanda Adichie.

Drawing on Science and Technology Studies, (ANT) refuses traditional social divisions and challenges classifications and dualisms, arguing that the natural, the social and the discourse of an entity cannot be parted. Rejecting the division between human and non-human, ANT offers a ‘material semiotics’ (Law 2008) which changes the way non-human entities have been considered

in social theory. This ‘adjustment’ in the social sciences makes non-human entities social-compatible (Latour 2005: 10) by giving them agency and attributes which come into existence through relations with other entities⁷ (hence the hyphen between actor and network). First used by Bruno Latour (1988), John Law (1986) and Michel Callon (1986) to focus on the social and institutional processes of technological innovations (Hamilton 2012), ANT provides valuable conceptual tools to analyse the appearance of ILSAs, both as a technology and as a social project.

Providing material-semiotic tools, sensibilities and methods to analyse social reality as flows which come together as heterogeneous assemblages constantly folding and unfolding in the creation of things, facts, ideas and practices, ANT’s ontological stance implies everything in the social and natural world can be seen through connections and interrelations. Everything is the enactment of relations, making social projects unstable and their durability acquired through the enrolment of actors. According to Law (2007), there is no given, permanent social order but ‘order’ is plural, materially heterogeneous, ephemeral and constantly remaking itself through the processes of network translations. Social projects assemble and disassemble, competing for legitimacy and influence (Hamilton 2012).

According to ANT, facts are not intrinsically true or false, but their truthfulness and falsehood are acquired through the allies who join an alliance to produce a fact and maintain it as true (Latour 1987). The concepts of validity and success are challenged by ANT which sees such states achieved through the mobilization of allies, rather than measured against pre-established criteria.

ANT’s sensitivity to non-human actors, the assembling and reassembling of social projects and the making of truths are key elements in the making of a global literacy. The international standardized assessment tests and the frameworks upon which such assessments are built and justified become *actants* with the agency within the assemblages of ILSA programmes. The materiality of ILSAs as social projects is used to make real, durable and legitimate what counts as literacy. The assembling of actors in the production, implementation and interpretation of ILSAs (testing agencies, consulting firms, national governments, policy makers, educators, researchers and so on) temporarily creates a social project which furthers disparate interests, which lasts as long as the social project serves sufficient interests and maintains a sufficient number of allies. The durability and stability of ILSA assemblages make global literacy and the data that describe it into shared knowledge, the truth of what literacy is and how it can be described. So long as the social project of ILSAs can assemble sufficient allies and interests, allies produce and maintain global literacy as the shared, dominant understanding of literacy. ANT would go so far as to argue that global literacy only exists as a shared conceptualization, as long as the alliances that produce global literacy as a truth keep translating in new allies and serving sufficient purposes. Just like social projects are in a constant flux of assembling,

unfolding, reassembling in the production of truths and facts, likewise are the conceptualizations of literacy folding and unfolding. This chapter looks into how global literacy is made true and maintained as dominant.

This chapter also draws on the experience of multiple-award-winning novel writer and feminist, Chimamanda Adichie, who recounts through her personal experience, what it means to learn to read and write stories when the only literature you are exposed to has been written in a context and culture you do not belong to. Throughout her childhood, Adichie reads books written in the global north. In *The Danger of a Single Story*, she recounts how books were about foreigners, unknown places, lives and cultures which she could not identify with. And so when she started to write stories, she also wrote about foreigners, unaware that books could be about her world. When she discovered local literature with authors like Chinua Achebe and Camara Laye, she recounts:

I went through a mental shift in my perception of literature. I realized that people like me, girls with skin the color of chocolate, whose kinky hair could not form ponytails, could also exist in literature. I started to write about things I recognized'. (Minute 2:14)

She goes on to recount her experience of migrating to the USA for her university studies, where she not only learns to identify herself with what she is defined as (Black) in a predominantly white context, but also that the people she meets have a single story of catastrophe of Africa which they associate with her. Until she learns how she is understood through this North American lens of Africa and until her friends start to learn there is more than one story about Africa, interaction and mutual understanding is problematic. Adichie also discovers through a trip to Mexico that her exposure to dominant US narrative on the Mexican migrants made her adopt the US single story about Mexicans.

I remember walking around on my first day in Guadalajara, watching the people going to work, rolling up tortillas in the marketplace, smoking, laughing. I remember first feeling slight surprise. And then, I was overwhelmed with shame. I realized that I had been so immersed in the media coverage of Mexicans that they had become one thing in my mind, the abject immigrant. I had bought into the single story of Mexicans and I could not have been more ashamed of myself. So that is how to create a single story, show a people as one thing, as only one thing, over and over again, and that is what they become. (Minute 8:53)

Adichie argues that the single story—the story chosen and told over and over again until it becomes a fact, a truth, the only framework of interpretation—must be understood through the principle of power known as *nkali*, translated as ‘being greater than another’. The *nkali* of the single story flattens all other stories, making the one story the dominant one. But Adichie argues that a single story is always incomplete, it tells the story of those who have *nkali* and wipes out the value and dignity of all the other stories. The single story Adichie

highlights not only who defines the story, but also how it impacts on us all. It does not take much to see the parallelisms with the global literacy that the phenomenon of ILSAs has produced.

THE LITERACY ASSESSMENT FRAMEWORK: REASSEMBLING A GLOBAL LITERACY

This chapter draws on the theoretical contributions discussed above to take a closer look at the diagram (see Diagram 1) which backs the development of literacy as an internationally measurable, standard skill. The diagram below is what is used in the assessment framework⁸ of ILSAs to justify the methodological and conceptual assumptions upon which literacy is counted.

Presented as *the* model which is used to construct and interpret ILSA tests and data, the diagram represents a logical sequence of steps necessary to transform intangible literacy practices into a measurable, ordered resource that can be counted, compared and used to transform policy and educational practice. Alternatively, the diagram can be seen as an attempt to legitimize a chosen representation of literacy: from the way it is conceptualized and defined, all the way to how the representation through numbers is read and made sense of. ANT suggests a further interpretation which explains how it is not the legitimacy of the diagram and the scientific literature it draws on that defines what global literacy is, but the alliance that the programme assembles in defining and measuring literacy (as discussed below).

Applying an ANT lens, Gorur (2011) draws on Callon's (1986) moments of translation to describe the processes through which 'world is transformed into word'. In Gorur's work, the processes the diagram describes are seen as chains of translations which transform uncertainty into certainty.

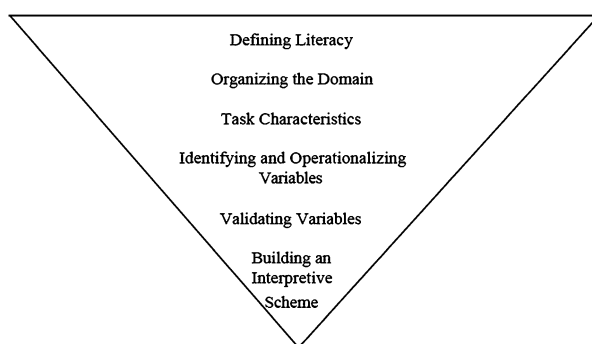


Diagram 1 Literacy assessment diagram (reproduced from Kirsch 2001, with permission from the author, Irwin Kirsch)

Gorur (2011) describes the processes through which the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) produces knowledge as follows:

‘It has mapped the world, ordered knowledge and disciplined actors into taking up their assigned positions at regular intervals. It has coded, classified and marked people and concepts, and produced new and interesting associations. But what appears to be a monolith, a solid body of knowledge, is as a matter of traceable practices.’ (2011: 90)

By defining what literacy is, organizing it, choosing it, measuring it, legitimizing it and interpreting it, the model presented in the diagram becomes the backbone of a global literacy which has become the single story of literacy. In doing so, decisions are made by the numerable actors that assemble in the project of assessing literacy, thus stating the final word on what literacy is, which literacy counts and what the purpose of literacy is. But what does it mean to define, organize, choose, measure, legitimize and interpret a global literacy?

DEFINING AND ORGANIZING LITERACY

The assessment framework document (Kirsch 2001) which describes the diagram states ‘literacy is using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one’s goals, and to develop one’s knowledge and potential’.⁹ Although this definition is broad and all-including, to the point that from a given ontological position one could argue that literacy as a social practice might fit (however tightly) within this definition, it does not openly recognize the diversity of literacy practices. The first large-scale adult literacy assessment, the IALS, stated in the main report (OECD and Canada Statistics 1995) that the literacy definition upon which the IALS is built recognizes the embedded nature of literacy in everyday life and the variety and complexity of literacy activities that people engage with within the countries studied. Street (1996), Levine (1998) and Darville (2001) argue that this understanding of literacy ‘only pays lip service to a social practice account and is at odds with the approach actually taken in operationalising the study’ (Darville 2001: 381).

This definition presents further problems. Firstly, literacy is described in words which are closely related to a neo-liberal conceptualization of learning: individuals are expected to acquire literacy to function in society, to achieve goals and to develop potential. Secondly, such a comprehensive definition would negate the possibility of defining a limited battery of standardized tests and procedures that can measure and compare literacy across contexts of practice. Indeed, however plural and open the concept, the ultimate aim of the definition narrows its broadness through the commensurative practices it supports, thus delimitating the definitions boundaries. The description of what literacy is implies defining which literacy is *in* and all the literacies that are *out*. The literacies that are *out* are devalued by a global literacy which is institutionalized and shapes educational policy and practice.

In order to transform the definition of literacy into a measurable skill, a set of processes and technologies requires making decisions on how to organize literacy, thus further delimitating literacy: whose literacy counts (what age cohorts of literacy are valuable, literacy in which languages, etc.), which literacy practices count as literacy (what kind of literacy practices are required to function in society), why it counts (what are the assumed purposes of literacy) and how it counts (through its economic impact, etc.). Organizing literacy into three kinds of literacy to be valued (prose, document and numeracy) also means deciding which literacies do not count and that some literacies cannot be counted (given the methodological challenges). The diagram also assumes that organizing literacy means choosing a single-scale metric which can represent this newly organized literacy along a continuum of competencies—from low to proficient. Once again, this choice is not what best represents but what is chosen as a metric of representation in order for the data to be easily digestible to a wide public of policy actors. At this stage of the diagram, the methodological limitations of assessment are already starting to define the boundaries of what can be measured.

ELECTING LITERACY TASKS

Once literacy has been defined and organized, more limitations are introduced: how test items are constructed, how performance on test items is measured and which test items are therefore representative of the previously defined and organized literacy.

In order to construct the tasks and interpret performance, the next stage requires defining the variables which influence performance on test items. These variables are used to ‘limit the scope of the assessment, characterize features that should be used for constructing tasks, control the assembly of tasks into booklets or test forms, characterize examinees’ performance on or responses to tasks, or help to characterize aspects of competencies or proficiencies’ (Kirsch 2001: 10). The model of all adult literacy assessment programmes manipulates three main variables: a variety of contexts and content, a range of materials and text types which include prose and document literacy, and processes and strategies which the reader is likely to use to respond to the test. The test items are constructed in the attempt to avoid some testees having either more or less familiarity and exposure to certain texts—as this could produce biased results. Tests are developed to represent real life whilst being modified to respond to selected variables and be sufficiently fictitious (so that testees need to read the text and cannot draw on common knowledge). Furthermore, taking a test and the strict test-taking guidelines do not provide a common everyday life practice of literacy, with its real-life contexts, purposes and processes. Implementing a standardized test assumes every individual is faced with similar everyday literacy practices, rather than accepting and stating that what is being measured is a somewhat artificial literacy practice, which is the closest international assessment of literacy that is methodologically and conceptually achievable at present.

At this stage of the process shown in the diagram, a chosen set of materials and texts, contexts and content, procedures and strategies have been elected to represent a universal, global literacy—a utopian literacy of all. Whether that literacy really exists, has value and represents everyday literacy is no longer a matter of concern. The global literacy of ILSAs becomes a matter of fact as it is assembled by the many heterogenous actors involved in ILSAs.

OPERATIONALIZING, LEGITIMIZING AND INTERPRETING

Variables are then categorized not only for the purpose of data analysis but also so that the test item batteries are comprehensive of all contexts and content, of all texts and materials (described as ‘universally relevant’ in Kirsch 2001) and of all literacy processes and strategies (type of match, type of information requested and plausibility of distracting information). These variables allow each task to be manipulated, making the test items more or less difficult. On the basis of the variables which describe each test item, a value of difficulty and performance is attributed. Literacy is thus operationalized and made sense of with the aid of statistical methods (i.e. multiple regressions, Item Response Theory) which establish the scale and a value for each test item and where the value is placed on the scale. Statistical processes like differential item functioning (DIF) are also run to evaluate levels of test item bias, leading some test items that function differently across countries or subgroups to be eliminated from the final international tests. Hamilton (2001) argues that the origins of what becomes the shared understanding of literacy are obscured as the technical decisions and processes that are described here above are often kept secret (like the batteries of test items) or are impenetrable to non-experts.

Interpreting literacy data means deciding what the ability to complete tasks and the score achieved actually mean in terms of functioning in society. The variables are thus used to describe the scale and explain how each test taker’s performance indicates his capacity to function in society—although this assumes a common understanding of what functioning in society means and that this can be the same for all.

The question of how to interpret the data is resolved by categorizing the literacy metrics into a single-scale continuum, divided into five levels. The levels are then described in relation to what literacy skills are required by society: the lower two levels are considered to be insufficient to function and achieve goals, making level three a cutting-off point, a threshold at which an individual is assumed to have the basic necessary competencies to function (described as the ‘suitable minimum’). Rather than interpreting literacy as a complex practice with which an individual deals with depending on his literacy purposes, needs and context, a theoretical threshold of functionality is chosen and assumed to be valid for everyone’s literacy practices and contexts. Atkinson argues that this threshold is an unsupported interpretation of test results although ‘the designation of a suitable minimum has become a universal and unquestioned indicator of ability, and, following the logic established by the testing technology,

the way to ensure a suitable minimum is to develop skills in accordance to the information-processing model' (2015: 198–199). Hamilton (2001) gives the example of how failure to complete a single test item (reading medicine instructions) becomes representative of a whole percentage of the population, rather than a discussion of the kinds of literacy practices people engage with every day to 'function in society' and 'achieve one's goals'. Low levels and gaps between those who have the desired literacy and those who do not become the policy problem and priority, rather than a discussion of what literacies people need.

Level three recreates the simple literate/illiterate dichotomy in a more complex conceptualization of what it means to be literate. However, the most basic questions about competencies call into question such an interpretation: Can the literacy needs and purposes of a rural farmer in remote Laos be equated to the literacy needs and purposes of an urban academic in France? How can an abstract level three have the same implications for all? The assumptions upon which literacy level three is defined, a literacy I call global, resembles Street's autonomous literacy, as it includes a threshold once again, it becomes independent from social context, purposes and social relations, and it is based upon the assumption that a skill that can act independently on people's lives. This understanding contradicts Gee's argument that 'literacy has no effects – indeed, no meaning—apart from particular cultural contexts in which it is used, and it has different effects in different contexts' (1990: 77).

The way the low levels of competences are framed as a threat to economic development, growth and stability provides a key to how the framework of interpretation must be read. Literacy is to be read as an economic resource, and it becomes a currency to be invested in and to earn from. However, this key of interpretation is often forgotten whilst the factual, calculable, global literacy becomes the single story, the only way literacy is understood and acted upon.

ASSEMBLED LITERACY, A SINGLE STORY

With the aim of assessing literacy in a comparable way along the same scale, actors (just to name a few, these include the OECD, the UIS, governments, testing agencies, policy makers using the data, scholars doing secondary analysis, testing instruments, memorandums of understanding, translators, verifiers, policy texts, and international and national reports) all around the world participate in ILSAs, accepting, implementing and using the standardized procedures, tests and data. From an ANT perspective, an ILSA would be described as an assemblage of heterogeneous allies which come together, adapting their identities and accepting a set of truths upon which the social project is built. The allies are human and non-human, thus also including the test items, the statistical processes and models, and the standardized guidelines—their attributes and agency given by being in relation to other actors in the assemblage.

ANT argues that the greater the number of allies (in particular the non-human allies), the firmer and more durable the assemblage becomes. With the phenomenon of ILSAs having enrolled numerous allies worldwide, the decisions that have been made about what literacy is, how it is organized, chosen, measured, made legitimate and interpreted are no longer questioned. They have become unquestioned truths, which ANT sees as the black-boxed foundations of the assemblage. The global literacy that has been constructed through the international tests and guidelines for standardized implementation can be seen as an assembled literacy. By being part of a densely populated assemblage, the tests are no longer questioned. Through the assemblage, the tests have a performative nature, making the way the tests construct literacy enact the shared conceptualization of literacy.

What has been left out of this analysis is an open discussion of the values that underpin the way global literacy is defined, organized, chosen, measured, legitimized and interpreted.

Based on an analysis of a series of national documents,¹⁰ Hanemann¹¹ (2015) argues that literacy is now widely conceived as a foundation for lifelong learning and a learning continuum of proficiency levels, as measured in international assessments. However, although this understanding of literacy may appear to be an advancement and a broader conceptualization, it must also be stated that this conceptualization often pays lip service to a humanistic and social practice approach, as it substantiates the economic, neo-liberal thinking of education and learning as a response to the fast-changing, competitive, global market.

Analysing the way reading literacy has been defined in PISA, Sellar and Lingard (2015) argue that with the phenomenon of international assessments we are seeing a ‘new literacisation’, in other words a greater emphasis on an economic approach to education, a diversification of what counts as literacy, and acquisition and use of universal, commensurable literacies across the world through curricula isomorphism. Comber and Hill (2000) first discussed literacisation as the human capital assumption that there is one, unchanging, generic literacy that is the same educational aim for all, a skill that can be obtained and exploited and which can solve structural economic and social problems. In their analysis of what counts as literacy in international commensurative practices, Sellar and Lingard (2015) argue that the way literacy is defined for measurement purposes by the OECD (the main agency developing and administering ILSAs) overlaps significantly with the OECD definition used to define human capital. Indeed, Sellar and Lingard argue that ‘the expansion of human capital models and measures is contributing to the diversification of what is defined and counted as literacy, putting pressure on the specificity of the concept itself. [...] Literacy can be defined as any application of knowledge and skills that increase the value of human capital, as determined by correlating literacy with economic outcomes’ (2015: 31).

Darville (1999), Hamilton and Barton (2000), Hamilton (2001), and Atkinson (2015) all argue that literacy, as measured in ILSAs, measures a new

capitalism literacy, an ideal literacy of what all people should have to be able to engage in a neo-liberal society. It is thus not surprising that literacy is openly discussed as a currency and a capital, that ILSAs are discussed with finance ministers, that ILSA reports are launched in banks and that international assessment reports boast that the countries which are measured represent most of the world's GDP. Everyday literacy is no longer all literacy practices, but everyday literacy to compete in a global capitalistic world.

In 2001, Hamilton wrote a critique about how the project of social ordering of ILSAs privileges a literacy at the expense of all other everyday literacies, thus organizing our knowledge of literacy. This regulated, codified, systematized, institutionalized, legitimated literacy becomes the 'real' literacy. Adopting Ball's (2012) concept of neo-liberal social imaginary, it can be argued that this assembled, global literacy has become the only way literacy is understood and translated into educational policy and practice. This assembled global literacy, which is widely known through the ordered, comparable, factual numbers which ILSAs produce, dominates how we think of literacy and wipes out all other literacies and ways of conceptualizing literacy. This assembled, global literacy has not derived a global consensus on what literacy should be from democratic, universal debates on what literacy represents all literacies, but from the assemblage representing and forwarding the interests of the many allies ILSAs bring together. This according to ANT is how truths are constructed (Latour 1987).

It may be worth attempting an analogy between national educational systems being made free and compulsory as the most powerful instrument used to confer the citizens of a state shared skills, knowledge and national values, and the global social project of ILSAs transforming all people through their educational systems into citizens of the global economy. As states have stripped peoples of their sub-national differences (languages, cultures, etc.) and created national identities (i.e. Italians, French, etc.), ILSAs also strip diversity and culture away to provide everyone with a global literacy and a metric to measure their global competitiveness. The devaluing of diversity in ILSAs, therefore, becomes the opportunity for everyone to equally be global citizens—a social ordering project which relies on a shared conceptualization of global literacy. In the same way that Desrosières (1998), Bruno et al. (2006), Igo (2007) and Espeland and Stevens (2008) argue that developing comparable statistics and accounting standards of disparate people and attributes is a crucial part of modern nation-building, ILSAs and the processes they generate are a seminal part of building a global economy with global citizens.

ILSAs and their interpretation tell a single story of literacy, which informs narrow educational policies and incomplete learning practices. The assembled literacy produced through ILSA data and processes acquires the status of truth and silences the 'counter-truths', thus normalizing literacy as numbers in policy and practice. Although the NLS offer a valuable framework of analysis which

values the plurality of literacy, the multitude of literacies is too costly, fluid and fuzzy for an educational policy which relies on data as a ‘policy oracle’ (Gurur 2011).

The neo-liberal social imaginary of the assembled global literacy becomes a shared, universal language: the single story of literacy. Just like Adichie’s experience of the single story, flattening and de-complexifying literacy also carries dangers. Choosing, defining, organizing, measuring, legitimizing and interpreting literacy as an assembled social project which is maintained as a truth by an increasing number of actors, with regular implementations, is the process through which the single story is created. This elected literacy is reproduced with routine over and over again, and finally becomes our single story of literacy. It becomes our only framework of interpretation and action (Espeland and Stevens 2008). Adichie argues that the single story has to be understood through the key of *nkali*, which highlights how the single story of literacy has the power to wipe out the value and dignity of all other literacies. Adichie’s main concern is that not only this defines one story as the complete framework, but also that this narrow and incomplete story actually impacts on all of us, in this case through educational policy and practice. This is where reason for concern lies, and why this chapter calls for a deeper understanding of how ILSAs represent literacy. Although the instruments may represent valuable tools depending on the purpose for which they are used, educational policy and practice need to draw on these instruments as informative of one of the many literacy stories. The literacy picture is complex and its diagnosis requires a complex understanding related to literacy contexts, purposes and practices.

THE DANGERS OF THE SINGLE STORY FOR LIFELONG LEARNING: MAKING CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

This chapter has argued that ILSAs have created a single story of literacy, here called global literacy, which is assembled by the heterogeneous actors involved in the social projects of ILSAs. The size and stability of these alliances have led to the assumptions ILSAs are based upon emerge as the dominant conceptualization of literacy, at the expense of all other literacies. Atkinson’s (2015) ethnographic research in Canada has shown how global literacy is now conceptualized, taught and valued in adult education policy and practice as the single story. Global literacy in practice represents a danger in particular when it is the single literacy story in the Global South, where literacy is taught as a passive skill—text copying is still the main teaching/learning method—rather than ‘a means of self-expression, creative writing, or of reflection on children’s own circumstances and lives’ (Clinton Robinson, personal communication).

What this chapter is arguing is that global literacy is not intrinsically bad per se as some might mistakenly conclude from this chapter, but that, in Adichie’s

words, global literacy is only one of the many literacy stories. The epistemological pluralisms of literacy *do* include global literacy, but it is only one of many literacy stories. Educational policy and practice require all these literacy stories. In so far as educational policy and practice draw on global literacy as one of the many stories and one way of knowing, ILSAs are actually a technological contribution to education. As Litto Nebbia, the Argentinian musician, sings, *those who want to hear the unofficial History only need to listen*.¹²

NOTES

1. Available at http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story (Accessed in June 2015).
2. A given number of years completed schooling are used to calculate whether an individual can be considered literate.
3. The skills model is a teaching/learning approach based on the skills theory, described by Street as the autonomous model, which assumes 'there are universal unvarying competencies (that might be selectively used or combined in particular contexts and tasks) and that these competencies reside in individual people, carried around by them from one context to another' (Mary Hamilton, personal communication). For an extensive, critical overview of literacy approaches in literacy programmes, see Luangxay (Ph.D thesis in progress).
4. The Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP).
5. The 2005 report which presents the 2003 results of the ALL survey which followed the IALS survey states that the literacy definition from the ALL was carried forward—though it appears formulated differently: 'Literacy is using printed and written information to function in society, to achieve one's goals, and to develop one's knowledge and potential' (Statistics Canada and OECD 2005: 280)
6. This is the same definition used in PIAAC: 'Literacy is the ability to identify, understand, interpret, create, communicate and compute, using printed and written materials associated with varying contexts. Literacy involves a continuum of learning in enabling individuals to achieve their goals, to develop their knowledge and potential, and to participate fully in their community and wider society' (OECD 2009: 7)
7. ANT does not suggest non-human actors have individual, intrinsic agency and human consciousness and intentions.
8. As presented in Kirsch (2001: 3).
9. The definition of literacy (called reading literacy) in PISA is very similar: 'Understanding, using and reflecting on written texts, in order to achieve one's goals, to develop one's knowledge and potential, and to participate in society' (OECD 1999: 12). It differs from the international adult literacy definition only by adding the words 'understanding and reflecting' rather than only 'using' written texts, and by stating 'participating in society' rather than 'functioning in society'.
10. These included national reports submitted by the UNESCO Member States' national reports to the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) for the second Global Report on Adult Learning and Education, but also a study of national literacy campaigns and programmes, and recent developments in formal education.

11. Affiliated with the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL).
12. “Si la historia la escriben los que ganan, eso quiere decir que hay otra historia: la verdadera historia, quien quiera oír que oiga”, by Litto Nebbia. The literal translation of this song from Spanish into English is: ‘If History is written by those who win, this means there is another history, the real history, those who want to hear it only have to listen’. From the song ‘Quien quiera oír que oiga’ by Litto Nebbia.

REFERENCES

- Adichie, C. (2009). The danger of a single story. *TED talks*. http://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story.
- Atkinson, T. (2015). Counting ‘what you want them to want’: Psychometrics and social policy in Ontario. In M. Hamilton, B. Maddox, & C. Addey (Eds.), *Literacy as numbers* (pp. 207–222). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ball, S. (2012). *Global education inc*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Barton, D., Hamilton, M., & Ivanič, R. (Eds.). (2000). *Situated literacies: Reading and writing in context*. London: Routledge.
- Benavot, A., & Tanner, E. (2007). The growth of national learning assessments in the world, 1995–2006. *Background paper prepared for the education for all global monitoring report 2008*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Boudard, E., & Jones, S. (2003). The IALS approach to defining and measuring literacy skills. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 39(3), 192–204.
- Bruno, I., Jacquot, S., & Mandin, L. (2006). Europeanization through its instrumentation: Benchmarking, mainstreaming and the open method of coordination. Toolbox or pandora’s box? *Journal of European Public Policy*, 13, 519–536.
- Callon, M. (1986). Some elements of a sociology of translation: Domestication of the scallops and the fishermen in St Brieuc Bay. In J. Law (Ed.), *Power, action, and belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Comber, B., & Hill, S. (2000). Socio-economic disadvantage, literacy and social justice: Learning from longitudinal case study research. *Australian Educational Researcher*, 27(3), 79–97.
- Darville, R. (1999). Knowledges of adult literacy: Surveying for competitiveness. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 19, 273–285.
- Darville, R. (2001). Adult Literacy as Social Relations: A Democratic Theorizing. CASAE-ACÉÉA National Conference 2001 - Twentieth Anniversary Proceedings.
- Desrosières, A. (1998). *The politics of large numbers: A history of statistical reasoning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Espeland, W. N., & Stevens, M. (2008). A sociology of quantification. *Archives of European Sociology*, XLIX(3), 401–436.
- Finnegan, R. H. (1988). *Literacy and orality: Studies in the technology of communication*. Oxford: Blackwell Oxford.
- Gee, J. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies: ideology in discourse*. London: Falmer Press.
- Gorur, R. (2011). ANT on the PISA trail: Following the statistical pursuit of certainty. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 43(S1), 76–93.
- Gorur, R. (2015). Assembling a Sociology of Numbers. In M. Hamilton, B. Maddox, & C. Addey (Eds.), *Literacy as numbers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Grek, S. (2009). Governing by numbers: The PISA 'effect' in Europe. *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(1), 23–37.
- Grek, S. (2014). OECD as a site of co-production: European education governance and the new politics of 'policy mobilisation'. *Critical Policy Studies*, 8(3), 266–281.
- Hamilton, M. (2001). Privileged literacies: Policy, institutional process and the life of the IALS. *Language and Education*, 15(2), 178–196.
- Hamilton, M. (2012). *Literacy and the politics of representation*. London: Routledge.
- Hamilton, M. (2013). *Imagining literacy through numbers in an era of globalised social statistics. Knowledge and numbers in education seminar series - Literacy and the power of numbers*. London: Institute of Education.
- Hamilton, M., & Barton, D. (2000). The IALS: What does it really measure? *International Review of Education*, 6(5), 377–389.
- Hamilton, M., Maddox, B., & Addey, C. (Eds.). (2015). *Literacy as numbers: Researching the politics and practices of international literacy assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hanemann, U. (2015). Lifelong literacy: Some trends and issues in conceptualising and operationalising literacy from a lifelong learning perspective. *International Review of Education*, 61(3), 295–326.
- Heath, S. B. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Igo, S. E. (2007). *The averaged American: Surveys, citizens, and the making of a mass public*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Jones, P. W. (1990). UNESCO and the politics of global literacy. *Comparative Education Review*, 34 Special Issue on Adult Literacy (1), 41–60.
- Kirsch, I. (2001). *ALL prose and document framework. The international adult literacy survey (IALS): Understanding what was measured*. Princeton: Educational Testing Services.
- Latour, B. (1987). *Science in action*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Latour, B. (1988). *The pasteurization of france*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Law, J. (1986). On the methods of long distance control: Vessels, navigation, and the Portuguese route to India. In J. Law (Ed.), *Power, action and belief: A new sociology of knowledge?* (pp. 234–263). Keele: Sociological Review Monograph.
- Law, J. (2007). *Actor network theory and material semiotics*. Retrieved January, 2014, from http://difi.uniud.it/tl_files/utenti/crisci/Law%202009.pdf.
- Law, J. (2008). On sociology and STS. *The Sociological Review*, 56(4), 623–649.
- Levine, K. (1998). Definitional and methodological problems in the cross-national measurement of adult literacy: The case of the IALS. *Written Language and Literacy*, 1(1), 41–62.
- Luangxay, L. (In progress). *Adult Literacy Practices in Lao PDR*. Ph.D. Thesis, Brisbane: University of Queensland.
- Maddox, B. (2007). Secular and koranic literacies in South Asia: From colonization to contemporary practice. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 27, 661–668.
- Maddox, B., & Esposito, L. (2011). Sufficiency re-examined: A capabilities perspective on the assessment of functional adult literacy. *Journal of Development Studies*, 1–17, i First article.

- Nabi, R., Rogers, A., & Street, B. (2009). *Hidden literacies: Ethnographic studies of literacy and numeracy practices in Pakistan*. Corby: Uppingham Press.
- OECD. (1999). *Measuring student knowledge and skills. A new framework for assessment*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2000). *Literacy in the information age. Final report of the international adult literacy survey*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2009). *PIAAC literacy: A conceptual framework*. OECD Education Working Paper No. 34.
- OECD. (2010). *PISA 2009 assessment framework key competencies in reading, mathematics and science: Key competencies in reading, mathematics and science*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD & Canada Statistics. (1995). *Literacy, economy and society: Results of the first international adult literacy survey*. Paris: OECD.
- Papadopoulos, G. S. (1994). *Education 1960–1990: The OECD perspective*. Paris: OECD.
- Robinson, C. (2014). Literacy. In A. Michalos (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of quality of life and well-being research* (pp. 3631–3636). Rotterdam: Springer.
- Sellar, S., & Lingard, B. (2015). New literacisation, curricular isomorphism and the OECD's PISA. In M. Hamilton, B. Maddox, & C. Addey (Eds.), *Literacy as numbers: Researching the politics and practices of international literacy assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sen, A. (1999). *Development as freedom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Spring, J. (2004). *How educational ideologies are shaping global society*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Statistics Canada and OECD. (2005). *Learning a living*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada and OECD.
- Street, B. (1984). *Literacy in theory and practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Street, B. (1995). *Social literacies: Critical approaches to literacy in development, ethnography and education*. New York: Longman.
- Street, B. (1996). Literacy, economy and society. *Literacy across the curriculum. Montreal, Centre for Literacy, 12*, 8–15.
- Thorn, W. (2009). International adult literacy and basic skills surveys in the OECD region. *OECD Education Working Papers*. Paris: OECD.
- UNESCO. (2005). *Topics and issues from the UNESCO expert meeting*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2008). *The global literacy challenge: A profile of youth and adult literacy at the mid-point of the United Nations Literacy decade 2003-2012*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO-UNDP. (1976). *Experimental world literacy programme: Critical evaluation*. Paris: UNESCO.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Camilla Addey is based at Humboldt University in Berlin where she researches global education policy and international large-scale assessments. Her current research project studies PISA for Development (PISA-D) in Ecuador and Paraguay, and the OECD and the private companies it contracts. Her PhD research focused on UNESCO's international large-scale assessment in Mongolia and Laos. Further to her current research and lecturing at Humboldt University, Dr Addey directs the Laboratory of

International Assessments Studies. Previously, Dr Addey worked at UNESCO on adult literacy and non-formal education. She is author of *Readers and non-Readers: A cross-cultural study in Italy and the UK* (Aracne 2008) and co-editor of *Literacy as numbers: Researching the politics and practices of literacy assessment regimes* (Cambridge University Press, 2015).

Conceptualizing Participation in Adult Learning and Education: Equity Issues

Kjell Rubenson

Abstract The policy interest in adult learning and education raises issues not only about the extent of participation but also more fundamentally about who participates and the social construction of inequalities in adult learning and education. However, to judge participation is not a straightforward task as the figures are highly dependent on how adult learning and education is being understood. The purpose of this chapter is to explore rates and inequalities in participation in a comparative perspective, while at the same time being mindful of how adult learning and education is being conceptualized and measured. The examination of what understanding of adult learning and education is driving the collection of information on participation points to fundamental shortcomings in the way the data have been classified. There exists a noticeable job-related bias, particularly in the PIAAC survey and forms of adult learning and education that may be important for fostering democratic traditions to become marginalized. Looking at trends in participation, two broad interrelated trends are evident, rising participation rates and a dramatic increase in employer-supported learning activities. The analyses reveal major inequalities in participation in all countries, but it should be noted that they are more severe in some countries than others which can be explained by differences in welfare state regime.

INTRODUCTION

The recent interest in collecting information on participation in adult learning and education (ALE) has to do with the importance being attributed to adult learning for promoting the well-being of nations and individuals. The rationale

K. Rubenson (✉)
University of British Columbia, 3937 W30 Avenue, Vancouver,
BC V6S1X2, Canada
e-mail: kjell.rubenson@ubc.ca

for paying attention to participation in adult education and learning grew out of the OECD's highly influential report, *Education and the Economy in a Changing Society* (OECD 1989) that noted that national differences in economic performance could be attributed to educational effectiveness and a country's learning capabilities. After more or less having neglected adult education during the first 40 years of its existence, it was a noticeable event when, at the end of 1998, the OECD Educational Committee launched its Thematic Review of Adult Learning (OECD). The initiative was a follow-up to the 1996 decision by OECD educational ministers to make lifelong learning for *all* the key educational goal in member countries (OECD 1996). Realizing the limited opportunities that existed for adults, the ministers called on the OECD to review and explore new forms of teaching and learning appropriate for adults, whether employed, unemployed or retired (OECD 2003a: 4). However, instead of exploring adult education and learning broadly the OECD came to primarily emphasize the economic aspect of learning. With the introduction of the recently launched Skills Strategy (OECD 2012), the organization's focus seems to have further narrowed. In fact, the Skills Strategy makes no mentioning of ALE outside of what can be directly related to employment and work. However, it is interesting to observe how the European Union (EU) gradually seems to divert from the narrower OECD perspective on ALE. In addition to the economic goal that has dominated and continues to dominate EU's policies on adult and lifelong learning, there is a growing realization that more attention needs to be given to ALE that can contribute to democratization and individual fulfilment. In this spirit, it is noted that adult learning policies should pay more attention, not only to the need of skill upgrading but also to the growth of social awareness and an inclusive society with a high degree of active citizenship and shared values to promote the development of social capital and social cohesion (EC 2011a). In the context of the renewed emphasis on the social dimension of education and training, the EU's policy documents recognize that adult learning is being offered in a variety of environments like educational institutions, local communities, and NGOs as well as at work and covering learning for personal civic, social, and employment-related purposes (EC 2011a). The more humanistic agenda for ALE, which to some extent has re-emerged in recent EU policy documents, is primarily pushed by UNESCO and is central in the process following up on the Sixth International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA IV) (UNESCO 2009, 2016).

The new policy interest in ALE raises issues not only about the extent of participation but also more fundamentally about who participates and the social construction of inequalities in ALE. However, as is evident from the present discourse around the purpose of public funding for adult education and learning, we also have to ask how the phenomenon is being conceptualized in large-scale surveys and the consequences concerned. Thus, to judge participation is not a straightforward task as the figures are highly dependent on how ALE is being understood. The issues of inequalities and conceptualization of the field should be seen as closely integrated. So for example, if adult education

and learning is narrowly operationalized from an economic point of view, learning activities that may be more conducive to strengthen citizens' political voice, and thereby long-term structural changes that in turn may promote broader participation, will become invisible and consequently disappear from the policy agenda. The purpose of this chapter is to explore rates and inequalities in participation in a comparative perspective, while at the same time being mindful of how ALE is being conceptualized and measured. The analysis begins with an examination of what understanding of ALE is driving the collection of information on participation and the consequences concerned which will be followed by a review of the changing nature of participation and a comparative look at inequalities. The concluding section discusses what factors are driving the inequalities in participation and looks at the state's diminishing capacity to combat inequalities.

CONCEPTUAL DILEMMAS IN MEASURING PARTICIPATION IN ALE

Since adult education began to emerge as a field, there have been constant discussions over its definition and boundaries. The understanding of what constitutes adult education has changed overtime but also varied depending on cultural and institutional context. A commonly used definition is the one adopted by UNESCO in 1976 (UNESCO 1976). The two core principles in this definition that have come to influence the conceptualization and measurement of participation are as follows: a) adult education denotes the entire body of organized educational processes, whatever the content, level and method, whether formal or otherwise; and b) the participants are persons regarded as adults by the society to which they belong. While the UNESCO definition also contains direct reference to a broad series of outcomes, this has not affected the common understanding of who is a participant. Thus, outcomes are seen as a separate issue to participation and not a requirement for being considered a participant.

Further, the UNESCO definition talks of the special educational organization of the education for adults. It is in this context that adult education refers to 'its own peculiar organization, methods and curriculum, which distinguishes adult education from any other field of education' (UNESCO 1976: 2). In the words of Verner (1964: 1), '...the term adult education is used to designate all those educational activities that are designed specifically for adults'. However, it has become increasingly difficult to maintain this kind of definition. First, not all 'adults' taking part in adult education are adults in the terms of social roles and functioning. Second, attempts to separate adult learners from first time students attending regular school or university are also becoming more blurred. The traditional pattern of study has changed and with an increasing number of students moving in and out of the educational system and the labour market, it is difficult to identify who is in the first cycle of studies and who is a recurrent learner.

While recognizing the problems with defining who is an adult learner, various pragmatic solutions are being sought. So for example, studies like the International Adult Literacy Survey and the Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (OECD 2003b) allow for the exclusion of all regular, full-time students, except the following: full-time students subsidized by employers; full-time students over 19 enrolled in elementary or secondary programmes; and full-time students over 24 enrolled in postsecondary programmes. Similar approaches are being applied by scholars analysing the PIAAC data or the European Adult Education Survey (see e.g. Desjardins 2015). While this approach may be pragmatic, it is evident that today the traditional distinctions between initial education, particularly higher education, and adult education are getting increasingly difficult.

The embracement of lifelong learning as an overall principal for educational planning has substantially broadened and complicated the understanding and assessment of participation by expanding the concept of adult education to also embrace informal adult learning with the result that it is now common that national, and particularly, supranational policy documents talk of ALE. To think about ALE in this broad, all-encompassing way would have far-reaching consequences for how to monitor participation in and outcome of such activities. Should we go as far as the German scholar Dohmen (1996), who points out that within this perspective, the very core of adult learning is the informal or 'everyday' learning, positive or negative, which occurs in day-to-day life? Embracing the expanded concept of lifelong learning, supranational organizations adopted a classification of ALE that distinguishes between three main groups of adult learning: formal, non-formal, and informal (see e.g. OECD 1996; EC 2000).

In the scholarly literature, grave concerns have been raised about the soundness and utility of this triad of learning. As Hefler (2012) notes, the triad seems to have been accepted by the supranational organizations as well as national policy makers without any serious reflections of its deeper meaning and implications. Setting aside that substituting learning for education can depoliticize the field and move the focus away from broader issues like equity, the role of the state, policy, and resources which are central when addressing issues of democracy and equality, the shift in approaching participation raises the issue of the benefits to the individual and society from participating in the three official categories of adult learning. A related criticism comes from scholars who in principal accept that learning can be classified according to a triad but are sceptical of the way it is being done and of what is not taken adequate notice. The main concern is that not enough attention has been given to the link between the outcomes of a learning activity and the institutional context in which the activity occurred. This criticism is embedded in what has been labelled the new institutionalism that regards formal education as a social institution established in the wider society, rather than a regime of social selection and structuring of opportunity configurations (see e.g. Hefler 2012).

These conceptual shifts have had a profound impact on the collection of data on participation in ALE, a topic we now turn to.

INTERNATIONAL SURVEYS ON PARTICIPATION IN ALE

The recent attention to the collection and classification of information on ALE should be seen as part of the supranational organizations' strategy to institutionalize an evidence-based policy regime. The strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training (Europe 2020) notes that 'it is vital that better empirical evidence is available to underpin reforms' (EC 2011b: 3). The fields of first medicine, and later social work, have seen the establishment of evidence-producing organizations like the Cochrane Collaboration (medicine) and the Campbell Collaboration (social work) which have become the Gold Standard (Hansen and Rieper 2010). So far adult education, or education for that matter, has not officially developed an equivalent Gold Standard procedure but the European Adult Education Survey (AES) and particularly the OECD's Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) have increasingly come to play that role.

In this context, it is of interest to invoke Clark (1998) who astutely observes that while numbers seem to be a way to avoid 'the contaminating subjectivity of opinion' (p. 185) decisions about what should be counted and how it should be classified are subjective judgment decisions. It is from this perspective that we will look closer at how ALE is being operationalized in the PIAAC and AES surveys.

The document introducing PIAAC's conceptual framework (OECD 2009) does not attempt to address the classification of adult learning but briefly touches on the issue and notes that participation in lifelong learning is a crucial issue for governments of the OECD member countries. Behind this urgency hides a narrow economic perspective. 'Formal education, formal training, and informal training all contribute to the stock of human capital, and countries will display different profiles in how the human capital stock is built up. PIAAC will provide a snapshot of human capital investments by the incidence and intensity of training during the previous 12 month period' (p. 5). It is further stressed that to assist policy development it will be important to collect information on how much of the ALE activities is taking place for work-related reasons.

While the OECD, in contrast to e.g. EUROSTAT (see EC 2005), never developed a specific classification system for adult learning, it is possible to gauge a general understanding of their approach to ALE from the survey instrument and the classification options afforded by the data. Learning events are divided into two broad categories: formal learning and other organized learning (i.e. non-formal). Despite earlier OECD policy documents stressing the importance of taking into account informal learning (see e.g. OECD 1996), no attempt is made in the PIAAC background questionnaire to assess informal learning. From what is stated in the PIAAC background documents, it is hardly surprising that the questions on ALE reflect a fairly narrow perspective in which learning

activities contribute to the human capital generation. Consequently, there is a strong emphasis on formal educational activities taken towards a diploma, certificate, degree, or license. The opening question on non-formal learning activities is broadly cast, 'We would now like to turn to other organized learning activities you may have participated in during the last 12 month, including both work and non-work activities'. This gives the impression that ALE is broadly conceptualized but a review of the follow-up questions would indicate that it is not the case. First, the specific questions on non-formal participation focus on the format asking about: (1) courses conducted through open or distance education; (2) organized sessions for on-the-job training or training by supervisors or co-workers; and (3) courses or private lessons not already reported. Moreover, the follow-up questions have a strong job-related focus. So, for example, the initial question on motivation asks: '*Were the main reasons for choosing to study for this qualification job related?* If the answer is yes the respondent is asked to identify in what respect it is job related. Other motives for engaging in ALE are not explored. Further, the remaining questions all focus on the learning activity in relationship to work. In the OECD world, non-formal adult learning activities that are not taken for direct work-related reasons are of no policy interest. In view of the importance given to non-formal learning and informal learning in earlier OECD documents on a lifelong learning conceptual framework, it is puzzling that greater attention is not paid to a broader exploration of adult learning.

The European Commission/EUROSTAT has developed a sophisticated classification system to support a coherent European survey on participation in ALE. Their classification system is organized around learning activities, defined as '*any activities of an individual organised with the intention to improve his/her knowledge, skills and competence*' (EC 2005: 20). The typology uses single learning activities as basic building blocks of a classification system that can capture and describe all intentional learning activities. The framework creates a flow chart that is able to classify activities as formal, non-formal, and informal learning, respectively. It is important to note that this triad, as presented by the supranational organizations, is really about the context in which the participation in the specific learning activity takes place, and does not say anything about learning as such.

The 2011 AES questionnaire (EC 2012) suffers less from a general human capital or more narrow 'job-related' bias than the one developed by PIAAC. The questionnaire does not privilege formal over non-formal activities but does an extensive probing of both. The questions on non-formal learning events do ask questions in relationship to work, but to more or less an equal extent also about non-work-related aspects of ALE. So, for example, the opening question asks: 'During the last 12 months have you participated in any of the following activities with the intention to improve your knowledge or skills in any area (including hobbies)?' This is followed up by asking about participation in courses and/or workshops at the workplace or in people's free time (e.g. language courses, computer courses, driving courses, management courses, gardening courses, or painting courses). There is a specific question asking about planned periods of

education and instruction at the workplace organized by the employer. The specific questions in the AES that are addressing motives, usefulness, and financing pay equal attention to work- and non-work-related aspects. Hence, the EUROSTAT approach is well in line with the EU's recent broadening of the policy discourse on adult and lifelong learning.

This brief review of the PIAAC and AES surveys points to fundamental shortcomings in the way the data have been classified, particularly in the former. First, there is a mismatch between the heavy investment in developing instruments to measure competencies and the lack of focus on the role of different parts of the ALE system in generating and maintaining these competencies. In view of the privileging of formal ALE, it should be observed that analyses of the International Assessment of Adult Literacy Survey (OECD 2000) and Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey (OECD 2003b) reveal that non-formal learning activities are important for a country's pool of competencies. Second, there exists a noticeable job-related bias in the PIAAC survey. This prevents certain learning activities from being followed up, making it impossible to identify learning that could be defined as social/personal. The rationale for this approach is never discussed but the logic seems to suggest that only job-related learning activities are important for the national skills pool. The problem with this argument is that it is difficult to justify such a policy on existing evidence, and moreover, the chosen approach limits the possibility to explore wider benefits of ALE. More importantly, forms of ALE that may be important for fostering democratic traditions to become marginalized. In short, when reviewing the data on participation, it is important to be mindful of how the data have been collected.

PARTICIPATION IN ALE

Early research on participation was almost exclusively carried out by individual scholars and quite narrow in scope, but as participation in ALE emerged as a public policy issue in the 1970s, national surveys began to appear and two decades later the first broad international comparative survey was launched, the *International Adult Literacy Survey* (IALS). Using this and later surveys to look at changes in participation is complicated by several factors such as changes to the definition of ALE and altered survey design. Not only do surveys conducted by different organizations, e.g. the OECD and EU, use different approaches but also a specific organization may over time revise its approach. However, looking over a longer time span, two broad interrelated trends are evident, increased participation rates and the changing nature of participation.

Table 1 presents a comparison between the reported participation rates in the 1994–1998 IALS survey and the 2012 PIAAC survey. Before looking closer at the trends, it should be noted that the overwhelming share of the participants, regardless of the survey, have taken part in some non-formal learning activity while a relatively small share of participants enrolled in a formal programme. Consequently, most activities have been of a short duration. Turning

Table 1 Growth of employer-supported adult education and overall participation in adult education. (After Desjardins 2016, p. 113)

	<i>Participation rate in employer-supported AE 1994–1998</i>	<i>Overall participation rate in AE 1994–1998</i>	<i>Participation rate in employer-supported AE 2012</i>	<i>Overall participation rate in AE 2012</i>	<i>Increase in employer-supported participation</i>	<i>Increase in proportion of employer-supported AE</i>
Denmark	35	56	52	61	17	22
Norway	38	48	52	59	15	10
Finland	38	58	50	61	13	17
Netherlands	19	36	50	60	30	29
Sweden	43	53	49	61	5	-2
Average	35	50	51	60	19	22
UK	33	44	45	51	13	15
US	28	41	45	56	17	12
Canada	19	36	44	54	25	28
Germany	5	18	39	50	35	54
Czech Republic	20	27	38	47	18	7
Belgium	11	21	36	46	25	27
Ireland	9	22	34	46	25	35
Poland	8	14	23	32	15	11
Italy	8	22	16	22	9	38

to participation trends, during the approximately 15-year period, rates improved substantially in all countries, except in Italy where it remained stagnant (Desjardins 2015). As evident from Table 1, the improvements were particularly noticeable in those countries that initially had reported a low involvement in ALE, see Belgium, Czech Republic, Germany, and Ireland. The high participation countries now report that approximately two out of three adults participated in some form of organized ALE in the year preceding the 2012 PIAAC survey. Desjardins (2015) notes that although the questions on participation are almost identical in the two surveys, there are some discrepancies in flow and slight alteration of questions that can have impacted the results. Thus, although the trend is clear, the absolute extent of the increase, particularly in those countries that saw a dramatic increase, may be less certain.

The increases in participation rates are closely linked to the fundamental changes that have occurred in the world of work over the last three decades. On the average, there was a 22% increase in the proportion of employer-supported ALE. The only exception is Sweden where the proportion declined marginally. The shift was particularly strong in Germany, Ireland, and Italy. Further evidence of the increased importance of the world of work comes from recent survey data on motivation and funding that reveal the crucial role that employers are playing in ALE. Not only PIAAC but also the European Adult Education Survey, that is not as narrowly focused on work, report that the overwhelming reason for taking some form of ALE is work related (Desjardins 2015; Kaufman 2015).

The adult education and learning community bemoans the dramatic shift of a field that has primarily become more narrowly oriented towards the economy. In the literature, particularly the Anglo-Saxon, this shift is seen in the light of a neoliberal political economy forcing economic globalization that has come to guide policies on ALE. What is less discussed in this literature is the fact that the promotion of ALE that has occurred in the developed economies is present in countries operating under a variety of forms of capitalism (Rees 2013; Saar et al. 2013; Kaufman 2015). Thus, as Rees (2013) points out, there are important differences in the ALE strategies adopted by national authorities. Following this line of thinking, it can be argued that regardless of political economy the drastic changes in the economy have caused the economic shift in ALE. However, how the economic push will come to impact ALE will depend on 'how adult learning is embedded in characteristic regimes of economic and social institutions...' (p. 200).

The economic turn in ALE challenges one of the core assumptions in participation research, namely that participation is a voluntary act. Johnstone and Rivera's 1965 classical study on participation, which came to set the direction for the field, is called *Volunteers for learning. A study of the educational pursuits of American adults*. However, the changing participation pattern and structure of the field that have occurred since this classical study have increasingly come to force people to participate because they are ordered, or feel

pressed, to undergo some form of adult education and training linked to their work (Carré 2000). Thus, contrary to the standing position in the adult education research literature, participation is not always a voluntary act which has far-reaching consequences for the construction of inequalities in citizens' relationship to ALE, see below.

INEQUALITIES IN PARTICIPATION

Unequal participation will be analysed with regard to national differences, individual characteristics, and work-related factors.

National Differences in Participation Rates

The findings vary somewhat between different surveys (see e.g. Roosma and Saar 2012; Desjardins 2015; Kaufman 2015; Boeren 2016). But although data sources vary and strict comparability is not possible, the Nordic countries consistently stand out for their high participation in organized forms of ALE. According to the 2012 PIAAC survey (OECD 2013), this is still the case:

- Countries with overall participation rates exceeding 60%: Denmark (67), Finland (66), Sweden (66), Norway (65), Netherlands (65)
- Countries with overall participation rates 50–60%: United States (59), Canada (58), United Kingdom (56), Germany (54), Estonia (53), Ireland (51), Korea (50)
- Countries with overall participation rates that fall into the 40–50% range: Czech Republic (49), Austria (49), Belgium (48), Spain (46), Japan (42)
- Countries with overall participation rates between 30 and 40%: Cyprus (38), France (36), Poland (35), Slovak Republic (33)
- Countries with overall participation rates between 20 and 30%: Italy (24).

A first conclusion, based on the above country groupings, is that the spread in participation rates is larger than might be expected. It is not surprising that there are major differences between countries which are at different stages in the modernization process and economic development. This relationship would, of course, be even more glaring if there were equivalent data for developing countries. Thus, estimates for Brazil and Vietnam, based on national surveys, suggest participation rates in the 10–15% range (Desjardins 2015). The noticeable variations between highly developed industrialized nations, at a similar stage in the modernization process, suggest major differences in ALE cultures, educational structures, public policies, and industrial relations. It is not possible to look closer at these aspects in the chapter but the impact of the dominant welfare state regime must be noted. This can be illustrated by looking at the rationale for a country's actual ALE policy. The national reports reveal that what typifies countries, like the Nordic ones, with a very high participation

is that they embrace a broad list of policy goals including not only economic concerns but also environmental and democratic considerations (Rubenson and Nesbit 2011; Desjardins 2016). However, it should be noted that this is also the case for countries that are in the second tier of the participation ranking, like Canada and the UK. What seems to distinguish category one and category two countries is their interpretation of equity. Thus, in the Nordic countries, the issue of combatting inequalities is addressed in a comprehensive way and linked to broader democratic ambitions. The overriding policy goals on adult learning in these countries could, in Esping-Andersen's words, be seen to reflect a shift 'in the accent of social citizenship from a preoccupation with income maintenance towards a menu of rights to lifelong learning and qualification' (1996: 259).

In many ways, the broader goals of adult learning are expressed in a very similar fashion to the goals of general education. This is not to say that concerns about knowledge and skills are in any way in the background in these countries but that issues around skills do not mainly employ an economic discourse but rather are situated in a broader social agenda. This is what seems to differentiate the countries with the highest participation rates from those with somewhat lower but comparatively still high rates, like the Anglo-Saxon countries. In the latter, adult learning policies are closely linked to a well-developed skills agenda. These countries raise concern about inequalities and the need to recruit vulnerable groups, but what seems to distinguish these countries from those with the highest participation rates is their more restricted perspective on inequalities (Rubenson and Nesbit 2011). Thus, the high participation rates in the Nordic countries can be seen as following the logic of the Nordic welfare state regime. So for example defining characters of the Nordic welfare state is full employment, the integration of welfare and work and industrial relations that are anchored in a highly developed corporatist structure. This can help explain differences not only in overall participation but also in the extent to which personal characteristics structure inequalities in participation in ALE.

Impact of Personal Characteristics on Participation in ALE

Turning to age, it is well documented that as people get older they are less likely to participate in adult education and training. In 17 out of the 24 countries that participated in PIAAC, adults aged 26–35 were twice as likely to participate as those in the age group 55–65 (Desjardins 2015). However, it is important to note that within the general pattern there are marked national differences. In the Nordic countries, older adults, 56–65 years of age, have, in comparison to comparable groups in most other countries, relatively high participation, although substantially lower than the younger cohorts (Desjardins 2015). Thus, while there are various possible reasons to explain the general relationship between age and declining participation, like the economic disincentives to pursue adult education and training for professional or career-upgrading reasons at an older age, the Nordic data most likely have something to do with the

structure of the adult education system. Through the existence of publicly supported popular adult education, individuals in the Nordic countries have access to a form of adult education that can respond to different aspirations and needs than the formal educational system or the education and training supplied by the employer.

It might be worth noting that as participation rates have edged up older adults seem to have narrowed the gap to the younger adults, although still remaining far below their younger compatriots. This is particularly true in countries with the most dramatic increase in the overall participation rate. So, for example, comparing figures from IALS (OECD 1997) and PIAAC, Poland saw an increase in the participation rate for the 56–65 age group from 2.8 to 14% while the figures for the 26–35 age group went from 17 to 49% (Desjardins 2015).

Turning to educational attainment, there appears to be a Matthew Effect operating in most societies (i.e. the ones who already have get more and those who do not have get less). In the recent PIAAC survey, more educated adults were on the average 3–5 times more likely to have participated and similar differences were reported for parents' education (Desjardins 2015). The findings on the effects of parents' and own educational attainment can be explained by how 'the long arm of the family' mediates opportunities for adult learning. The long arm of the family refers to the well-documented relationship between social background, educational attainment, and position in the labour market which affects adults' subjective readiness to participate, as well as actual opportunities for improving their knowledge and skills. However, just as with age there are major national differences with the inequalities being less pronounced in the Nordic countries and also the Netherlands (Boeren 2009; Desjardins 2015). This should be understood in the context of the previously discussed logic of the dominant welfare state regime. Looking at functional literacy instead of educational attainment, the findings are similar (OECD 2000; OECD 2013). The more functional literate a person is the more likely it is for him or her to have participated in some form of ALE, but with differences being less pronounced in the Nordic countries and also the Netherlands.

Employment-Related Factors

As a consequence of the dramatic changes to participation patterns and structure of the field, 'the long arm of work' has come to play an increasingly important role in the construction of adults' opportunities and readiness to engage in ALE. This refers to the way the labour market structure, and more generally the nature of occupations and production, bear strong influence on the distribution of adult learning.

An obvious example of the effect of the long arm of the job on ALE is that employed adults are more likely to participate in adult education and training than unemployed adults. On average, the employed are about 1.5 times more likely to participate, but this result varies substantially across countries

(Rubenson et al. 2008). In countries that engage in active labour market policies, which specifically target the unemployed, participation can also be comparatively high among the unemployed (Kaufman 2015). These programmes are part of a broader labour market strategy, flexicurity, that can be seen as a model to manage the challenges of globalization while securing economic growth and employment.

Not surprisingly, the incidence of work-related adult education and training tends to vary according to the skill level required for completing job tasks associated with particular occupations. The findings show that adults in low-skill blue-collar-type occupations are the least likely to participate in adult education and training and that high-skill white-collar workers are the most likely—this is a clear pattern across all industrialized countries which holds even after adjusting for other factors such as educational attainment and socioeconomic background (Desjardins 2015; Kaufman 2015). Factors like occupation, industry, and whether the person holds a supervisory role can be seen as proxies for skill demands in the job. Thus, it is of interest to note that a more direct measure, like the frequency and variety of reading practices, is one of the most significant determinants of participation in work-related adult education and training (Rubenson et al. 2008). While having a high level of literacy skills is found to be associated with an increased likelihood of receiving employer support for participating in adult education/training, there is a sharp difference between those who need to use those skills at work and those who do not (Nilsson and Rubenson 2013). Thus, match and mismatch between job tasks and observed skills strongly impact on the possibilities and readiness to engage in adult education and training. People with low skills and working in jobs with low engagement in literacy have the lowest participation rate while those with high literacy and high engagement report the highest participation. One interesting finding regarding match–mismatch between skills and use of skills is that those with skill shortages participate to the same or even higher extent than those with a skill surplus (Nilsson and Rubenson 2013).

A few studies have looked closer at how work not only impacts the participation in organized forms of education but also informal learning (Livingstone 2010; Nilsson and Rubenson 2013). The findings reveal that while those who participate in organized forms of ALE also frequently engage in informal learning, there is a considerable group in the Canadian labour force that only relies on informal learning. This is true for older workers and those with less education working in manual jobs. The relationship between the employees' literacy competence, formal education, and the job requirements was a determinant not only of organized forms of ALE but also informal learning. If the employees' education was closely related to their job, they were more likely to participate in both organized education and informal learning.

The findings on inequalities point to two main conclusions. First, the long arm of the job is increasingly affecting the field of ALE. Second, while the influence of the long arm of the job and the long arm of the family is noticeable in all countries, it seems stronger in some countries than in others. Thus, the

data suggest that while the long arm of the family and the job will always be present, public policy, which can be seen as an outcome of broader social structures, can somewhat reduce their impact on readiness to participate in adult education and training.

UNDERSTANDING THE LOGIC OF UNEQUAL PARTICIPATION IN ALE

The brief presentation of findings from comparative surveys on participation starts to provide an insight into the process that has left different segments of the adult population with very unequal chances to participate in ALE. At the centre of this process, are the combined effects of the long arm of the family and the long arm of the job that go hand in hand in structuring an individual's relationship to ALE. While this process is operating in all countries, there were some noticeable differences even between countries that are having very similar economies. It is, therefore, crucial to begin exploring the two interrelated questions: what are the crucial constraining and enabling elements that impact participation and how can these be affected? We will begin by looking closer at the world of work.

The World of Work

While it is obvious that strict concerns regarding the demand of the world of work govern employers' support and involvement in adult education and learning, it is important to understand that the impact of work on people's relationship to learning is much more fundamental than that. Thus, the overwhelming reason for adults to invest in their own education and training are factors like increasing possibility to secure gainful employment, hope to secure a better job, increased job security and/or perform better in the present job. This does not mean that an individual could not enrol in some form of organized form of ALE for non-job-related reasons such as to get intellectual stimulation and social enjoyment. Often several different motives are behind the decision to enrol. However, work is for the overwhelming majority at the centre of the complex web of motives driving participation. This is embedded in a neoliberal political economy where lifelong learning from the 1990s on fundamentally became primarily understood as an individual project. It becomes the responsibility of persons to make adequate provision for the creation and preservation of their own human capital (Marginson 1997). In Gramscian terms, what has happened is that the neoliberal infused idea of lifelong learning as an individual project has come to be taken for granted and become the 'common sense' of society.

Looking at those groups in society that do not engage in any form of organized ALE, their non-participation could be interpreted as them not having embraced the 'common sense' of society to invest in their own human capital nor have the employers seemed fit to do so. The former is borne out of in-depth qualitative studies of barriers to participation. The research provides an in-depth

insight into the subjective rationale for actively declining to engage in organized forms of adult education. The overall finding is that a lack of interest often reflects a subjective rationality that is constructed around the person's life context. Several studies have pointed to how a lack of stimulating employment opportunities—either in the form of unemployment with small opportunities to become employed and/or a monotonous job—discourages participation (Paldanius 2007). For this group, non-participation becomes a highly rational act. It is first when participation in adult education results in better and higher paying work that it is meaningful. The following quotes from Paldanius' interviews with a group of non-participants can exemplify the subjective rationality of this group.

Learning for the sake of learning?; never, I have much more important stuff to do, for instance I can plant onions and then know that it will take so and so long time until I see the results of my actions, I have actually made something, manufactured something. (Paldanius 2007: 472)

Similarly, Carlén (1999) found that automobile workers viewed work and education as separate praxis related to class identity. As wage earners, they should produce and not enter into other spheres. Forms of adult education that were unrelated to their work challenged their routine and were perceived to encompass a threat of change. These findings illustrate how the nature of work creates barriers to participating in ALE for large groups in society. This dilemma is slowly being recognized in the main skills discourse. Up until recently, the policy discourse on skills as an economic engine tended to focus almost exclusively on the supply of skills and concerns of individual skill deficits, and thus the need for individuals to participate in training and upgrading. Much less thought has been given to how the structure and nature of work facilitates or constrains individual adult learning opportunities (Krahn and Lowe 1998; Brown et al. 2001; Illeris 2004; Livingstone 2010). Likewise, much of the scholarly literature on participation in adult education and training has paid more attention to how individual characteristics may influence participation. Less research has been done to understand how factors related to the structure and nature of work frame participation in adult education and training. However, recent policy documents from the OECD, particularly the reports on their Skills Strategy (OECD 2012), show a greater attention to the implication of the nature of work. The documents note that it is essential to ensure that where skills exist they are fully utilized. It is argued that the Skills Strategy should stimulate the creation of more high-skilled and high value-added jobs. It also noticed that more skills are not necessarily better skills, and the mere existence of skills does not automatically lead to improved economic performance. Making optimal use of existing skills, preventing waste and attrition of skills due to mismatch or lack of use, and encouraging employers to demand higher level of skills in stagnating regions or sectors are equally important elements of skills policies (OECD 2012: 19).

While much of the focus is on the employer, there is also recognition of the role that government can play by creating programmes that could encourage the private sector to restructure work. What does not seem to be part of the present discourse on the nature of work and skills is the more fundamental question of economic democracy that was, if not central, at least present in the initial discussions on lifelong learning and the more progressive initiatives on adult learning in the 1970s. Following the publication of the UNESCO report *Learning to be* (aka as the *Faure report*) in 1972 a group of scholars at the UNESCO Institute of Education worked on clarifying the conditions for realizing a strategy of lifelong learning in line with the aspirations and utopian ideals of the Faure Commission. Regarding the nature of work they noticed:

A crucial weakness in the structure of society is an absence of political will, not only towards the democratization of education but also towards the democratization of society. Consequently, the existing social relations of production provide a major obstacle to the true realization of lifelong learning—indeed lifelong learning will become a new arena for social struggle because it will require a classless society. (Vinokur 1976: 362)

The thinking around economic democracy and ALE was given a more concrete representation in the radical Swedish reforms of ALE in the early 1970s. These reforms were part of a wider ambition to create a more equal and democratic society. Far-reaching changes to working life were at the centre of these reforms and it is interesting to note that the democratization of working life was stressed as a motivating factor in stimulating demands for adult education among those that traditionally did not participate. The complete package of measures combined laws around co-determination with laws on the right to study leave and subsidies for shop stewards to do ALE outreach during working hours. While these measures seem very foreign to today's skills discourse they should remind us that an agenda to broaden participation in ALE would do well to revisit the earlier understanding of the link between economic democracy and readiness to participate in ALE. Unfortunately, the consistent weakening of the labour movement is hindering this issue to surface. Similarly, the fact that a substantial segment of the adult education community, including many scholars, regard the close link between work and adult education only as a threat and not also as an opportunity and arena for struggle, further complicates the situation.

The Effect of Broader Structures and the Role of Public Policy

Comparative research on barriers provides some insight into the impact of the broader structural conditions and the role of government on participation in ALE. In almost all surveys, situational barriers (a lack of time because of work and/or family) dominate followed by institutional barriers (fees being the most common barrier in this group). Dispositional barriers are less frequently mentioned but this is to a certain extent a consequence of how the surveys are

designed. Thus, several of the surveys only ask about barriers if the person has been interested in taking some form of adult education and learning but has not done so. A lack of interest is not regarded to be a barrier in these kinds of surveys which can explain the low frequency of dispositional barriers. The Eurobarometer interestingly suggests that adults seem to have mentioned situational and institutional barriers to the same extent regardless of the participation rate of their country. Thus, in nearly all cases, adults from Nordic countries are more likely to participate in adult education even though they may perceive situational and/or institutional barriers to a similar extent as their counterparts in other countries (Rubenson and Desjardins 2009). These differences are at least an outcome of various welfare state policies that shape the structural conditions, for example in relation to family situations.

A similar observation can be made for job-related barriers. In the Nordic countries, factors such as industrial relations, active labour market measures, leave schemes that are helping people to overcome work-related situational barriers. Turning to dispositional barriers, these are mentioned, not only in the non-Nordic countries but also in several of the Nordic countries. However, they are somewhat less frequent in the latter group of countries (Rubenson and Desjardins 2009). The conclusion is that the Nordic welfare states feature structural conditions that have a positive influence on a person's capabilities and consciousness vis-a-vis the decision to participate in ALE. Thus, a particular welfare state regime can be found, not only to be implicated in social structures, adult education systems, and life chances, but also in individual consciousness. From this perspective, public policy has a role to play in attenuating both structurally and individually based barriers to participation. Public policy as represented by different types of welfare state regimes can directly affect the contextual (structural) conditions that individuals face (on the job, in civil society, at home) but through this, it can also indirectly affect individuals' subjective rationality and view (disposition) of their opportunity structure.

Finally, public policy is important in setting the boundaries for what is understood by ALE. As discussed above, today's dominant discourse is biased towards what is perceived to be useful to work and the labour market. The types of non-formal ALE that are concerned with the forming of citizenship, civil society, and democracy are often absent and/or not recognized in official statistics. However, a radical agenda to address inequalities in ALE would also have to focus on the forms of individual and collective ALE that would strengthen the political voice of the voiceless.

Building on the previous discussion, the concluding section will briefly look at some implications for research on participation in ALE.

SOME IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Driven by the recent interest from the policy community, there has been a renewed interest in participation research. The recent availability of large-scale data sets, like the PIAAC, which collects empirical information on the actual

skills people have acquired and possess is opening up new possibilities for research. However, there are some obvious needs for improvements of the PIAAC. As mentioned several times above, the actual data on participation do not give enough attention to non-work-related forms of ALE and PIAAC in its present form does not address informal learning, something I will return to below. Further, to make the data set longitudinal and, as original planned, supplement the individual survey with a workplace survey as well as an administrative survey would provide a much stronger design for assessing the links between policy initiatives and the benefits of different forms of ALE. In addition to these data issues, I would also like to draw attention to two other issues.

First, the need for theoretically informed comparative analysis of the impact of the dominant political economy on ALE. Since the latter part of the 1990s, it has become something of a growth industry among scholars to critique the political project of lifelong learning. At the heart of the criticism, is strong resentment against what is seen as a colonization of adult education and its humanistic and liberatory traditions by an ‘economistic’ agenda driven by globalization and a human capital agenda, resulting in a drastic change in the conditions under which adult education operates. Tracing the underlying shifts in the political economy, the present policy direction of lifelong learning is being commonly criticized for its reliance on a neoliberal value system. However, as Rees (2013: 200) points out, while globalization and the ideas about the knowledge-based economy have had an almost hegemonic influence one must be cognisant of the fact that national governments have chosen very different strategies when it comes to ALE. Rees concludes (Ibid: 200):

It is not possible to ‘read-off’ a common policy programme for adult learning systems from a shared conceptualisation of key issues based on ideas about the knowledge-based economy and, ultimately HCT.

Thus, several scholars, often informed by Hall and Soskice’s (2001) analysis of ‘varieties of capitalism’ and Esping-Andresen’s writings on welfare state regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990), have questioned the often seemingly simplistic arguments that globalization unavoidably results in convergence of the developed economies (see e.g. Busemeyer and Trampusch 2012). While there is a beginning interest in this line of research in adult education (see e.g. Desjardins and Rubenson 2013; Saar et al. 2013), much detailed work remains before we can have a fuller understanding of how provision, levels of participation, and patterns of inequalities relate to what has become known as the international political economy. As stated by Rees (Ibid: 211), this line of research can open new insights into the ways in which ALE systems are shaped by their inter-relationships with the private strategies of firms, the role assumed by the state, and the structure of welfare provision.

Second, while great progress has been achieved conceptually and empirically in measuring competencies, this is less true for the development of empirical and conceptual linkages between competencies, forms of ALE, policy levers, and outcomes. A dilemma is that while the discourse on lifelong learning has shifted the focus from education to learning activities what are most easily observed are the adult education activities; i.e. the inputs to, expenditures on, or participation in adult education. Thus, these indicators are what have been collected in most of the existing data sets. A persistent problem is that informal learning is not measured or classified, even though it makes up an important part of the purposeful learning people engage in. Notwithstanding the fact that learning may not always be easily divided and defined into the distinct categories or modes as proposed in policy documents, questions like, what benefits do different modes of adult learning result in or to what extent do non-formal education and/or informal learning act as substitutes or complements at different life stages.

REFERENCES

- Boeren, E. (2009). Adult education participation: The Matthew principle. *Filosofija Sociologija*, 20(2), 154–161.
- Boeren, E. (2016). *Lifelong learning participation in a changing policy context: An interdisciplinary theory*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, P., Green, A., & Lauder, H. (2001). *High skills: Globalization, competitiveness, and skill formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Busemeyer, M. R., & Trampusch, C. (Eds.). (2012). *The political economy of collective skill formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carlén, M. (1999). *Kunskapslyftelleravbytarbänk? Möten med industriarbetare-omutbildningsförarbetet [A knowledge jump or a substitute back up plan? Meeting with industry workers about work training]*.. Göteborg: ActauniversitatisGothoburgensis.
- Carré, P. (2000). Motivation in adult education: From engagement to performance. In *Proceedings of the 41st Annual Adult education research Conference*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia.
- Clark, A. K. (1998). Race, 'culture,' and Mestizaje: The statistical construction of the Ecuadorian nation, 1930–1950. *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 11(2), 185–211.
- Desjardins, R. (2015). *Participation in adult education opportunities: Evidence from PIAAC and policy trends in selected countries*, background paper for the Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2015.
- Desjardins, R. (2016). *The political economy of adult learning systems: Alternative strategies, policies and the coordination of constraints*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Desjardins, R., & Rubenson, K. (2013). Participation patterns in adult education: The role of institutions and public policy frameworks in resolving coordination problems. *European Journal of Education*, 48(2), 262–280.
- Dohmen, G. (1996). *Lifelong learning: Guidelines for a modern education policy*. Cologne: Ministry of Education and Science.
- EC. (2000). *A memorandum on lifelong learning*. Retrieved from <http://europa.eu.int/comm/education/life/memoen.pdf>.
- EC. (2005). *Task force report on adult education survey*.

- EC. (2011a). *Council resolution on a renewed European agenda for adult learning*. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2011:372:0001:0006:en:PDF>.
- EC. (2011b). *Action plan on adult learning: Achievements and results 2008–2010*. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2011:372:0001:0006:en:PDF>.
- EC. (2012). *Draft AES manual Version 8*. Retrieved from <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=OJ:C:2011:372:0001:0006:en:PDF>.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (Ed.). (1996). *Welfare states in transition: National adaptations in global economies*. Oxford: Pergamon.
- Faure, E. (1972). *Learning to be*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Hall, P., & Soskice, D. (2001). *Varieties of capitalism: The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hansen, H. F., & Rieper, O. (2010). The politics of evidence-based policy-making: The case of Denmark. *German Policy Studies*, 6(2), 87–112.
- Hefler, G. (2012). *Taking steps: Formal adult education in private and organizational life*. Wien: Lit Verlag.
- Illeris, K. (2004). A model for learning in working life. *The Journal of Workplace Learning*, 16(8), 431–441.
- Kaufman, K. (2015). Non-formal education in international comparison: Patterns of participation and investment in selected European countries. *International Journal for Research in Vocational Education and Training*, 2(4), 239–267.
- Krahn, H., & Lowe, G. S. G. (1998). *Literacy utilization in Canadian workplaces*. Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada and Statistics Canada.
- Livingstone, D. W. (Ed.). (2010). *Lifelong learning in paid and unpaid work: Survey results and case study findings*. London: Routledge.
- Marginson, S. (1997). *Markets in education*. St Leonards: Allen & Unwin.
- Nilsson, S., & Rubenson, K. (2013). On the determinants of employment-related organised education and informal learning. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 36(3), 304–321.
- OECD. (1989). *Education and the economy in a changing society*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (1996). *Lifelong learning for all*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (1997). *Literacy skills for the knowledge economy*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2000). *Literacy in the information age*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2003a). *Beyond rhetoric: Adult learning policies and practices*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2003b). *Learning a living. First results from the adult literacy and life skills survey*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2009). *PIAAC BQJRA V5.0—Conceptual framework. The Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies*.
- OECD. (2012). *OECD skills strategy: Towards an OECD skills strategy*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2013). *Skills outlook 2013: First results from the survey of adult skills*. Paris: OECD.
- Paldanius, S. (2007). The rationality of reluctance and indifference toward adult education. In *Proceedings of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education* (pp. 471–476). Ottawa: CASAE.
- Rees, G. (2013). Comparing adult learning systems: An emerging political economy. *European Journal of Education*, 48(2), 200–212.

- Roosma, E.-I., & Saar, E. (2012). Participating in non-formal learning: Patterns of inequality in EU-15 and EU-8 countries: Demand and supply side factors. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31(3), 477–501.
- Rubenson, K., & Nesbit, T. (2011). CONFINTEA VI from a Canadian perspective. *International Review of Education*, 57(1–2), 127–143.
- Rubenson, K., & Desjardins, R. (2009). The impact of welfare state regimes on barriers to participation in adult education: A bounded agency model. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 59(3), 187–207.
- Rubenson, K., Desjardins, R., & Yoon, E.-S. (2008). *Adult learning in Canada: A comparative perspective*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Saar, E., Ure, O. B., & Desjardins, R. (2013). The role of diverse institutions in framing adult learning systems. *European Journal of Education*, 48(2), 213–232.
- UNESCO. (1976). *Recommendations on the development of adult education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2009). *Global report on adult learning and education*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- UNESCO. (2016). *GRALE III—The wider benefits of adult learning and education*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning.
- Verner, C. (1964). Definitions of terms. In G. Jensen, A. A. Liveright, & W. Hallebeck (Eds.), *Adult education outlines of an emergent field of university studies* (pp. 27–39). Washington, DC: American Association for Adult and Continuing Education.
- Vinkour, A. (1976). Economic analysis of lifelong learning. In R. H. Dave (Ed.), *Foundations of lifelong education*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Kjell Rubenson is Professor Emeritus at the University of British Columbia, Canada. His research has addressed structures, policies and outcomes of adult education and lifelong learning. He was a member of the Editorial board for the recently released *Third Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2016).

Participation in Adult Literacy Programmes and Social Injustices

Lyn Tett

Abstract This chapter discusses different approaches to equality and their impact on policy and pedagogy. It then uses the lenses offered by Nancy Fraser's (Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalising World. Polity Press, Cambridge, 2008) concepts of redistribution, recognition and participatory parity to investigate if participation in literacy education contributes to alleviating social injustices. It draws on data from case studies of adult literacy programmes in Scotland to demonstrate that these learners have experienced changes that have lessened social injustices in all three areas. However, it points out that there are many countervailing forces that privilege a narrow, skills-focused, pedagogy that reinforce an individual deficit approach to learners. It concludes that although education is not a panacea for all social ills and cannot compensate for the inequities of society, it can make a difference in creating more equitable conditions for those that have already experienced the greatest injustice.

INTRODUCTION

Inequality in incomes and wealth has been rising dramatically across the world during recent decades and these inequalities are associated with negative social outcomes in a range of areas: from public health and well-being, to social trust, political engagement, social mobility and crime (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009). People that do not have strong literacy skills are particularly likely to experience inequality and its adverse consequences for a number of reasons. First poor school performance is a major factor in a range of negative adult outcomes that include 'extended unemployment, early childbearing, low incomes in jobs with

L. Tett (✉)

The University of Huddersfield, Queensgate, Huddersfield HD1 3DH, UK
e-mail: l.tett@hud.ac.uk

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_19

359

poor prospects, depression, drug addiction and criminality' (Bynner and Joshi 2002: 406). Second international surveys show the detrimental impact on individuals' chances of gaining and keeping employment if they do not have the literacy competencies required by their society and the strong effect that this has on an individual's health and well-being (OECD 2013). Moreover, people with limited proficiency in literacy are least likely to experience employer-sponsored education and so 'lack support for institutionalised learning to redress [their] skills deficiencies' (OECD 2015: 154). Third people with literacy difficulties often regard their lack of skills as their own fault and this impacts negatively on their confidence and self-esteem (Worthman 2008; Tett et al. 2012).

One reason why literacy difficulties are internalized is that international and national policy discourses clearly locate such so-called 'deficiencies' as lying with the individual (Hamilton and Pitt 2011; Windisch 2015). Moreover, this problem is seen as posing problems for the literate 'others' in a society (Tett 2014a). For example, the OECD has argued that 'Educational failure... imposes high costs on society. Poorly educated people limit economies' capacity to produce, grow and innovate' (OECD 2012a: 3). This rhetorical argument operates by placing the onus on the individual to take action to remedy their difficulties rather than examining the structures that have created these inequalities in the first place.

Despite all these issues, education has been noted as a key site of personal and social change for the adult student (Schuller et al. 2004) and so this chapter will investigate if participation in literacy education contributes to alleviating some inequalities. It will draw on data from case studies of adult literacy programmes in Scotland to illustrate this empirically, but first conceptualizations of inequality and their impact on policy and practice are discussed.

INEQUALITY, POLICY AND PEDAGOGY

There are a number of ways in which inequality can be conceptualized. At one end of the spectrum is *equality of opportunity* where the focus is on the achievement of equality of access to, and participation in, education. The underlying assumption is that education is meritocratic and we live in a fair society that ensures that people will progress according to their ability (Gerwitz 1998). From this perspective, injustice can be remedied by making changes in how educational opportunities are distributed. At the other end is *social justice* where not only the economic but also the cultural aspects of justice are seen as vital. From this perspective remedying injustice requires both the redistribution of opportunities and also the recognition of people's identities and their cultural diversity (Keddie 2012).

These competing conceptualizations of injustice necessitate very different remedies. From the perspective of equality of opportunity, socio-economic adversity can be overcome by enabling access to a wide range of educational opportunities that individuals can take up or not according to their own motivation. From the social justice perspective, the emphasis is on the societal

or structural level and requires economic restructuring that will lead to redistribution as well as cultural or symbolic change. This latter could involve re-evaluating disrespected identities or revaluing cultural diversity.

Within this broad conceptualization of social justice, there have been disagreements with some authors arguing that, rather than bringing the two aspects of recognition and redistribution together, the politics of redistribution and recognition are mutually exclusive alternatives. Writers such as Gitlin (1995) and Rorty (2000) argue that the focus on recognition serves to distract from the real issue of distributive injustice and suggest that the focus on identity exaggerates difference, thus suffocating any possibility of promoting broader political cooperation. Conversely, theorists such as Taylor (1992) and Honneth (2003) argue that ignoring difference and focusing exclusively on redistribution can serve to reinforce injustice by compelling minority groups and identities to 'fall in line' with the norms of the dominant group. Therefore, the struggles over a fairer distribution of opportunities, resources and rights should be thought of as struggles for recognition.

Nancy Fraser (2003), however, argues that issues of distribution and recognition interpenetrate. Though they do not fold neatly into one another, they interact causally. Treating every injustice as both economic and cultural, all must be assessed from both outlooks without reducing one to the other. The key to this approach is what Fraser calls the 'status model' of recognition. This model views misrecognition as a matter of *social status*, where: 'patterns of disrespect and disesteem are institutionalized, for example, in law, social welfare, medicine, public education, and/or the social practices and group mores that structure everyday interaction' (Fraser 1998: 25–26). Fraser points out that some groups are subjected to both types of discrimination, particularly those from racial minorities, because they are 'discriminated against in the labour market [whilst simultaneously]... patterns of cultural value privilege some traits ... [meaning that they] are constructed as deficient and inferior others who cannot be full members of society' (Fraser 2003: 23).

Later Fraser added a third dimension of social justice that she named 'participatory parity', because it focuses on equality of participation in decision-making, and argued that this concept 'sets the procedures for staging and resolving contests in both the economic and the cultural dimensions' (2008: 17). Its achievement requires that individuals participate on an equal footing in processes that give them a voice in public deliberations and democratic decision-making particularly over issues that directly affect them. So this aspect of social justice involves making social arrangements that mean that *all* people are enabled to participate as equals in social life. It is concerned about how injustices should be remedied and requires the critical interrogation of the ways in which equity is understood and pursued.

Another reason for a focus on how (in)equality is understood is that particular conceptualizations drive what counts and what is counted in education at the national and international levels. This is particularly the case in the adoption of particular assessment and evaluation regimes. A key influence on such

adoptions is the statistics that are gathered and analysed by the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) for its international comparisons (Meyer and Benavot 2013; Tett 2014b). The league tables produced by these international comparisons, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) (OECD 2012b) and the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) (OECD 2013), are underpinned by an equality of opportunity approach. This is because the focus of the comparison is on the distribution of access to, and the successful outcomes of, participation in education (Robertson and Dale 2013; Lingard et al. 2014). As a result, attention is paid only to the economic (or redistributive) aspect of inequality and both the cultural (or recognitive) aspects and also the participative (or representative) are ignored. Moreover, the underlying structures that produced these unequal distributions, and their resulting inequitable outcomes, are neglected (Connell 2012).

Conceptualizations of inequality also influence the pedagogical approaches used in programmes. Although participating in literacy programmes has been shown to lead to positive changes in self-perception as well as increases in skills (Cieslik 2006; Forté 2013) not all literacy programmes are empowering and some can act as a form of oppression (Wickens and Sandlin 2007). This is because if literacy learning is only seen as the acquisition of a set of neutral, technical skills that are focused on ‘employability’ then learners are defined by their absence of these skills and thus disrespected. This discourse fuels the myth that those who struggle with the formal, technical skills of literacy are less capable contributors to society and that this ‘incapability’ is a problem that they, as individuals, are responsible for rectifying (Hamilton and Pitt 2011). On the other hand, those programmes that start from a ‘funds of knowledge’ position (González et al. 2005), which assumes that learners are knowledge-rich rather than knowledge-poor, have been found to be more likely to lead to positive learning outcomes (Barton et al. 2007). Moreover, assessment strategies that start from the learners’ own goals, and assess how far they have travelled in reaching them, have been shown to encourage much deeper learning than the use of end tests that tend to limit the curriculum to narrow skills-focused learning (CERI 2008; Purcell-Gates et al. 2012).

A final aspect of pedagogy that research has shown to be important is creating an atmosphere where literacy learners are treated with respect within relationships of trust (Feeley 2014). Having a caring ethos not only enables participants’ strengths to be recognized, it also helps to create supportive social networks and consequently improve physical, mental, social and economic well-being especially for those living in poverty (Prins et al. 2009: 336).

In summary then, the literature shows that how equality is conceptualized influences the policy structures, the expected outcomes and the pedagogical approaches used in literacy programmes. These conceptualizations have an important impact on the experiences of participants and consequently on the mitigation of injustices.

I consider that Fraser's conceptualization of inequality is the most rigorous test of how far education might contribute to social justice because its comprehensive view of inequality makes it more likely that its many dimensions can be interrogated. So in the rest of this article, I will use her concepts of redistribution, recognition and participatory parity to examine the outcomes of participation in adult literacy education by drawing on data from participants in a range of Scottish programmes. Before that, however, I will explain the methodology.

METHODOLOGY

The data on which this chapter is based are drawn from adult literacy learners that participated in two research projects in Scotland. Project 1 comprised eight case studies of provision that was located in urban areas where social and economic deprivation was most concentrated. They were all based in community settings and embraced different types of provision (i.e. dedicated, embedded and holistic). The research aimed to 'investigate the learner experiences that serve to mediate engagement and persistence' (Crowther et al. 2010: 6) in adult literacy and numeracy programmes. Project 2 carried out case studies in 14 small and medium-sized enterprises in four geographical areas, a range of organizational sizes and structures, and workplace learning cultures and was designed to examine the relationship between 'organisational culture, learner identity and learning opportunities' (Algren and Tett 2010: 18) and the impact that learning in the workplace can have.

In both projects, data were gathered from literacy learners through semi-structured interviews. The interviews used an autobiographical approach where learners were asked to talk about their individual life histories, the circumstances in which they were currently situated and the impact of their participation in learning. The interviews were transcribed and the transcriptions were analysed thematically (Braun and Clarke 2006) using a grounded approach for probing emerging issues. It is acknowledged that any autobiographical recounting is a construction rather than an objective, complete history (Gluck and Patai 1991) and is a story whose telling is shaped by many factors, especially by the relationship between the teller and the listener. Thus, the recounting of the learners' histories was likely to be subject to purposeful and unplanned omissions; however, in spite of these challenges, the story each participant told provided insights into how their previous experiences had influenced their current views of themselves and their learning.¹

In the rest of the chapter, I will draw on these data to first illustrate the participants' experiences of maldistribution and misrecognition in their early lives and how they interact causally (Fraser 2003). I will then discuss the impact of the literacy programmes on recognition and redistribution and assess if participants were able to move towards participatory parity. Finally, I will consider what contribution literacy programmes can make to lessen social injustices.

REDISTRIBUTION AND RECOGNITION

Experiences of Schooling

In this section, I draw on the data from both the community and work-based projects to examine the learners' perceptions of their experiences of schooling. Many emphasized the maldistribution of the opportunities available to them. For example, some learners, slower than the 'brighter' children in large classes, reported that they simply dropped off the teachers' radar and did not receive the attention that they required. One reflected: 'I liked my first school, but the other kids were better than me.... The classes were too big, there wasn't enough time to learn what I should have'. Another remembered having difficulties at primary school. She was very slow at reading but did not feel that the teachers noticed and she thought that they were: 'more interested in the ones that could get on....They sort of just left me to one side.... I tried to do my best, but I just felt that because I wasn't bright and I wasn't brainy that people just didn't want to know'. Others had specific learning difficulties or disabilities that were not picked up in mainstream education whilst for some health problems limited their attendance and hence ability to keep up with prescribed syllabuses. It also appears that teachers had low expectations of their less advantaged pupils as one learner recalled:

I was born with cerebral palsy but had to have operations so I missed lots through illnesses....We didn't get the teaching we should have and it held me back. If it hadn't been for the teachers.... I might have passed things. I could have done a lot better, but they just shouted, - 'the six of you, go for a nap, do this, do that' and in the afternoon it was more play than lessons, and this was Secondary School.

In addition, some people remembered being bullied and this affected their ability to learn which led a number to stop participating in their schools either by being physically absent or not paying any attention even if they were there. For example: 'I was bullied so much.... I didn't take anything in—there were so many sniggering remarks and I basically used to sit and doodle all day'. Another learner's memory of education was dominated by the impact of bullying teachers: 'in ... the classes if you got it wrong you got hit. So there was fear and no one would put up their hand unless they were 100% sure, and that marks you'.

One learner, however, described school as 'a haven [that] provided a chance to escape from the problems at home' where she was bullied by her older brothers. Yet very few learners were able to identify a teacher who had recognized their capabilities and invested time in supporting them which research has shown has a positive impact on attainment (Bynner and Joshi 2002). Moreover, hardly any reported that their parents had helped them with homework or discussed their progress with teachers and many lacked the stable and supportive family environment that research has shown is necessary for making educational

progress (Bynner and Joshi 2002). A small number were raised in homes that were neglectful as one learner's story exemplifies:

My mum left when I was six weeks old and my dad brought me up but he re-married and I wasn't treated well by my stepmother. I don't remember any happy times, birthdays, family times, or even ordinary cuddles. There was just no love there so I ended up going off the rails and rarely went to Secondary school.

In addition, many said that they had lived in poverty-stricken homes where 'there wasn't enough money to go round' and this impacted not only on their academic achievements in their school years but also on their attainment in adulthood (Schoon and Bynner 2003).

Finally not achieving well at school had a lasting impact on recognition through its impact on individuals' self-esteem. For example one participant said 'I am not very academic; I have not got a lot of confidence in myself. I scraped through, only got one 'O level'. I am not brainy'. As Charlesworth (2000: 243–244) has argued:

being told that one is not clever is like being told that one is fat or ugly; it is not something about which one can achieve indifference ... Thus we end up with people defined...as 'useless', unable, stupid; lacking in the dignities given to the privileged.

These learners' stories illustrate that the educational opportunities open to them were not equal and so they did not benefit from their schooling to the extent that their more advantaged peers did. Clearly many experienced maldistribution in terms of their access to good quality education as well as misrecognition because their teachers, their peers and, in some cases, their parents constructed their skills and experiences as deficient and inferior. Overall, their personal and social circumstances had been an obstacle to the achievement of their potential but did their later experiences in the literacy programmes change this?

Experiences of Learning in Literacy Programmes

In this section, I review the impact of participation in the community and workplace programmes on the *recognitive* and *redistributive* aspects of social justice.

In the community-based projects many talked about the recognition that they now received: 'here they build you up and help you to think positively so I feel much more confident about what I can do'. Others spoke about being respected: 'in this place you're not just a disabled person, you're respected as an ordinary person, as a human being'. This respect was created through learners feeling that their issues, circumstances and concerns were both acknowledged and valued. For example: 'here you don't get judged, criticized, everybody does care about everybody else, even though we've got our own problems'.

Another said that she ‘used to just watch TV, now I’m out mixing and learning—I’m not isolated any more’. Learners found that their progress made them feel differently about what they could achieve: ‘now I know I can be educated it’s made a difference to the way I feel about everything’ and another pointed out: ‘I don’t think I’m a failure any more... It’s boosting my self-esteem, giving me more confidence and helping me know I can get a job’.

Pedagogically the focus on what learners *could* do increased confidence and self-respect: ‘the tutor helped me to work out what I could do and then, once I was happy about that, I worked on what I couldn’t do’. For many being part of a group helped with learning: ‘you’re in with the group so you get involved... you have to work out tasks, you’re communicating with each other and it’s very satisfying’. This also enabled some to ‘get along with a lot of people who support different football teams from me and I didn’t think I’d be able to do this’. A number of learners suggested that it was the tutors that made an impact: ‘it makes me feel motivated that the tutors are working so hard to help me’. Participants in these programmes reported that they had changed their dispositions to learning and altered their learning practices partly because of these positive caring relationships. For example: ‘It’s safe here and that makes it easy to talk to the staff who understand how I feel and if you trust a person and they say try this [learning activity] then you do it’.

So most of the learners in the community projects had worked through previous negative learning identities and were now much more engaged in learning so that, as one put it: ‘now I can read OK I feel more acceptable, not an outcast’ and another said ‘I value education now and I’m going on to college to study computing and hope that it will lead to a better life for me’.

In some of the workplace learning projects, people had been encouraged to participate in training by the commitment of their employers. One company operated an open door policy that encouraged their staff to engage in informal learning and a participant said: ‘if you go into the office and ask they will help you, they will never see you struggle...and if they think there is something good for you they will tell you. They are very encouraging if you want to do something’. This approach worked much more positively for people that found formal learning intimidating and one employee contrasted her experience of a course held at a further education college: ‘Ten minutes into the course I went to introduce myself ... I was actually feeling sick, I hate things like that... I was so embarrassed that I wanted the ground to open up and swallow me. And you had to say what your ambition was... I couldn’t say anything ... I really found it intimidating’.

Other individuals really welcomed the opportunities to engage in courses and those that led to qualifications were seen as contributing to self-confidence. For example, one child-care worker felt that her formal qualifications had given her the confidence to communicate effectively with parents. She explained: ‘I know exactly what I’m talking about and I can explain it to them. I know what I’m doing and I know how to plan activities for the kids. I now have a better knowledge’. In addition, she reported that she had a much more positive

attitude to learning and described workplace learning as ‘an opportunity and a chance that should be taken advantage of’.

Some employers were much more negative about opportunities and imposed limits on learning. Two of these employers, both from the traditional manufacturing sector, suggested that employees were uninterested in learning and one expressed the view that ‘too much learning results in employees losing interest [in work]’. Both pointed out that most employees had been with the company a long time, and they were therefore unable to embrace new methods. Additionally, the geographical areas the companies were located in provided a surplus of available workers ‘queuing to get in’ and the managers did not feel that they needed to encourage employees to stay with the company.

Most employers, however, encouraged their employees to build on the tacit knowledge they had of their workplace practices that has been gained through simply doing the job. For many employees, there were informal opportunities to learn from colleagues and also for colleagues to learn from their own experiences. This mutual learning led to an increase in confidence as their own knowledge and experience were valued and appreciated by their colleagues and employers. For example, one residential care assistant reported: ‘you get to see things. You can tell if someone is under the weather and you understand what is wrong.... We work closely with nurses... [and] in here the staff nurses will ask us because we are the ones working closely with the residents’.

Learning through participating in the cultural practices of the workplace meant that it was ‘an integral part of the generative social practice of the lived in world’ (Lave and Wenger 1991: 5). Clearly, an approach that builds on employees’ existing knowledge and understanding is highly influenced by the workplace culture and if there is an expansive approach (Fuller and Unwin 2004) that goes beyond skills and takes a holistic approach then it will enable positive learning to be undertaken. Such an approach also enabled participants in workplace learning to see their future in a different way as their employers valued the knowledge and experience that they brought and this promoted their own confidence.

There is considerable evidence here then that participation in the programmes brought about changes in the recognitional aspect of Fraser’s model of social justice but there are fewer examples of the redistributive aspect. All the learners in the community-based projects were unemployed at the time of the interviews but hoped that the skills that they had acquired and their increased self-confidence would lead to employment. The learners clearly saw the recognition of their experiences as a step towards greater redistribution because, for example, ‘people are now responding to what I have to say so that makes me feel that I can ask for a job without falling on my ass’ and ‘I’m more confident in speaking to others so I’m not scared to go to interviews now’. In the workplace projects, employees were more likely to keep their jobs because they had gained the required qualifications and a few had been promoted into higher paying posts. One of those that had gained a qualification pointed out that ‘it’s yours and no one can take it away from you’ and all those that had participated in

workplace training felt that they had overcome their fears of learning and so were more able to take on challenges in the workplace. This demonstrates, as Fraser has argued, that the recognitive and redistributive aspects of social justice fold into one another and action needs to be taken in both spheres simultaneously to obtain fairer redistribution. However, in a climate where employers require strong literacy skills in order to give access to well-paid employment (OECD 2013), short literacy programmes are unlikely to change the ways in which discrimination is institutionalized.

ACHIEVING PARTICIPATORY PARITY?

In this section, I consider the impact of participation on Fraser's third, and most demanding, sphere of participatory parity. How far were learners able to participate in decision-making and did this give them a voice in the issues that directly impacted on them?

There was only a little evidence of enhanced decision-making across the work-based learning projects partly to do with the nature of the learning environment where opportunities for holistic learning were more limited. However, in the workplaces with expansive learning environments several learners talked about having more decisions devolved to them. For example: 'I discuss things with the parents now where before I would be too worried about making a mistake'. A few had also found the ability to be more assertive about workplace practices for example: 'I'm more willing to speak up at work if I think that things aren't right'.

Learners in the community-based programmes reported a wider variety of achievements such as: 'I'm more confident in speaking to the teachers in my children's school'. 'I speak out more at home if I think things are not fair'. 'I've learnt to trust others so I'm getting more involved in my local community'. The people that felt most confident about challenging the social injustices they had experienced were those in the community-based projects that had been critically engaged in re-evaluating their experiences. These programmes used a 'funds of knowledge' position (González et al. 2005), which assumes that learners are knowledge-rich rather than knowledge-poor, and focuses on the resources, goals, and contributions of the learners' themselves.

In such projects skills, development was not an end in itself but was integrally connected pedagogically to the goals to which the skills were directed. So advice workers built on the newly acquired literacy skills that homeless adults had gained in helping them to apply for housing; rehabilitation workers were able to develop the oral competencies that they saw learners developing in classes to make better presentations to the justice system. The skills, knowledge and understanding they had gained were immediately and practically helping them to deal with real, challenging tasks in their lives. Conversely, these practical achievements in form filling, talking, reading and writing were further developed in the literacy classes in a mutually re-enforcing cycle that enhanced decision-making by the learners.

In these projects, learners commented that they now saw their earlier experiences differently. For example: ‘I see how my school teachers tried to put me down and now I’m involved in a family literacy project so that I can help other parents to be a bit more challenging’; ‘I was always fighting but now I see how my early life made me turn my anger in on myself instead of on the people that had hurt me. [This experience] means I can help myself and other people who had horrible childhoods like me to tackle things properly’. These were important ways of reconstituting previously internalized injustices and showed that the learners were becoming more reflexive about their experiences. However, in terms of equality of decision-making and participation, their actions were mainly at the local family and community level. Few learners were able to participate in the political sphere, where the power imbalances and negative discourses they experienced could be most effectively challenged. However, learners in one community-based project reported that they were taking action at the local government level because:

We have got a lot of strength from working together in this group and so we are challenging the Council about all the cuts they are making to our classes. It’s hard work as they aren’t very responsive but we are determined that we will just carry on until they agree to our demands.

For this group then, action was happening that enabled them to start to resolve contests at the political level because they were challenging their marginalization by the Council on both economic and cultural grounds.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have used empirical data from Scotland to illustrate the impact of the recognitive, distributive and participative aspects of social justice (Fraser 2008) on participants in literacy education. The learners in these programmes have experienced changes in the recognitive sphere, whereas they had previously suffered from institutionalized patterns of disrespect and disesteem in the public education system and in their everyday interactions. The data have also highlighted how issues of distribution and recognition interpenetrate causally because learners have pointed out how increases in their self-confidence, brought about by being treated with respect, have enabled them to apply for and keep jobs thus enabling some action in challenging economic discrimination. Finally, there is some evidence that these learners have been able to participate more equally in decision-making especially at the local community and family level so some changes have been made in moving towards more equity in this sphere.

These are positive findings but as researchers have pointed out there are strong influences from UNESCO (Robinson-Pant 2008) the OECD (Meyer and Benavot, 2013) and the EU (Milana 2014) that privilege a narrow, skills-focused, pedagogy rather than a ‘funds of knowledge’ perspective. This is

because the focus is on outcomes that are expected to lead to participants becoming more employable based on an increase in narrowly focused skills rather than on the wider social and political benefits of literacy. This approach is reinforced by the international competencies of the OECD as well as the ‘closer inter-institutional collaboration between the EU and the OECD’ (Milana 2014: 102), because these competencies lead to accountability regimes based on outcome measurements that limit the curriculum at the national and local level (Moutsios 2010). This limited curriculum privileges the norms of dominant groups so that the practices of subaltern groups are disrespected (Tett et al. 2012). It also obscures the impact of broader social and economic inequalities on access to educational opportunities and ignores the many ways in which large-scale systematic injustice is constructed out of individual differences (Connell 2012).

In addition, externally imposed outcome measurements are a manifestation of the growing distrust of frontline professionals’ experience and wisdom and can lead to an emphasis on what is easily measured, rather than what is important. As Carpentieri (2013: 544) points out:

Since reading skills are more easily measured than writing, programmes and policies may over-emphasize the former, to the detriment of the latter ... and [tests] can distract time and energy from formative assessment and other teaching strategies shown to improve literacy development.

Moreover, where standardized tests are used, either at the individual or the nation-state level, then the scores that are selected for comparison and statistical analysis are not neutral. De Lissovoy and McLaren (2003: 132) argue that ‘once knowledge is reified in this way, it can be manipulated and described in the same fashion that one is accustomed to in manipulating and describing products (commodities) of all kinds’ and thus a learner’s knowledge is reduced to a test score number that erases particularity and difference. In addition, the league tables that are produced on the basis of these measures come to be regarded as ‘an objective, irreversible “truth”’ (Lawn and Grek 2012: 99) by governments internationally. This is partly to do with the way in which policy is now steered by the knowledge and information produced through comparability (Rhodes 1997). Comparison through these league tables of performance then becomes a strategy ‘to move the discussion away from matters of government (habited by citizens, elections, representation, etc.) and place it in the more diffused level of governance (habited by networks, peer review, agreements, etc.)’ (Nóvoa and Yariv-Mashal 2003: 428).

Nevertheless, although these globalising forces are acting to limit the literacy curriculum and pedagogy offered in programmes, adult education can be a key site of personal and social change (Schuller et al. 2004). As Ball notes, ‘policies are always incomplete in so far as they relate to or map onto the “wild profusion of local practice”’ (Ball 1994: 10) and Rizvi and Lingard (2010: 16) have pointed out that ‘public policy remains a state activity and is produced in the

bureaucratic structure of the education state'. This means that there are opportunities open to researchers and practitioners to provide the conceptual arguments that demonstrate the inadequacy of measuring gains in narrow skills using pre-set outcome measures.

A great deal of research has shown that there have been dramatic rises over the last decade in inequality in incomes and wealth that have negative consequences for society as a whole (Wilkinson and Pickett 2009; Piketty 2014). Set alongside this the evidence presented in this chapter that participation in literacy programmes does lessen social injustices for literacy learners may seem trivial. However, educating in more socially just ways through creating learning environments that enable participants to have the necessary material and human resources to achieve their goals, to have their cultural experiences respected and to have their views acted upon is an important step on the way towards achieving greater social justice.

In the light of this, there are a number of implications for adult education policy and practice arising from using the lens of social justice rather than the dominant equality of opportunity lens. First, it provides a way of conceptualizing the impact of participating in literacy programmes that goes beyond the usual assessment method of only measuring increases in narrow literacy skills. This is because it demonstrates the importance of social justice as a positive outcome of participation. Second, this perspective challenges the individual deficit view of literacy learners. Instead, the focus is on the democratic assumption that people are equal in a variety of different ways but social structures operate to deny social justice to some whilst privileging powerful others. Third, participation in democratic decision-making is foregrounded as an important outcome of learning and thus enables more active challenges to contests at both the economic and cultural levels leading to greater participatory parity. Whilst education is not a panacea for all social ills and cannot alone compensate for the inequities of society, I have demonstrated that it can make *a* difference in creating more equitable conditions for those that have already experienced the greatest injustice.

Note

1. Further details of the research projects can be found in Crowther et al. (2010) and Algren and Tett (2010).

REFERENCES

- Ahlgren, A., & Tett, L. (2010). Work-based learning, identity and the skills agenda. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 32(1), 17–27.
- Ball, S. J. (1994). *Education reform: A critical and post-structuralist approach*. London: Routledge.

- Barton, D., Ivanic, R., Appleby, Y., Hodge, R., & Tusting, K. (2007). *Literacy, lives and learning*. London: Routledge.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>.
- Bynner, J., & Joshi, H. (2002). Equality and opportunity in education: Evidence from the 1958 and 1970 birth cohort studies. *Oxford Review of Education*, 28(4), 405–425. doi:10.1080/0305498022000013599.
- Carpentieri, J. D. (2013). Evidence, evaluation and the ‘Tyranny of effect size’: A proposal to more accurately measure programme impacts. in adult and family literacy, *European Journal of Education*, 48(4). doi:10.1111/ejed.12046.
- CERI. (2008). *Teaching, learning and assessment for adults: Improving foundation skills*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Charlesworth, S. J. (2000). *A phenomenology of working class experience*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cieslik, M. (2006). Reflexivity, learning identities and adult basic skills in the United Kingdom. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27(2), 237–250. doi:10.1080/01425690600556461.
- Connell, R. (2012). Just education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 27(5), 681–683. doi:10.1080/02680939.2012.710022.
- Crowther, J., Maclachlan, K., & Tett, L. (2010). Adult literacy, learning identities and pedagogic practice. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(6), 651–664.
- De Lissovoy, N., & McLaren, P. (2003). Educational ‘accountability’ and the violence of capital: A Marxian reading. *Journal of Education Policy*, 18(2), 131–143. doi:10.1080/0268093022000043092.
- Feeley, M. (2014). *Learning care lessons: Literacy, love care and solidarity*. London: Tufnell Press.
- Forté, K. S. (2013). Educating for financial literacy: A case study with a sociocultural lens. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 63(3), 215–235. doi:10.1177/0741713612460267.
- Fraser, N. (1998). Heterosexism, misrecognition and capitalism: A response to Judith Butler. *New Left Review* 140–149.
- Fraser, N. (2003). Social justice in the age of identity politics: Redistribution, recognition, and participation. In N. Fraser & A. Honneth (Eds.), *Redistribution or recognition? A political-philosophical exchange*. London: Verso.
- Fraser, N. (2008). *Scales of justice: Reimagining political space in a globalising world*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fuller, A., & Unwin, L. (2004). Expansive learning environments: Integrating personal and organizational development. In H. Rainbird, A. Fuller, & A. Munro (Eds.), *Workplace learning in context*. London: Routledge.
- Gewirtz, S. (1998). Conceptualising social justice in education: Mapping the territory. *Journal of Education Policy*, 13(4), 469–484. doi:10.1080/0268093980130402.
- Gitlin, T. (1995). *The Twilight of common dreams: Why America is wracked by culture wars*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- Gluck, S. B., & Patai, D. (Eds.). (1991). *Women’s words: The feminist practice of oral history*. New York: Routledge.
- González, N., Moll, L., & Amanti, C. (2005). *Funds of knowledge: Theorizing practices in households, communities and classrooms*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Hamilton, M., & Pitt, K. (2011). Changing policy discourses: Constructing literacy inequalities. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 31, 596–605.

- Honneth, A. (2003). Redistribution as recognition: A response to Nancy Fraser. In N. Fraser & A. Honneth (Eds.), *Redistribution or recognition? A political philosophical exchange*. London: Verso.
- Keddie, A. (2012). *Educating for diversity and social justice*. London: Routledge.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawn, M., & Grek, S. (2012). *Europeanizing education: Governing a new policy space*. Oxford: Symposium.
- Lingard, R., Sellar, S., & Savage, G. C. (2014). Re-articulating social justice as equity in schooling policy: The effects of testing and data infrastructures. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 35(5), 710–730. doi:10.1080/01425692.2014.919846.
- Meyer, H.-D., & Benavot, A. (2013). *Pisa, power and policy: The emergence of global educational governance*. Oxford: Symposium Books.
- Milana, M. (2014). European adult and lifelong education in times of crisis: Where is social justice when the social dimension turns into social cohesion? *Civitas Educationis*, III(2), 89–105.
- Moutsios, S. (2010). Power, politics and transnational policy-making in education. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 8(1), 121–141. doi:10.1080/14767720903574124.
- Nóvoa, A., & Yariv-Mashal, T. (2003). Comparative research in education: A mode of governance or a historical journey? *Comparative Education*, 39(4), 423–438. doi:10.1080/0305006032000162002.
- OECD. (2012a). *Equity and quality in education: Supporting disadvantaged students and schools*. Paris: OECD Publishing. Retrieved from <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264130852-en>.
- OECD. (2012b). *PISA 2012 results in focus. What 15-year-olds know and what they can do with what they know*. Paris: OECD Publishing. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/pisa/keyfindings/pisa-2012-results.htm>.
- OECD. (2013). *OECD skills outlook 2013: First results from the survey of adult skills*. Retrieved from <http://www.oecd.org/site/piaac/Skills%20volume%201%20%28eng%29-full%20v8-eBook%20%2801%2010%202013%29.pdf>.
- OECD. (2015). *Education at a Glance 2015: OECD indicators*. Retrieved from http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/education/education-at-a-glance-2015_eag-2015-en.
- Piketty, T. (2014). *Capital in the twenty first century*. London: Harvard University Press.
- Prins, E., Toso, B. W., & Schafft, K. A. (2009). ‘It feels like a little family to me’ social interaction and support among women in adult education and family literacy, *Adult Education Quarterly*, 59(4), 335–352. doi:10.1177/0741713609331705.
- Purcell-Gates, V., Anderson, J., Gagne, M., Jang, K., Lenters, K. A., & McTavish, M. (2012). Measuring situated literacy activity: Challenges and promises. *Journal of Literacy Research*, 44, 396–425. doi:10.1177/1086296X12457167.
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Rhodes, R. (1997). *Understanding governance*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Robertson, S. L., & Dale, R. (2013). The social justice implications of privatisation in education governance frameworks: A relational account. *Oxford Review of Education*, 39(4), 426–445. doi:10.1080/03054985.2013.820465.
- Robinson-Pant, A. (2008). ‘Why literacy matters’: Exploring a policy perspective on literacies, identities and social change. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 44(6), 779–796. doi:10.1080/00220380802057711.

- Rorty, R. (2000). Is “cultural recognition” a useful notion for leftist politics? *Critical Horizons*, 1(1), 7–20.
- Schuller, T., Brassett-Grundy, A., Green, A., Hammond, C., & Preston, J. (2004). *Wider benefits of learning*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Schoon, I., & Bynner, J. (2003). Risk and resilience in the life course: Implications for Interventions and Social Policies. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 6(1), 21–31. doi:10.1080/1367626032000068145.
- Taylor, C. (1992). *Multiculturalism and ‘the politics of recognition’*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Tett, L. (2014a). Lifelong learning policies, paradoxes and possibilities. *The Adult Learner Journal (The Irish Journal of Adult and Community Education)*. 15–28.
- Tett, L. (2014b). Comparative performance measures, globalising strategies and literacy policy in Scotland, *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 12(1), 127–142. doi:10.1080/14767724.2013.858996.
- Tett, L., Hamilton, M., & Crowther, J. (2012). *More powerful literacies*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Wickens, C. M., & Sandlin, J. A. (2007). Literacy for what? Literacy for whom? The politics of literacy education and neocolonialism in UNESCO- and world bank-sponsored literacy programs. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 57(4), 275–292. doi:10.1177/0741713607302364.
- Wilkinson, R., & Pickett, K. (2009). *The spirit level: Why more equal societies almost always do better*. London: Allen Lane.
- Windisch, H. C. (2015). Adults with low literacy and numeracy skills: A literature review on policy intervention. *OECD Education (Working Papers No. 123)*. Paris: OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jrxnjdd3r5k-en>.
- Worthman, C. (2008). The positioning of adult learners: Appropriating learner experience on the continuum of empowerment to emancipation. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 27(4), 443–462. doi:10.1080/02601370802051355.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Lyn Tett is Professor of Community Education at the University of Huddersfield, United Kingdom. She carries out research within the broad area of community education and lifelong learning and in particular investigates the factors that can lead to the exclusion of adults from post-compulsory education and the action that might be taken to promote social inclusion. She has a particular interest in the adult literacies sector and has been involved in many projects in this area.

Lifelong Learning Policy Discourses of International Organisations Since 2000: A Kaleidoscope or Merely Fragments?

Moosung Lee and Shazia K. Jan

Abstract This chapter aims to document what has emerged in the international arena of lifelong learning policy discourse by looking at four major international organisations—i.e. the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Union (EU) and the World Bank—during the post-2000 period. The chapter provides a detailed narrative of what policy discourses have been advocated by each of the four organisations and whether there have been any substantial changes as compared to those organisations’ policy discourses before 2000. To this end, the chapter delves into key policy documents during the targeted period. The narrative presented in this chapter is based on a policy-as-discourse approach to analysing the selected policy texts. After offering a detailed narrative of each of the four organisations’ lifelong learning policy discourses, the chapter concludes that lifelong learning policy discourses since the post-2000 period appear to have become a kaleidoscope.

INTRODUCTION

The magnitude of international organisations’ impact on global issues is often described as shaping a ‘world polity’ or ‘world culture’ (Boli and Thomas 1997). The field of global educational development is not an exception. Specifically, among many of the international bodies, four particular interna-

M. Lee (✉)
University of Canberra, Room 78 Level C, Building 6,
Canberra 2617, Australia
e-mail: moosung.lee@canberra.edu.au

S.K. Jan
Faculty of Human Sciences, Macquarie University, C3A, 9th Floor,
Room: 915, Macquarie, NSW 2109, Australia
e-mail: shaziakj@gmail.com

tional agencies have been key players in the field of global educational development: the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the European Union (EU) and the World Bank. Within this context, lifelong learning policy discourses as a core part of global educational policy development have been crucially incubated by the aforementioned international organisations in several notable ways.

Back in the 1960s and the 1970s, UNESCO first ignited international discussion of lifelong learning in the context of adult education—i.e. UNESCO's humanist version of learning throughout life. This was followed by the Council of Europe's idea of permanent education, ideologically rooted in the primary values of the 1789 French Revolution, and the OECD's recurrent education, closely linked to labour and employment (cf. Dohmen 1996; Finger and Asún 2001; Lee et al. 2008). During the 1970s and 1980s, UNESCO's policy discourses of lifelong learning were actively discussed in the arena of adult education. This was mainly because UNESCO, at the forefront of international policy discourses on lifelong education at that time, addressed issues of lifelong learning through UNESCO's General Conferences with a focus on adult education and its institutional priority of adult literacy. Since the 1990s, the European Union has joined the international discussion on lifelong learning through its policy texts and events, while UNESCO and the OECD have remained key players in the policy arena. In particular, the 1990s witnessed the term-shift from lifelong education to lifelong learning in those international organisations' major policy documents (Lee and Friedrich 2008; Lee et al. 2008). For UNESCO, despite this semantic change, substantial conceptual and ideological continuities are identified in its policy documents (Lee and Friedrich 2011, see also Field 2001; Tuijnman and Boström 2002). However, the same terminology has been used by pro-neoliberal agendas, promoted through the selection of the term 'lifelong learning' by Northern-based international agencies such as the OECD and the World Bank (cf. Boshier 1998; Jakobi 2007; Lee and Friedrich 2008; Lee et al. 2008), whereas the EU has embraced semantically coupled different ideologies such as classical liberalism, neo-liberalism, and social democratic liberalism (Lee et al. 2008).

Previous studies have documented all these historical developments in detail. For example, several comprehensive literature reviews (e.g. Dohmen 1996; Boshier 1998; Field 2001; Kallen 2002; Tuijnman and Boström 2002; Rogers 2006) lead the discussion as far as UNESCO's lifelong learning policy discourse is concerned. After Boshier (1998) first sought to delineate lifelong learning in international discussions after 1972, Field (2001) extended this research line by critically capturing the different features of lifelong learning in international bodies between the 1960–1970s and the 1990s. Rogers (2006) provided a vast, insightful bibliographic review of lifelong learning with a focus on gender issues in lifelong learning policy discourses. Lee and Friedrich (2011) illuminated UNESCO's lifelong learning policy discourses over the period from the 1960s to 1990s. Research has also addressed lifelong learning policy discourses of

other international organisations. Tuijnman and Boström (2002) added to the historical account of the OECD's lifelong learning by critically comparing it with that of UNESCO. Lee et al. (2008) provided an explanation of why the EU's lifelong learning policy discourses during the period from 1990 to 2000 become all-embracing through a lens of institutional learning, for example.

In line with those prior studies, this chapter aims to extend our knowledge of lifelong learning policy discourses of the four international organisations in the post-2000 period. Studies exploring major international organisations' lifelong learning policy since 2000 are relatively thin on the ground. There are a handful of useful studies addressing recent years (e.g. Volles 2014; Elfert 2015; Milana forthcoming) with a focus on adult education and learning in a wider context of lifelong learning (e.g. Nemeth 2015; Panitsides 2015; Rubenson 2015). More narratives are needed for this period, since the dearth of existing research appears to have led to interpretive stagnation in the evolution of lifelong learning policy discourses since 2000. This chapter aims to extend the interpretive account of lifelong learning policy discourses developed from the four major agencies during the post-2000 period.

To this end, we searched and chose key policy documents published by the four international bodies during the targeted period. We acknowledge, however, that no single document has been identified as a landmark document during the post-2000 period, unlike in the previous period during which particular documents (i.e. the Faure Report, 1972, and the Delors Report, 1996) were widely regarded as key policy texts (cf. Jones 2006; Lee 2007). In the selection of policy texts, we first focused on a handful of policy documents that have been either frequently or commonly mentioned by peer scholars. In addition, we selected additional policy texts if those were referenced by peer international organisations, because we estimated this to signal the importance of those texts.

We adopted a policy-as-discourse approach to analysing the selected policy texts. Olssen et al. (2004) observe that policy does not neutrally express information and ideas as a means of establishing a 'correct interpretation' (p. 60); rather, it is a 'technology of control' (p. 14), which is 'a politically, socially and historically contextualised practice or set of practices' (p. 3) that 'lets us see relations between individual policy text and wider relations of the social structure and political system' (p. 71). Accordingly, we aimed to delve into the language of policy texts in conjunction with the contexts embedded in policy texts in order to reveal 'the values, assumptions and ideologies underpinning the policy process' (Olsson et al. 2004: 72). Equipped with this approach, we aimed to interrogate the meaning and significance of certain policy texts at a particular historical juncture (i.e. the post-2000 period) by ascertaining the way in which discursive contexts inherent within the social and historical process manifest themselves in and through textual production, formulation, and articulation (Olsson et al. 2004: 3–4).

LIFELONG LEARNING

Before going further, we wish to note the rationale for using the term ‘lifelong learning’ in this chapter as a parallel term to ‘lifelong education’. Indeed, the two terms have been used to designate the concept of ‘learning throughout life’ in the policy texts of international organisations. As noted above, in contrast to the relatively frequent use of the term ‘lifelong education’ during the period from the 1960s to the 1980s, the term ‘lifelong learning’ has, since the 1990s, been increasingly preferred by UNESCO as well as the other three international bodies. In 1996, the UNESCO International Commission on Education for the twenty-first Century proposed that another landmark policy text titled ‘Learning: The Treasure Within’, commonly known as the 1996 Delors Report, would update UNESCO’s early policy concept of lifelong education described in the Faure Report. Interestingly, 25 out of 28 UNESCO documents/publications released since 1996 include ‘lifelong learning’ in their titles. This suggests that the term ‘lifelong learning’ has been the official term inside UNESCO since the mid-1990s, a precedent set with the publication of the 1996 Delors Report (Lee and Friedrich 2008; Lee et al. 2008). In 2006, the UNESCO Institute for Education also changed its name to the UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL). This name change further confirms the lasting trend of the term-shift within UNESCO (Lee and Friedrich 2011).

Like UNESCO, the EU initially used the term ‘lifelong education’ in its White papers in the early 1990s (e.g. the 1993 White Paper, *Growth, Competitiveness, Employment*, CEC 1993). However, since the EU Parliament and the Council declared 1996 the European Year of Lifelong Learning in 1996, ‘lifelong learning’ has been predominantly used in the EU’s policy texts and websites. In the same year, the OECD published its first major policy document titled ‘Lifelong Learning for All’ (OECD 1996). Similarly, the World Bank used ‘lifelong learning’ as a formal term since its inception of policy involvement in the arena.

We note that the term-shift seems to stem from different policy (and thereby political) motivations. According to Boshier (1998), the semantic term-shift from lifelong education to lifelong learning connotes a turn towards vocationalism of lifelong education. While Boshier’s concern for the neo-liberal vocationalisation of lifelong education with the use of the term ‘lifelong learning’ appears to be a valid ideological critique of international organisations’ discursive trajectories, it seems to be applicable to those of the EU and the OECD only until the mid-1990s, but not beyond. Furthermore, the same ideological critique is inapplicable to UNESCO, whose history of lifelong learning policy discourses can be articulated as an enduring social democratic liberalist project of global educational development (cf. Lee and Friedrich 2008, 2011; Nemeth 2015). Acknowledging the historical evolution of the term-shift, we think that it is a false dichotomy, drawing a sharp line: the term ‘lifelong education’ to designate a social democratic liberal version of learning throughout life vs. the term ‘lifelong learning’ to represent a neoliberal

paradigm of learning throughout life. That is, lifelong learning is, by and of itself, not a term for appropriating the neoliberal prototype of lifelong learning. With this in mind, we use the term ‘lifelong learning’ in this chapter.

LIFELONG LEARNING POLICY DISCOURSES DURING THE POST-2000 PERIOD

The European Union

We begin with the European Union, the most active international body in lifelong learning policy discourses since 2000. Romano Prodi took over the presidency of the Santer Commission in 1999 when the food and safety scandals and corrupt activities of dominant Commissioners and staff led to the resignation of the entire Commission. At this critical time, the Commission needed to re-establish its legitimacy and for this purpose adopted the Open Method of Communication (OMC) (Lee et al. 2008). The OMC was established through the Lisbon European Council. The *Lisbon Strategy* was developed in 2000 with the objective of making Europe ‘the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion’ (Council of Europe 2000, para 5).¹ Following the *Lisbon Strategy*, the Commission issued the *Memorandum of Lifelong Learning* (European Commission 2000) with a mandate to implement lifelong learning. The Memorandum was the first major document based on the OMC (Volles 2014), initiating a Europe-wide policy discourse on the implementation of lifelong learning. Considered to be one of the key policy documents post-2000 (Lee et al. 2008; Barros 2012), the Memorandum defines lifelong learning as:

all purposeful learning activity, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills and competences. (European Commission 2000: 3)

While the Memorandum highlighted ‘all purposeful learning activity’, its concept of lifelong learning encompassed less purposeful learning activities taking place in domains of informal learning by introducing the concept ‘lifewide learning’:

The newly-coined term ‘lifewide’ learning 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. The ‘lifewide’ dimension brings the complementarity of formal, non-formal and informal learning into sharper focus. It reminds us that useful and enjoyable learning can and does take place in the family, in leisure time, in community life and in daily worklife. Lifewide learning also makes us realise that teaching and learning are themselves roles and activities that can be changed and exchanged in different times and places. (European Commission 2000: 8)²

The Memorandum's explicit articulation of informal learning under the concept of lifewide learning can be interpreted as emphasising 'space' more than 'time' in learning activity. The concept of lifewide learning was also adopted later by the World Bank (World Bank 2003a). In terms of the aims of lifelong learning, active citizenship and employability are considered to be two key and inter-linked objectives. Even though emphasis is laid on a shared responsibility and partnership towards encouraging and promoting lifelong learning, the primary responsibility is laid on individuals themselves.³

The debate launched by the *Memorandum of Lifelong Learning* engaged extensive participation by social partners, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee of the Regions, European civil society, various international organisations such as the OECD, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe. Approximately 12,000 citizens took part in meetings and conferences during the process (European Commission 2001). The conclusion of the discourse led to the issuance of *Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality* in 2001 (European Commission 2001). Because of concerns raised regarding the dominance of employment and labour market aspects in the 2000 Memorandum's definition of lifelong learning, the 2001 report expands on the aims of lifelong learning by encompassing *personal fulfilment, active citizenship, social inclusion, and employability and adaptability* (European Commission 2001). The Commission thus embraced all existing concepts and goals within its lifelong learning policy (Lee et al. 2008), which Dehmel expressed as 'an elastic concept tailorable to any needs' (2006: 49).⁴

Continuing to call attention to the lifelong learning agenda, the Council emphasised the importance of lifelong learning in their 2002 work program on education and training (Council of Europe 2002: 3), declaring that by 2010 'for the benefit of citizens and the Union as a whole... Europeans at all ages will have access to lifelong learning'. Also in 2002, the 'cradle-to-grave' principle was adopted as part of the Council's decision on lifelong learning (Jakobi 2009). Acknowledging the significance of non-formal and informal learning to 'lifewide learning', in 2004 the European Council adopted a set of common European principles for classifying and validating non-formal and informal learning (Council of Europe 2004). These principles were later integrated with the European Qualification Framework (EQF) (European Commission 2008). Building on its lifelong learning agenda, in 2007 the Commission issued the *Action Plan on Adult Learning: It is Always a Good Time to Learn* (European Commission 2007). The action plan upheld 'that the need for a high quality and accessible adult learning system is no longer a point of discussion, given the challenges Europe has to meet' (European Commission 2007: 3). Reduction of labour shortages was one of the main objectives assigned to adult learning. Once again, the action plan emphasised the importance of recognition and validation of non-formal and informal learning in the lifelong learning strategy (European Commission 2007: 9) in line with the EU's Memorandum in 2000. The Action Plan targeted 2008 for the 'identification of good practice of recognition and validation of non-formal and informal learning with a special

focus on social competencies, mainly acquired outside the formal learning system'. (European Commission 2007: 9).

Subsequently in 2008, with the support of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop), the Commission established the EQF for lifelong learning with 'two principal aims: to promote citizens' mobility between countries and to facilitate their lifelong learning'(European Commission 2008: 3). In this regard, the EQF can be viewed as an institutionalised channel to expand the 'space' of lifelong learning beyond nation states by facilitating EU citizens' mobility. As per the EQF, learning is assessed based on learning outcomes as opposed to the duration of study in formal education institutions. Learning outcomes are categorised as knowledge, skills, and competence. Using learning outcomes allows for the inclusion of a wide array of formal, non-formal, and informal learning as the outcomes encompass 'theoretical knowledge, practical and technical skills, and social competences...' (European Commission 2008: 3). The EQF emphasises recognition and authentication of non-formal and informal learning along with formal qualifications:

The EQF can support individuals with extensive experience from work or other fields of activity by facilitating validation of non-formal and informal learning. The focus on learning outcomes will make it easier to assess whether learning outcomes acquired in these settings are equivalent in content and relevance to formal qualifications. (European Commission 2008: 4)

In 2009, a new strategic framework for European cooperation, *Education and Training 2020* (Council of Europe 2009) was taken up by the European Council. The key ideas in the framework included common strategic objectives and ways to achieve them, as well as working methods and benchmarks for member states (Volles 2014). Also, based on the principles adopted in 2004 (Council of Europe 2004) and the EQF (European Commission 2008), the Commission published a set of guidelines for validating non-formal and informal learning (European Commission 2009).

Building on an idea born in 2010, the European Commission launched an electronic platform for adult learning in Europe (EPALE) in 2015 (EPALE 2015). The objective of EPALE is to provide a platform where professionals can share content and knowledge related to lifelong learning via news, blogs, events, courses, and forums. EPALE appears to serve as a resource centre, a database of reports, policy documents, case studies, and magazines. As the EU's latest initiative to promote lifelong learning, EPALE focuses on a multilingual, open membership, user-driven online community for professionals involved with lifelong learning, targeting universities, policy makers, researchers, and other professional organisations. Further investigations are needed as to whether EPALE would function as a unique online forum where normative isomorphism among professionals and policy makers in understanding issues of lifelong

learning is formed (cf. Lee et al. 2008), and would contribute to the EU's organisational visibility and legitimacy in the policy arena of lifelong learning.

OECD

The OECD entered the lifelong learning debate with the report, 'Recurrent Education: A Strategy for Lifelong Learning' in 1973. The term 'recurrent education', however, had disappeared from the OECD lifelong learning discourse throughout the 1980s. In fact, it is hard to find the OECD documents related to recurrent education during this period. The OECD itself regards recurrent education as an incomplete policy: 'those earlier concepts were rarely realised in full, and in some quarters there remained skepticism...' (OECD 1996: 88).

Since the 1990 meeting of the OECD Education Committee at Ministerial level, the term 'lifelong learning' has re-emerged at the core of OECD educational discourse with the suddenness of a new fashion. In 1996, the Committee adopted lifelong learning as a key policy and finally published its report 'Lifelong Learning for All' which aimed to:

...strengthen the foundations for learning throughout life, by improving access to early childhood education, particularly for disadvantaged children... promote coherent links between learning and work, by establishing pathways and bridges that will facilitate more flexible movement between education and training and work... rethink the roles and responsibilities of all partners - including governments - who provide opportunities for learning... create incentives for individuals, employers and those who provide education and training to invest more in lifelong learning and to deliver value for money. (OECD 1996: 21)

Interestingly, the UNESCO concept of 'an individual's self-learning' (UNESCO 1972) was coloured by the neo-liberal discourse in the OECD document. The Faure Report in 1972 placed more emphasis on an individual's self-learning, supported by more flexible and diversified social democratic systems, noting that the 'proportion of educational activity should be de-formalised and replaced by flexible, diversified models...' (UNESCO 1972: 233). The OECD used the term 'flexibility' in conjunction with UNESCO's concept of self-learning in a different way as a means of enforcing competitiveness.

There were criticisms of the OECD's approach to lifelong learning discourses. For example, the 2002 Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) Final Report pinpointed the snare of neo-liberal individualisation in promoting lifelong learning.

As people learn differently and independently, this may lead to a society of individuals or even a society that is fragmented and individualised. People maybe perceived as human capital, some worth investing in, the remainder becoming redundant; some are accepted as members - citizens-of society while others may be kept out. (ASEM 2002: 23)

In response to these criticisms of ‘human capital versus the remainder’, since 2000 the OECD appears to have introduced egalitarian and social democratic discursive shading in its policy documents, to some extent. As Field (2001) pointed out, the OECD’s lifelong learning discourse ‘was couched more in terms of human capital thinking, albeit laced with a few dashes of social democracy’ (p. 6). In other words, the OECD’s addition of scattered humanitarian references through its policy texts can be viewed as sophisticated camouflage of the neo-liberal discourse (cf. Rubenson 2015).

In *Beyond Rhetoric: Adult Learning Policies and Practices* (OECD 2003), the OECD highlighted its discourse of lifelong learning with descriptors such as ‘individual roles, technological advancements, qualifications, and better financing’ (Schuller 2009 cited in Nemeth 2015: 174), which elevated the OECD’s stance on lifelong learning by ‘manufacturing the common sense’ of its policy agendas and concept (Rubenson 2015: 179). In the document, lifelong learning is referred to as:

...all education and training activities undertaken by adults for professional or personal reasons. It includes general, vocational and enterprise-based training within a lifelong learning perspective. (OECD 2003: 4)

This definition of lifelong learning includes professional and personal development, steering it away from a strictly neo-liberal stance. Walker (2009) refers to this ideology of the OECD as ‘inclusive liberalism.’⁵This tendency is also reflected in the OECD’s updated concept of human capital. *Re-thinking Human Capital* (OECD 2002) emphasises the development of human capital:

This ‘wider human capital’ is defined as the capacity to develop, manage and deploy one’s own competencies, for example by investing in further learning, by finding a job that suits one’s talents and by developing facets of one’s character that enhance one’s character at work. (OECD 2002: 119)

In line with the inclusive liberalism perspective, the OECD recognises the need for government intervention for equity and efficiency reasons: ‘The development of democratic values and the improvement of skills to participate in the economy and labour market are all stated as vital reasons for government intervention’ (OECD 2003: 7). At the same time, however, the OECD continuously maintains its traditional view that ‘responsibility for financing should be shared among all partners, exploring co-operative financing mechanism’ (OECD 2003: 9; see also Istance 2011), despite its recognition of the need for government intervention for equity and efficiency reasons. That is, the OECD’s lifelong learning policy emphasises the development of integrated systems based on partnerships and cooperation between the various parties involved, such as government and social partners, universities, and government ministries (OECD 2003, 2005b). According to Walker (2009: 341), such ‘cooperation and integration are fundamental components of inclusive liberalism’. In sum,

the emphasis is still laid on development of human capital: ‘they need to balance goals of economic development with equity goals and social and personal development’ (OECD 2003: 12). A similar observation was made in Rubenson’s (2015: 189) examination of the OECD’s 2005 document titled *Promoting Adult Learning* (OECD 2005b). He stated that ‘[t]he final report... at a first glance may sound Keynesian. However, the OECD...concluded that ‘regulatory and institutional arrangements that are conducive to enhancing investments by firms and individuals, while limiting public financing, are key within this type of strategy’ (p. 11).⁶

Like the EU, the OECD emphasises recognition of non-formal learning (OECD 2003: 11) in order to value prior learning (Istance 2011). To validate prior learning in non-formal learning contexts as well as formal learning settings, the OECD developed the ‘National Qualification Frameworks’ which involved the participation of 24 countries and other international organisations like the European Commission. Two reports (OECD 2004, 2005a) were prepared with reference to the development of the national qualifications frameworks. Based on country-specific examples and practices, the reports provided general guidelines on the development of national qualifications frameworks emphasising the promotion of lifelong learning as one of the objectives.⁷

However, it is questionable whether the OECD’s National Qualification Frameworks would substantially promote equitable opportunities for lifelong learning activities. As noted above, the OECD’s advocacy for the individualisation of lifelong learning stems from both the increasing requirement for a more flexible labour force and the learner-centred concept (e.g. self-directed learning). This phenomenon naturally requires credible qualification structures in order to standardise individuals’ skills and knowledge in the context of formal, non-formal, and informal education. In this circumstance, it may be reasonable to assume that neoliberal state governments would want to capitalise national qualification systems as a technology of control in conjunction with the neoliberal global economy. As such, whether the implementation of national qualification systems, including the EQF, would lead to active participation in lifelong learning in a wider socio-economic context awaits further investigation.

The OECD report (2005a) defines lifelong learning in a way which is very similar to the description in the EU’s 2001 policy *Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality* (CEC 2001), where the aims of EU lifelong learning policy are ‘personal fulfilment, active citizenship, social inclusion and employability and adaptability’ (p. 9):

Learning activity that is undertaken throughout life and improves knowledge, skills and competencies within personal, civic, social and/or employment-related perspectives. Thus the whole spectrum of learning, formal, non-formal and informal, is included as are active citizenship, personal fulfilment, social inclusion and professional, vocational and employment related aspects.’ (OECD 2005a: 7)

In addition, the 2005 OECD document discusses the need for the development of a recognition system for informal and non-formal learning, and refers to the EU's principles for validation of non-formal and informal learning. It states:

It is therefore important that recognition systems are built on commonly agreed principles [reference to EU's validation principles] and that measures and methods are structured, so that we achieve a process that maintains uniform standards at the national level. If this does not occur, the system may lose legitimacy. One of the ways of addressing this is to integrate the recognition system as much as possible into existing quality assurance and assessment systems. (OECD 2005a: 10)

The OECD's reference to the EU's policy texts and principles is worth noting, given that the EU used to credit the OECD's and UNESCO's policy documents of lifelong learning during the period from the mid-1990s to early 2000s (Sprogøe 2003; Lee et al. 2008). In other words, the EU seems to expand discursive influences on lifelong learning policy after 2000, given the credit it receives from other major international organisations.

At the same time, however, the OECD seems to manage its traditional role by producing policy prototypes in the arena of lifelong learning policy. The 2005 OECD report recognises that validation of non-formal and informal learning varies amongst countries as each country has its own legislations, policies and criteria. However, it lists some general principles of recognition with the conclusion that, '[t]he extent to which individual countries can adopt these suggestions will depend on that country's historical, cultural and economic context and the specific challenges that it faces' (OECD 2005a: 28). In comparison to the EU's EQF (European Commission 2008), which gives a specific evaluation matrix for non-formal and informal learning based on learning outcomes, the OECD's qualifications framework provides general guidelines for validation of non-formal and informal learning from which countries can develop their specific national qualifications framework. This positioning of OECD is consistent with its traditional role as a standard-setter in the global policy arena of socio-economic issues (Martens 2007) where OECD policies have been accommodated as policy prototypes for both the member and non-member countries.

The World Bank

The World Bank is a late-comer to the policy arena of lifelong learning but has shown its strict economic rationalism in its lifelong learning discourses. In October 2003, the Bank held the global 'World Bank Conference on Lifelong Learning' (World Bank 2003b) with the overall objective of identifying policies required for education and training systems and facilitation of lifelong learning. It was attended by 225 senior policy makers from government, the private sector, NGOs, academics, and bilateral and multilateral development agencies from 42 different organisations and countries. While the World Bank recognised

the importance of life-wide learning (i.e. formal, non-formal, and informal), like the EU and the OECD, the goal of lifelong learning was fundamentally about the ‘global changing economy’, and lifelong learning was understood as rationalising existing learning systems (formal, non-formal, and informal) for ‘the best of individuals’ in the ever-changing global economy:

Lifelong learning is a method of organising and delivering learning in a manner that is intended to be learner, vs. institutionally, driven. Lifelong learning encompasses learning over the entire life cycle (from early childhood to retirement) and all learning systems (formal, non-formal, and informal). Lifelong learning is increasingly important in the global changing economy. Lifelong learning is not a new learning system. It is more than just adult continuing education, and is essentially a rationalization of existing learning systems to make them function in an integrated manner for the best of individuals.’ (2003b: 2)

Within this understanding of lifelong learning, the World Bank’s *Education Sector Strategy Update* (World Bank 2005) pays special attention to the integral role of various training options for adults. As per the strategy update, ‘clear strategies are needed to help countries’ education and training systems to respond to skills needs in the labour market, promote national competitiveness, and address youth unemployment’ (World Bank 2005: 32). Strategies proposed include identification and development of skills most in demand in the global economy, clear articulation of connections between education, and globalisation and associated challenges, with reference to development strategies specific to countries, and aligning skills development with employability on graduation.

In 2011, the World Bank issued a major report, *Learning for All: Investing In People’s Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development* (World Bank 2011), laying out its 10-year agenda on the implementation of the wider concept of ‘Learning for All (LFA)’ as compared to ‘Education for All’ (EFA) in developing countries:

This is why our Education Strategy 2020 sets the goal of achieving Learning for All. Learning for All (LFA) means ensuring that all children and youth – not just the most privileged or the smartest – can not only go to school, but also acquire the knowledge and skills that they need to lead healthy, productive lives and secure meaningful employment. The three pillars of our strategy are: Invest early. Invest smartly. Invest for all.’ (2011: v)

Although key wording in the World Bank document is, by and large, economic (e.g. ‘invest’), the report resonates with a similar foundational concept of life-long learning held by the other major international bodies—i.e. learning throughout life in wider social contexts. In addition, the Bank’s stance on lifelong learning highlights learning outcomes for development in developing countries in particular: ‘learning for ... growth, development, and poverty reduction [which] depend[s] on the knowledge and skills that people acquire, not the number of years they sit in a classroom’ and ‘learning needs to be

encouraged early and continuously both within and outside of the formal schooling system' (World Bank 2011: 3–4). Furthermore, the Bank (2011) is supportive of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) with a particular focus on disadvantaged populations (e.g. women) at secondary and tertiary levels. In this regard, the Bank's LFA strategy seems to build on UNESCO's EFA goals. At the same time, however, the LFA strategy appears to articulate a subtle discourse against UNESCO's EFA. Its emphasis on the importance of learning outcomes is acceptable, yet such an emphasis is made through problematizing the number of years in formal schooling experiences, as if they were obstacles to lifelong learning (e.g. 'not the number of years they sit in a classroom'), which could potentially misrepresent the importance of basic education for all in the context of developing countries, one of the core parts of UNESCO's EFA. While few would disagree with the value of substantial learning experiences in wider social contexts beyond schooling, as opposed to just sitting in a classroom, universal completion of primary and secondary schooling is a critical issue facing many developing countries where the value of formal schooling should not be downgraded in the wider context of lifelong learning. In other words, formal schooling experiences are not problematic to lifelong learning but are foundations of learning throughout life.

It is also interesting to see that the World Bank referred to the OECD's PISA in strengthening its thrust of LFA: '...the latest (2009) PISA results reinforce the lesson that the countries that are most successful overall in promoting learning are those with the narrowest gaps in learning achievement among students' (p. 4). Following the statement of the OECD's PISA results, the Bank proposes the LFA strategy because 'more schooling has not resulted in more knowledge and skills' (p. 17) and the 'results of substantial resources spent on education have thus been disappointing in terms of learning outcomes' (p. 17).

In sum, the World Bank's recent policy thrust of LFA is built on the premise that 'people learn throughout life' (2011: 25), which is not substantially different from other international organisations' concept of learning throughout life. However, the World Bank's stance on lifelong learning is, in essence, equipped with economic rationalism. It emphasises the need for knowledgeable and skilled labour in the context of developing countries considering the rapid transformations taking place in the global economy. It highlights the crucial role of lifelong learning to be able to compete in the global economy as well as social inclusion through income distribution (and social inclusion is thereby narrowly interpreted in economic terms). It also places emphasis on various options regarding how the objectives of lifelong learning can be achieved in developing countries along with financing options for lifelong learning projects (Jakobi 2009; Regmi 2015). Of the various financing options, the World Bank's lifelong learning policy is inclined towards private as opposed to state funding (Jakobi 2009). However, it is still doubtful whether many private sectors, including individuals, possess sufficient financial capacity for participating in lifelong learning activities in developing countries without a certain level of funding subsidy from state governments.

UNESCO

UNESCO has paved an ideological route towards global educational development which is different from that of the OECD and the World Bank, which are supporters of the new globalised political economy of education—i.e. neoliberal educational governance. While UNESCO has been an important agency in the field of global educational development, given its normative role and intellectual cooperation (Lee and Friedrich 2011; Nemeth 2015), UNESCO's policy influence on the field has been often estimated as limited due to a lack of monetary backing and political force (see Jones 2006). Nonetheless, its normatively-driven policy discourses (e.g. international peace through humanistic approach) seem to preserve its organisational legitimacy as a specialised UN agency in education because such policy discourses enable UNESCO to a position on stronger moral grounding than other international agencies (Lee and Friedrich 2011). UNESCO's lifelong learning policy discourses have also been developed in such a context.

Back in the mid-1960s, UNESCO started using the term 'lifelong education' to capture its initial concept of 'learning throughout life'. Since then, UNESCO's concept of learning throughout life, regardless of whether it has been referred to as lifelong education or lifelong learning, has been *continuously* articulated within social liberal democratic discourses (Lee 2007; Lee and Friedrich 2008, 2011).⁸

A number of initiatives in the early 2000s pointed to the integral role that lifelong learning would play in the millennium (Nemeth 2015). For instance, in 2000, the World Education Forum adopted the *Dakar Framework for Action* (UNESCO 2000) reaffirming the vision of education for all (EFA). In 2003, the United Nations Literacy Decade for the period 2003–2013 was launched, with the objective of achieving EFA goals and developing literacy (UNESCO 2003a). In 2005, UNESCO was at the forefront of the United Nation's Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) (UNESCO 2005). UIE's commitment to supporting these initiatives was evident in its adult learning and education programs and goals (Nemeth 2015).

During the post-2000 period, UNESCO also appears poised to continue to pursue a consistently social democratic course with its lifelong learning policy. As recent evidence of this commitment, UNESCO proposed adding one more important dimension of lifelong learning, 'learning to change' (UNESCO 2003b: 8), to the four pillars articulated in the Delors Report. Although UNESCO's Institute for Education (UIE) did not provide a detailed concept of 'learning to change', the concept seems to emphasise the need to learn to create popular change, not just to adapt to changes promoted by the neoliberal capitalist agenda. The concept of 'learning to change' is taken up again and developed further under the ESD initiative. It is listed under the five pillars of ESD as 'learning to transform oneself and society' along with the four pillars communicated in the Delors Report (UNESCO 2015b).

The *Belem Framework for Action* (UIL 2010) was published in 2010 as an outcome of the Sixth International Conference on Adult Education (CONFINTEA VI) held in Brazil in December 2009. The objective of CONFINTEA VI was to make an overall assessment of the advancement in adult education since CONFINTEA V. Endorsing earlier definitions laid out by UNESCO, the *Belem Framework* defines adult education in a wider context of lifelong learning as:

the entire body of ongoing learning processes, formal or otherwise, whereby people regarded as adults by the society to which they belong develop their abilities, enrich their knowledge, and improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction to meet their own needs and those of their society. (UIL 2010: 5)

The framework emphasises ‘inclusive and integrated lifelong and life-wide learning’ (p. 5) using the term ‘life-wide’ proposed by the European Union in their *Memorandum of Lifelong Learning* (European Commission 2000). The framework endorses the notion of lifelong learning ‘from cradle to grave’ (UIL 2010: 5) and reiterates the four pillars of learning: ‘learning to know, learning to do, learning to be and learning to live together’ (p. 6). It recognises the importance of formal, non-formal, and informal learning in the lifelong learning field (p. 6).

While the framework acknowledges that lifelong learning is necessary for the development of ‘knowledge, capabilities, skills and competencies’ (p. 6), the humanistic ideology of UNESCO is clearly evident. For instance, the framework states:

Adult learning and education are also an imperative for the achievement of equity and inclusion, for alleviating poverty and for building equitable, tolerant, sustainable and knowledge-based societies. (p. 6)

As noted, the framework uses the term ‘knowledge-based societies’ which emphasises the wider contexts of lifelong learning (and therefore wider social outcomes of lifelong learning) instead of ‘knowledge economy’ preferred by the OECD and the World Bank.

The framework lays out a clear follow-up and monitoring plan to track the progress of the *Belem Framework for Action*. As a part of this follow-up, UNESCO published its first *Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* (UIL 2009) in 2009 followed by a second report in 2013 (UIL 2013).

Other initiatives taken by the UIL towards the promotion of lifelong learning include, but are not limited to, introducing annual international adult learners’ week, hosting global conferences and policy dialogues, and providing networking opportunities. For instance, the 1st International Forum on Lifelong Learning was held in 2010 in Shanghai, China (UNESCO 2015a). The forum brought together key stakeholders from all over the world and

focused on discussions of educational policies and their impact. The forum provided a platform for sharing knowledge and innovative learning practices, which is necessary to push the lifelong learning agenda forward in today's fast-paced, continuously changing global economy. The Shanghai forum was the first big event after CONFINTEA IV and was intended to strengthen the lifelong learning momentum. To promote networking, UIL has developed the *International Directory of Lifelong Learning: Policy and Research* comprising details of over 200 governmental departments, institutions, and agencies involved in formulating lifelong learning policies (UNESCO 2015b). The directory is intended to bring together all actors involved with development, implementation, and promotion of lifelong learning policies and practices. The functionality of the directory is limited in comparison with EPALE (EPALE 2015) developed by the EU, however, it reflects UIL's commitment to promoting lifelong learning and reaffirms its role as a unifying entity for all involved in lifelong learning. The UIL's initiative (i.e. the directory) can be seen as the typical modus operandi of UNESCO's articulation of lifelong learning policy discourses, in that they focus on maintaining its organisational visibility as a specialised UN agency in education through offering tools or artefacts (cf. Milana, forthcoming) of use to policy makers and professionals.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this chapter, we aimed to document what has emerged in the international arena of lifelong learning policy discourse by looking at four major international organisations in the post-2000 period. By concluding, we wish to highlight three observations from our study.

First, the four international organisations have not substantially changed their traditionally preferred ideological positioning, but have attempted to address their own discursive weakness in international policy discussions of lifelong learning during the post-2000 period. While they maintain their traditional ideological stance (e.g. the World Bank with neo-liberalism and UNESCO with social democratic liberalism), they have also modified some of their policy discourses by accommodating their counterparts' ideas. This is particularly evidenced in the EU and the OECD (e.g. the EU's widened policy aims of lifelong learning, the OECD's decorative incorporation of social democratic liberal discourses such as inclusive liberalism and wider human capital). Similarly, both the World Bank and UNESCO, who are relatively more distant from each other on the ideological continuum, seem to recognise certain values from each other's policy discourses of lifelong learning: for example, the World Bank's recognition of the MDG's focus on disadvantaged populations, and UNESCO's acknowledgement of learning for adapting to changing global labour markets.

Second, to some extent, there has been a certain level of convergence of lifelong learning policy discourses across the four international organisations. While still ideologically different, the importance of formal, non-formal, and

informal learning of adults is highlighted in the wider context of lifelong learning by all four organisations. Building a coherent qualification system to validate and authenticate learning experiences and outcomes is commonly viewed as a priority policy area by the EU, the OECD, and UNESCO.

Third, in this process of policy convergence, cross-reference to other organisations' work seems to occur more frequently than in the pre-2000 period, e.g. the World Bank's reference of the OECD's work on PISA and the Bank's recognition of the EU's concept of life-wide learning; the OECD's reference to the European Qualification Framework and the EU's concept of lifelong learning; UNESCO's reference to the term 'life-wide learning' proposed by the EU. In addition to cross-references, the four organisations appear to adopt other organisations' successful practices and/or artefacts proven to influence lifelong learning policy discourses. For example, just as the OECD undertook influential work on education indicators and databases, the EU has initiated the Adult Education Survey (AES) and EPALE. In a similar vein, UNESCO recently launched the International Directory of Lifelong Learning: Policy and Research. Hosting international conferences where key stakeholders share their views of lifelong learning becomes a common strategy for these organisations to promote their policy discourses of lifelong learning, ever since UNESCO's successful coordination of the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 and its continuous hosting of international discussions such as CONFINTEA.⁹

We wish to conclude by considering the metaphor of a kaleidoscope. A kaleidoscope is a cylindrical object (i.e. the arena of policy discourses of lifelong learning) with mirrors (i.e. international organisations) containing moving, coloured materials (i.e. cross-referenced policy texts, tools or artefacts such as EPALE and EQF, and conferences, including participants). With light (i.e. macro-contexts such as global socio-economic changes) entering at one end, we can see a variety of colourful patterns as 'a result of the reflection off the mirrors' (i.e. discursive articulation of international organisations). Given the independent and interdependent features of lifelong learning policy discourses articulated by the four international organisations described in this chapter, lifelong learning policy discourses since the post-2000 period appear to have become a kaleidoscope.

NOTES

1. The OMC was defined as, 'a fully decentralised approach in line with the principle of subsidiarity in which the Union, the Member States, the regional and local levels, as well as the social partners and civil society, will be actively involved, using variable forms of partnership' (Council of Europe 2000: para 38). The OMC was an expansive consultation process and a vital component of the formulation of the EU's lifelong learning policy post-2000 (Lee et al. 2008).
2. For the origin of the idea of lifewide learning, see Jackson (2012).

3. Similarly to the 1995 White Paper, the Memorandum lays a huge emphasis on employability and vocational learning while relatively ignoring the issue of social exclusion (Lee et al. 2008).
4. Lee et al. (2008) explained why and how the EU arrived at its all-embracing lifelong learning policy discourses through the conceptual framework of institutional learning.
5. Craig and Porter (2003) introduced the term 'inclusive liberalism' to describe the change in the World Bank's policy from 'frank neoliberal structural adjustment to a softer more inclusive poverty reduction and good governance agenda' (Walker 2009: 335).
6. *Promoting Adult Learning* (OECD 2005b), published as a follow-up to *Beyond Rhetoric*. The document expands the scope of lifelong learning by including 'intergenerational learning and community learning' (Walker 2009) and 'sees adult education as a means to prevent forms of social conflict' (Barros 2012). Also key emphases are placed on policies to promote the participation of low-skilled adults. As pointed out by Rubenson (2015), these aspects may sound Keynesian.
7. The 2004 report defines a qualification framework as: '...an instrument for the development and classification of qualifications according to a set of criteria for levels of learning achieved. This set of criteria may be implicit in the qualifications descriptors themselves or made explicit in the form of a set of level descriptors. The scope of frameworks may be comprehensive of all learning achievement and pathways or may be confined to a particular sector; for example initial education, adult education and training or an occupational area. Some frameworks may have more design elements and a tighter structure than others; some may have a legal basis whereas others represent a consensus of views of social partners. All qualifications frameworks, however, establish a basis for improving the quality, accessibility, linkages and public or labour market recognition of qualifications within a country and internationally' (OECD 2004: 6).
8. Although even UNESCO's concept of lifelong learning was 'subtly' coloured by neoliberal discourses during the mid and late 1990s (Friedrich and Lee 2011; Lee and Friedrich 2011), UNESCO's policy discourses of lifelong learning have remained 'primarily' consistent with social democratic liberalism since the mid-1960s.
9. CONFINTEA has often resulted in proposing certain policy discourses of adult education and learning (e.g. The Belem Framework).

Acknowledgements This work was supported by the National Research Foundation of Korea grant funded by the Korean government (NRF-2014S1A3A2044609).

REFERENCES

- ASEM. (2002). Lifelong learning in ASEM countries: The way forward. Retrieved June 23, 2004, from http://www.uvm.dk/asem/reports/asem_final_report.pdf.
- Barros, R. (2012). From lifelong education to lifelong learning. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 3(2), 119–134.

- Boshier, R. (1998). Edgar Faure after 25 years: Down but not out. In J. Holford, P. Jarvis, & C. Griffin (Eds.), *International perspectives on lifelong learning*. London: Kogan Page.
- Boli, J., & Thomas, G. M. (1997). World culture in the world polity: A century of international non-governmental organization. *American Sociological Review*, 62(2), 171–190.
- CEC. (1993). *Growth, competitiveness, employment: The challenges and ways forward into the 21st century* (Brussels, OOEPEC).
- CEC. (2001). *Making a European area of lifelong learning a reality, COM (2001) 678 final*. EUROPA. Retrieved June 11, 2005, from http://ec.europa.eu/education/policies/lll/life/communication/com_en.pdf.
- Council of Europe. (2000). *Presidency conclusions: Lisbon European Council*. Lisbon: European Parliament. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/summits/lis1_en.htm.
- Council of Europe. (2002). *Detailed work programme on the follow-up of the objectives of education and training systems in Europe, 2002/C142/01*.
- Council of the Europe. (2004). Draft conclusions of the Council and of the representatives of the Governments of the Member States meeting within the Council on Common European Principles for the identification and validation of non-formal and informal learning. Brussels: Council of the European Union.
- Council of Europe. (2009). Council conclusions of 12 May 2009 on a strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training ‘ET 2020’. *Official Journal of the European Union*, 2009/C 11: 2–9.
- Craig, D., & Porter, D. (2003). ‘Poverty reduction strategy papers. A new convergence. *World Development*, 31, 53–70.
- Dehmel, A. (2006). Making a European area of lifelong learning a reality? Some critical reflections on the European Union’s lifelong learning policies. *Comparative Education*, 42(1), 49–62.
- Dohmen, G. (1996). *Lifelong learning: Guidelines for a modern education policy*. Bonn: The Federal Ministry of Education, Science, Research and Technology.
- EPALE. (2015). Electronic platform for adult learning in Europe. Retrieved September 28, 2015, from <http://ec.europa.eu/epale>.
- European Commission. (2000). *A memorandum on lifelong learning SEC 1832*. Retrieved September 12, 2015, from <http://www.bologna-berlin2003.de/pdf/MemorandumEng.pdf>.
- European Commission. (2001). *Communication from the commission: Making a European area of lifelong learning a reality—COM 678 final*. Brussels: European Commission Directorate-General for Education and Culture and Directorate-General for Employment and Social Affairs.
- Elfert, M. (2015). UNESCO, the Faure report, the Delors report, and the political utopia of lifelong learning. *European Journal of Education*, 50(1), 88–100.
- European Communities. (2007). *Action plan on adult learning: It is always a good time to learn*, COM 558.
- European Commission. (2008). *The European qualifications framework for lifelong learning (EQF)*. Luxembourg: European Communities. Retrieved September 20, 2015, from http://www.ond.vlaanderen.be/hogeronderwijs/bologna/news/EQF_EN.pdf.

- European Commission. (2009). *European guidelines for validating non-formal and informal learning*. Luxembourg: Office of Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Field, J. (2001). Lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(1&2), 3–15.
- Finger, M., & Asún, J. M. (2001). *Adult education at the crossroads: Learning our way out*. London: Zed Books.
- Friedrich, T., & Lee, M. (2011). Technocratic and aesthetic-democratic being in UNESCO's lifelong learning policy discourse. *Journal for Philosophical Study of Education*, 1, 153–172.
- Istance, D. (2011). Education at OECD: Recent themes and recommendations. *European Journal of Education*, 46(1), Part I, 87–100.
- Jackson, N. (2012). Lifewide learning: History of an idea. Retrieved October 22, 2015, from http://www.lifewideeducation.com/uploads/1/0/8/4/10842717/chapter_15.pdf.
- Jakobi, A. (2007). The knowledge society and global dynamics in education politics. *European Educational Research Journal*, 6(1), 39–48.
- Jakobi, A. (2009). Global education policy in the making: International organisations and lifelong learning. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 7(4), 473–487.
- Jones, P. W. (2006, March 15). *WCEFA: A moment in the history of multilateral education*. Paper presented at the 50th Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Hawaii.
- Kallen, D. (2002). Lifelong learning revisited. In D. Istance, H. G. Schuetze, & T. Schuller (Eds.), *International perspectives on lifelong learning: From recurrent education to the knowledge society*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Lee, M. (2007). Opening up the ideologies in learning: The treasure within. *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy*, 4(2), 17–36.
- Lee, M., Thayer, T., & Madyun, N. (2008). The evolution of the European Union's lifelong learning policies: An institutional learning perspective. *Comparative Education*, 44(4), 445–464.
- Lee, M., & Friedrich, T. (2008). *The history of UNESCO's lifelong learning policy discourses: An enduring social democratic liberalist project of global educational development*. Paper presented at the Adult Education Research Conference, St. Louis, University of Missouri.
- Lee, M., & Friedrich, T. (2011). Ideologies continuously reaffirmed, subtly accommodated, obviously missing, and fallaciously contested in UNESCO's lifelong learning policy. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 30(2), 151–169.
- Martens, K. (2007). How to become an influential actor—The 'comparative turn' in OECD Education Policy. In K. Martens, A. Rusconi, & K. Leuze (Eds.), *New arenas of education governance: The impact of international organizations and markets on educational policy making*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Milana, M. (Forthcoming). Global polity in adult education and UNESCO: Landmarking, brokering, and framing policy. *Globalisation, societies and education*.
- Nemeth, B. (2015). Lifelong learning for all adults? A new concept for the united nations educational, scientific and cultural organization—limits and opportunities for a changing intergovernmental organization. In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- OECD. (1996). *Lifelong learning for all*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2002). Re-thinking human capital. In *Education Policy Analysis*. Paris: OECD.

- OECD. (2003). *Beyond rhetoric: Adult learning policies and practices—highlights*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2004). The role of national qualification systems in promoting lifelong learning. A report from thematic group 1: The development and use of ‘Qualification Frameworks’ as a means of reforming and managing qualifications systems. Retrieved October 1, 2015, from <http://www.oecd.org/edu/skills-beyond-school/33977045.pdf>.
- OECD. (2005a). The role of national qualification systems in promoting lifelong learning. A report from thematic group 2: Standards and quality assurance in qualifications with special reference to the recognition of non-formal and informal learning. Retrieved October 1, 2015, from <http://www.oecd.org/edu/innovation-education/34376318.pdf>.
- OECD. (2005b). *Promoting adult learning*. Paris: OECD.
- Olssen, M., Codd, J., & O’Neill, A. (2004). *Education policy: Globalization, citizenship and democracy*. London: Sage.
- Panides, E. A. (2015). Towards ‘utilitarian’ adult education perspectives? A critical review of the European Union’s adult education policy. In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rogers, A. (2006). Lifelong learning and the absence of gender. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 26, 189–208.
- Regmi, K. A. (2015). Lifelong learning: Foundational models, underlying assumptions and critiques. *International Review of Education*, 61, 133–151.
- Rubenson, K. (2015). Framing the adult learning and education policy discourse: The role of the organization for economic co-operation and development. In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sprogø, J. (2003). Comparative analysis of lifelong learning strategies and their implementation in Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden. Retrieved January 22, 2004, from http://www.sec-educoop.net/education_in/pdf/erasmus2013-oth-enl-t03.htm.
- Tuijnman, A., & Boström, A. K. (2002). Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning. *International Review of Education*, 48(1/2), 93–110.
- UIL. (2009). *Global report on adult learning and education*. Hamburg: UIL.
- UIL. (2010). *Bele’m framework for action: Harnessing the power and potential of adult learning and education for a viable future*. Hamburg: UIL.
- UIL. (2013). *2nd global report on adult learning and education: Rethinking literacy*. Hamburg: UIL.
- UNESCO. (1972). *Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2000). The Dakar framework for action. Retrieved September 5, 2015, from http://www.unesco.at/bildung/basisdokumente/dakar_aktionsplan.pdf.
- UNESCO. (2003a). The United Nations literacy decade (2003–2012). Retrieved September 10, 2015, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001354/135400e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. (2003b). UIE annual report. Retrieved September 25, 2015, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001493/149312e.pdf>.

- UNESCO. (2005). UN decade of education for sustainable development. Retrieved September 12, 2015, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001416/141629e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. (2015a). Education for sustainable development. Retrieved October 2, 2015, from http://portal.unesco.org/geography/en/ev.phpURL_ID=14132&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html.
- UNESCO. (2015b). Retrieved September 25, 2015, from <http://uil.unesco.org/home/programme-areas/lifelong-learning-policies-and-strategies>.
- Volles, N. (2014). Lifelong learning in the EU: Changing conceptualisations, actors, and policies. *Studies in Higher Education*, 41(2), 343–363.
- Walker, J. (2009). The inclusion and construction of the worthy citizen through lifelong learning: A focus on the OECD. *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(3), 335–351.
- World Bank. (2003a). Lifelong learning in the global knowledge economy. *Challenges for developing countries*. Washington: The World Bank.
- World Bank. (2003b). Lifelong learning and the knowledge economy. In *Summary of the Global Conference on Lifelong Learning*, Stuttgart, Germany, Oct 9–10, 2002. Washington: The World Bank.
- World Bank. (2005). *Education sector strategy update: Achieving education for all, broadening our perspective, maximising our effectiveness*. Washington, DC: World Bank. Retrieved September 20, 2015, from http://siteresources.worldbank.org/EDUCATION/Resources/ESSU/Education_Sector_Strategy_Update.pdf.
- World Bank. (2011). *Learning for all: Investing in people's knowledge and skills to promote development. World bank group education strategy 2020*. Washington, DC: World Bank.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Moosung Lee is the youngest Centenary Professor at the University of Canberra, Australia. He has published widely in high-quality academic forums in the areas of comparative education, educational leadership and administration. He received the Emerging Scholar Award (Division A—Administration, Organization, and Leadership) by the American Educational Research Association in 2015. His latest publications include *Decoding the Neoliberal Subjectivity in Self-Helping Adult Learners* (*International Journal of Lifelong Education*, pre-published online on 28 December 2016).

Shazia K. Jan is PhD student at Macquarie University, Australia. Her research focuses on learning design, networked learning and social network analysis. She earned her MA in Educational Psychology from Eastern Michigan University, USA and her BA in Mathematics from Bennington College, USA. Her most recent publication includes “Leadership Structures of Major International Organizations: An Exploration of Gender and Regional Disparities”, in T.N. Watson and A.H. Normore (Eds.), *Racially and Ethnically Diverse Women Leading Education: A World View (Advances in Educational Administration, 25)* (Emerald, 2016).

Transformative Sustainability Education: From Sustainable to a Civilization Leap

Elizabeth A. Lange

*If this world does not have a place for us,
Then another world must be made.
Zapatista saying*

Abstract With the realities of climate change pressing in on us, sustainability discourse has gained currency, although some consider it to have been co-opted and emptied of meaning—‘sustainable’. This chapter reviews the state of sustainability education, including a brief update on the state of sustainability vis-à-vis climate challenges, the contested meanings of sustainability and the historical development of sustainability education particularly in relation to environmental education and the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development. The chapter ends with a glimpse into the polyarchy of learning edges in transformative sustainability education and the shift towards a relational ontoepistemology, creating conditions for a civilizational leap.

INTRODUCTION

In the era of ‘sustainable’ (Engelman 2013), it is important to question if sustainability discourse is still relevant or whether it has been so co-opted that it has been emptied of meaning. Twenty years ago when I began my research into sustainability education for adults, the concept of sustainability had not yet fully permeated public discourse. Learners commonly defined sustainability as ‘keeping things the same’ rather than maintaining the life-giving conditions of Earth for the continued habitation of all existing species, including humans (Lange 2001; 2004). Now, the term sustainability has reached general currency

E.A. Lange (✉)
St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, NS, Canada
e-mail: e24lange@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2018
M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_21

but has become an adjective for almost any undertaking, implying something ‘a little bit better for the environment’ (Engelman 2013). This has only increased the contestation around the term, political rifts among proponents and the search for a new concept. Many consider sustainability to be a social movement (Hawken 2007), however, it is common that the spirit or intent of a movement becomes attenuated when it becomes mainstreamed and institutionalized (Johnstone 2002). This further exacerbates the babble and the loss of the transformative potential of sustainability education (Selby and Kagawa 2015). Drawing on a critical understanding of lifelong learning that requires the development of reflexivity for self and social questioning (Edwards et al. 2002; Chappell et al. 2003), the polyarchy of learning edges in sustainability education is richest in ‘the dense and creative networks of ‘civil society’’ (Williamson 1998: 2), such as NGOs, civil society organizations, continuing education and social movements.

Paul Hawken (2007) asserts that the sustainability movement is now the largest social movement in history if you connect the dots between a myriad of sectors, initiatives and movements. Andre Edwards (2005) calls it the Sustainability Revolution given the magnitude of changes occurring. David Korten (2006) calls it The Great Turning. Others call it The Great Transition in relation to capitalism (Brown 2015) and energy (Bonaiuti 2014). The term Quantum Shift describes the transformation of human consciousness (Laszlo 2008). According to the *New Science*, reality is highly sensitive, nonlinear, relational and self-renewing, thus Charlene Spretnak (2011) asserts we are undergoing a ‘Relational Shift’ from a mechanistic consciousness to a relational one.

A relational ontology recognizes the ‘constitutional nature’ of relationships (p. 12). For Barbara Thayer-Bacon (2003), relationality precedes knowing. Further, Karen Barad (2007) argues that matter and meaning are entangled and do not hold a priori agency to phenomena. Fritjof Capra (2002) suggests that it is the entanglements of form, matter, process and meaning that co-emerge into new patterns, social and physical. This new *ontoeistemological* framework, as Barad calls it, offers significant groundwork for new research into transformative sustainability education as part of adult and lifelong education and learning.

Boldly, Naomi Klein (2014) suggests that the climate movement will be the culmination of the liberation movements of the twentieth century, such as slavery abolition and civil rights, but will now demand economic as well as political and social transformation. She suggests what is common across these historical movements are two elements: questioning the legitimacy of the current system, and grassroots people simply taking the future into their own hands. She argues for a ‘civilizational leap’ that includes a ‘major transformation in moral perceptions’ (p. 461). This simultaneously involves an alternative ontoepistemology, a liberated political imagination to finish the transformation towards economic democracy, a mass social mobilization for addressing what our current political classes cannot, and then many local people reknitting what it means to be a village in relation to the land. Fundamentally, the challenge is a learning one (Orr 1994), across the life spectrum and facets of being.

The generations alive today are considered to be *the* transitional generation—the first with a global consciousness, the capacity to reimagine our communities to be truly life-giving and the ability to enact far-reaching changes in the manner of human habitation (Korten 2006). Nevertheless, education should not be an instrumentalizing mechanism for sustainability or employed as a doctrine (Jickling 1992), further contributing to sustainability. Rather, it is an argument for a profound ontological, epistemological and ethical transformation and a process approach to learning. No blueprint exists for this, only the human creative capacity for ‘reorienting education’ (UNESCO 1992) and ‘re-educat[ing] humanity’ (Kennedy in Orr 1994: 126).

In this context, sustainability education is a profound act of hope in the future. As Vaclav Havel, poet and past president of Czechoslovakia, has said, ‘Hope is a dimension of the spirit...[Hope] is not the conviction that something will turn out well, but the certainty that something makes sense, regardless of how it turns out’ (in Westley et al. 2007: vii). This chapter reviews the state of sustainability education, including a brief update on the state of sustainability vis-à-vis climate challenges, the contested meanings of sustainability, the historical development of sustainability education particularly in relation to the environmental education and United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, ending with a glimpse into the polyarchy of learning edges and the impact of a relational ontoepistemology.

CLIMATE BASICS

We are living in the era of climate change, posing increasing challenges for the living systems of Earth. We are now considered to be living in the Anthropocene era, the age in which human actions are a key force impacting planetary well-being (Folke 2013). While the first generation environmental movement was known for its fear, shame and blame tactics, we *do* need to take an unflinching look at the science, as well as the causes for hope, to guide us as educators and researchers.

While there have been some encouraging trends and progress reported by scientists over the past few decades, it is still clear that exceeding two to three degrees of global climate warming beyond the pre-industrial temperature will have irreversible effects (UN-IPCC 2007). The European Union adopted 2% as the goal for a human-imposed limit and the 2015 Paris Agreement specified a long-term goal of keeping the increase in global average temperature to well below 2 °C above pre-industrial levels, with the aim to limit the increase to 1.5 °C (European Commission 2015). Respected climatologist James Hansen et al. (2008: 1) explain,

If humanity wishes to preserve a planet similar to that on which civilization developed and to which life on Earth is adapted, paleoclimate evidence and ongoing climate change suggest that CO₂ will need to be reduced from its current 385 ppm to at most 350 ppm, but likely less than that.

We are now over 400 parts per million, the highest in two millennia (Associated Press 2015) and so far there has been a one-degree rise in global temperature, as detailed by the latest United Nations report by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (UN-IPCC 2013). If we reach 450 ppm, it is estimated that this will lead to 2° of warming (Dresner 2002) which scientists describe as the beginning of a disaster scenario (Hansen 2009) including starvation, water famine, land loss, significant population displacement and violent conflict.

The science is in. This is the hard reality we are facing. Contemporary dialogue now takes for granted the coming upheavals and turbulence, a ‘gathering storm’ (Hansen 2009) or ‘dark age’ (Jacobs 2005) expected for at least two generations to come. Discourse is filled with calls for climate change mitigation and adaptation, disaster preparedness, displacement planning and crisis governance during the ‘forced decline’, all illustrating the increasing normalization of catastrophe (Jickling 2013). Strategies for community resilience along with ‘teaching for turbulence’ in the ‘long emergency’ are now the current discourse (Worldwatch Institute 2013).

IS SUSTAINABILITY EVEN POSSIBLE? RECENT TRENDS

In 2013, the Worldwatch Institute asked if sustainability is even possible, given that numerous ecological tipping points have been exceeded. There are some encouraging trends, including: the decline of ozone-depleting substances enabling the ozone layer to begin repairing itself; reaching one of the Millennium Development goals early by reducing the lack of access to safe water in half; a significant reduction in global poverty; a more rapid growth of renewable energy than fossil fuels; the lowest rate of Amazon deforestation in Brazil since 1988; and a strong commitment to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in many nations by 2020.

However, the discouraging trends include: continual escalation of greenhouse gases including carbon dioxide with a millennial high over 400 ppm; passing critical environmental thresholds or ‘tipping points’ in nitrogen pollution and in the loss of biological diversity by 30%; increase of extreme weather; acceleration of Arctic ice and permafrost melting; and ocean acidification up to 30% which is the highest rate in 300 million years (World Watch Institute 2013; The Associated Press 2015).

Where does this leave us in the attainability of sustainability? Robinson (2013) suggests that we do have time to turn things around and that it is physically possible given the current knowledge and technology available. However, the ability to flex our social and belief systems is in question. The hegemonic material *practices* include the naturalness and inevitability of capitalism, with increasingly predatory and monopoly forms, as well as fossil fuels as the primary energy source. The constellation of modernist *ideas* which continue to dominate includes: progress, freedom, private property, change, rational empiricism, autonomous individualism, empiricism, managerialism, androcentrism where males are standard of measurement, and anthropocentrism where

only those categorized as human are given moral consideration. These practices and ideas have shaped our *ontology* or notions around the nature of existence, our *epistemology* or notions around the nature of truth and knowledge, our *cosmology* or notions about the origin and nature of the universe and our *ethics* or notions about moral values and conduct. It is this ontoepistemological framework that is now in question across the sciences and social sciences (Barad 2007). Despite the enormity of the task, Robinson (2013) concludes that ‘life is robust’ (p. 375) and that with a *polyarchy*, where power is dispersed across many global loci, all the work for change does make a difference.

So, as theorists and educators, we are left sorting through the fragments to determine what is still useful to inform our field. This historical moment calls us to rethink our theory and practice to address the profound and complex issues facing us. The contention here is that sustainability discourse still holds significant potential to create conditions of transformation to shift the dominant ontoepistemological framework, create materials conditions for justice and sustainability and generate renewal for adult and lifelong education and learning.

SUSTAINABILITY: CONCEPTUAL CONTESTATION

While the environmental movement began in the 1960s, the concept of sustainability did not enter discourse until the 1980s. The 1987 Brundtland Report, *Our Common Future*, contained what became the most quoted definition for sustainable development: ‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (p. 42). Since then, dozens of definitions have circulated, but none has been as universally accepted despite deep controversies, contesting ideologies and disparate visions.

Realizing that environmental protection could not be achieved on the backs of the world’s poor, the Brundtland Commission attempted to link environment, economy and equity concerns. Known as the ‘three Es’ of sustainability, it was a way to bridge the concerns of both the Northern and Southern hemispheres. Many social movement members and institutional actors began to realize that there was a confluence of environmental, social and economic crises that could no longer be addressed independently (Selby and Kagawa 2015). Further, the concept of sustainability helped to highlight the need not just for *intragenerational* equity but *intergenerational* equity between generations (Dresner 2002).

The Brundtland Report led directly to the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, generating 27 principles which recognized the indivisibility of environment, economy, peace and social development (Tilbury et al. 2002). This was called the *Rio Declaration* and it represented a global consensus on sustainable development. *Agenda 21* was the accompanying framework of action that was considered the first global partnership for sustainable development (Tilbury et al. 2002).

It was further determined that an international charter of principles and an inclusive ethical vision be developed. In 2000, the *Earth Charter* included the four interlocking pillars of respect and care for the community of life, ecological integrity, social and economic justice, and democracy, non-violence and peace (Earth Charter Initiative 2012). In the end, member states did not become signatories but it became the most significant global civil society document, signed by thousands of scientific, municipal, religious, professional, business, community and other non-governmental groups. Kahn (2010) considers the Earth Charter to be a ‘bold educational reformulation of how people should maintain sustainable cultural relations with nature and between each other’ (p. 13).

However, the concept of sustainable development was soon regarded as a product of too much compromise between the environmental and development lobbies (Selby and Kagawa 2015). Charges were that it was an oxymoron in assuming that current economic principles could be kept in place for the rapid economic growth of ‘developing’ countries to address poverty, while ‘developed’ countries could green their growth but protect their affluent lifestyles. This assumes unlimited growth and is a technocratic approach predicated on global-scale management by a centralized international elite (Orr 1992). Further, it is founded on the belief in market solutions and technological fixes that can develop substitutions for depleted natural ‘resources’. Many consider the concept of sustainable development as reformist, by perpetuating many modernist assumptions and practices rather than challenging them. It is now termed *weak sustainability* (Orr 1992; Dresner 2002).

In contrast, *strong sustainability* argues that unlimited growth is not possible in a finite natural system and that humans cannot definitively determine carrying capacity or rather the level at which the total population multiplied by the resource-use level will exceed the ecosystem capacity to renew itself. Further, humans do not have the capacity to coordinate activities at a global scale foreseeing the multitude of interacting factors. Thus, strong sustainability proponents argue that change will need to be decentralized using self-organizing principles that rejuvenate civic cultures and create an ecologically literate population drawing from place-based knowledge (Orr 1992). This view also asserts that a more fundamental transformation of human habitation is needed that mimics designs in the natural world or biomimicry—for agriculture, shelter, energy use, urban design, work practices, healing, politics, transportation, economics and ‘resource’ use (Orr 1992; Benyus 1997). Alternatives beyond industrialism, fossil fuels and *homo economicus* are needed and the precautionary principle should be used so risk-laden activities are not undertaken.

Since the 1990s, the adjective of ‘sustainable’ has proliferated: sustainable living, sustainable livelihoods, sustainable agriculture, sustainable cities, sustainable food systems, sustainable design, sustainability science, sustainability literacy, sustainable governance, sustainable business and sustainable consumption. Engelman (2013) claims that it is a diffuse synonym for something considered ‘green’, an equally vague adjective often co-opted as in forms of

corporate greenwashing. Nevertheless, there are many declarations, statements of principles and accompanying criteria that act as commitment documents for each of these foci (see Edwards 2005). In an effort to bring meaningfulness to signed declarations and claims of sustainable practices, new measurement systems, performance indicators, audits and independent verification bodies have been developed for individuals, communities, institutions, businesses and nations to determine progress towards sustainability.

In sum, the diffusion of the term and related activities can lead to contradictory conclusions. First, it is clear that sustainability is a key environmental concept that now has gained currency in popular culture over the last 20 years. Second, there is a rising public awareness of climate science and the consequences of human action on the environment. Third, environmental concerns have now entered into global and national economic dialogue. Fourth, 'sustainability' as a theme has been more palatable than 'environmentalism' in providing conditions for a global debate and some consensus (Selby and Kagawa 2015).

Fifth, on the flip side, the vagueness and the vast political disagreements illustrate the growing meaninglessness of the concept. Sixth, it has become clear that sustainability is an interdisciplinary and holistic endeavour and thus is difficult to implement in disciplinary silos. Seventh, the spectrum of sustainability claims illustrates that it might indeed be emptied to a buzzword or vacuous fad. Eighth, and more critically, it has been argued that the term is used by corporate business to camouflage the results of disaster capitalism, as global corporations over the last 30 years use disasters and crises to push through exploitative policies and practices while the public is distracted (Klein 2007).

New language to replace sustainability or envision beyond it continues to emerge, such as 'vibrant, resilient, thriveable or even flourishing' societies. But no other concept as yet has captured the multifaceted vision as sustainability. Despite the struggle for new language, the contestations, and elasticity of the concept sustainability as well as its co-optation in some quarters, it still has meaning if it points to a general consensus about what has value (Dresner 2002). It is suggested here that the concept of sustainability can be seen as a floating signifier that can produce alliances across diverse groups and can assist in rethinking educational discourse. Maser (1996) argues for a process view of sustainability that is flexible and open to community definition in local contexts. Eichler (cited in Clover 2002) and Tilbury et al. (2002) agree that sustainability is a fluid concept that best evolves in relation to context.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF SUSTAINABILITY EDUCATION

A proliferation of monikers related to environmental and sustainability education, underlaid by theoretical as well as political differences, contributes to sustainababble. In national contexts, the most common usage tends to relate to governance, funding, education structures and environmental history. The more common terms are: Environmental Education (EE); Environmental Adult

Education (EAE); Education for Sustainability (EFS); Sustainability Education; Ecopedagogy; and Education for Sustainable Development (ESD). Overall, environmental and sustainability education typically occurs across four learning sites: primary and secondary schooling; higher education and vocational training; civil society including non-governmental organizations (NGOs), continuing education, social movements and social media; and workplaces, professional associations and unions. As the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2009) has indicated, the richest and most creative environmental and sustainability education is offered by NGOs and civil society organizations who work in non-formal and informal settings, without significant funds. The initial slow uptake by policy actors and governments led to NGOs taking the lead in terms of community activism, social learning, organizational learning and awareness raising (Atkinson and Wade 2015). Importantly, it is clear in many sectors that strong political leadership led and supported by grassroots activism and community education is most effective. Yet the role of civil society in sustainability education and the linkage between politics, pedagogy and sustainability has not been well captured by research.

The following provides an overview of the linkages between the environmental movement, environmental education and education for sustainable development prior to a discussion of current sustainability education.

ENVIRONMENTALISM

The roots of the environmental movement could be said to have originated in a moral and cultural critique of the Industrial Revolution, beginning in Britain (Guha 2000). While the environmental movement commonly marks its inauguration from Earth Day in New York, 1970, there were three significant antecedents which continually play out in environmental politics and environmental education.

The rise of nation states and rapid deforestation by newly industrializing powers led to legal interventions to create forest preserves. The *scientific conservation movement* promoted 'wise use in the 'public interest' using scientific management' (Guha 2000). With the destruction of wild animals through the continual hunting expeditions of colonials, the *nature and wilderness conservation movement* emerged yielding international conventions, wilderness and wildlife societies, and the creation of wildlife reserves and national parks. The concept of *wilderness* arose referring to a land whose integrity should not be disturbed, particularly as an important site for the leisure activities of growing numbers of city dwellers. Today, the 1980 World Conservation Strategy still remains an influential document, receiving periodic updates. The Sierra Club and World Wildlife Fund, for instance, are still players in the environmental movement and act as informal and non-formal sites of environment education for the public. Related to these movements, conservation education, nature study and outdoor education became the earliest forms of environmentally focused education (Disinger 2005).

With decolonization in Africa, Asia and Latin America in the mid-twentieth century and the preoccupation with productivity and production after WWII, *international development* became an era of activity predicated on ‘deeply humane and democratic sensibilities’ (Guha 2000: 65), although it was equally shaped by calculated national and corporate self-interest (Sachs 1992). By the 1960s, a social and cultural revolution in Western nations was symbolized by two events, the May 1968 protests in Paris as students occupied universities and factories triggering mass strikes, and the University of California at Berkeley protests which coalesced the anti-war, civil rights and free speech movements. Many *new social movements* emerged at this time: the peace/anti-war, feminist, civil rights, Indigenous rights, gay rights, anti-capitalism, anti-consumerism and other countercultural movements against the ‘establishment’.

Into this vibrant context, Rachel Carson (1962) released her seminal research *Silent Spring* accounting for the loss of songbirds due to the unregulated rise of chemical pesticides and herbicides. It was a statement not only on the widespread contamination of invisible toxins but also the interlinked nature of ecosystems and the delicacy of living relationships. By the 1970s, there was a global consensus that there was a global environmental ‘crisis’ in terms of pollution and that *Limits to Growth* were needed (Meadows and Club of Rome 1972).

The pressure of activists led to environmental protection law, protection agencies, pollution controls, international treaties as well as initiatives in the formal education sector in many countries. This rise in public environmental discourse is a testament to the compelling achievement of environmentalism as a social movement with a learning dimension. They engaged in public communication using their own interpretive frames (Della Porta and Diani 1999), triggered informal and incidental learning, created space for organized, experiential and action learning, and generated knowledge through their research and study (Hall 2009; Kahn 2010). Yet learning has remained a hidden dimension of social movements until recently (Hall 2009).

Many NGOs would arise at this time, as a professionalization and routinization of the movement (Guha 2000). Environmental NGOs (ENGOs) typically incorporated public communication and educational materials as part of their mandates but remained aloof from the education field. Typically, they used one-way communication campaigns or information-education-communication strategies, largely as a top-down transmissive methodology (Belanger 2003). Yet there was a growing realization that public awareness, cultural attitude shift and legislation were not enough (Martin 1996). Given limited monetary and volunteer resources, NGOs needed to target their focus and develop niche marketing, from endangered species, animal rights, nuclear waste to wetlands protection. However, this structure maintains a separateness of environmental organizations from other sectors and competition among environmental organizations (Martin 1996).

In the late 1970s, after the oil crisis and expansion of nuclear power, environmentalists realized that established political parties were unlikely to embrace an environmental platform. Thus, in a daring political experiment, the German

Green Party established itself in 1979, representing a unique coalition across a rainbow of green (eco) and red (socialist) perspectives. They won significant political victories and continue to stand as a ‘moral challenge...to the governing beliefs of industrial civilization’ (Guha 2000: 90). The continual rise of green parties elsewhere illustrates the importance of informal political and civic education through families, community organizations and political parties, though remaining little theorized.

Eventually many NGOs would turn to the education field, not for pedagogical insight, but as an access point to influence primary, secondary and higher education audiences and curriculum with their messages. Measures of success are most commonly evidenced by curricular inclusion and project development. In Canada, Pierre Walter (2009) analyzed the educational philosophies that informed the work of many ENGOs to illustrate the commonality of behaviourist, liberal, humanist and radical approaches to that of the adult education field, encouraging the field to engage with ENGOs.

ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

The early decades of the environmental movement touched off the first wave of EE evident in the launch of *The Journal of Environmental Education* in 1969 and the formation of several organizations. The flagship North American Association for Environmental Education (NAAEE) in 1971 now has connections to 55 countries, many regional affiliates and partner organizations in Australia, New Zealand, Japan and the United Arab Emirates. The UK Council for Environmental Education and the Scottish Environmental Education Council were also established in the 1970s. The 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment recommended that ‘environmental education’ be recognized and promoted in all countries. This coalesced into the *Belgrade Charter* (1976) stating the goal of environmental education:

to develop a world population that is aware of, and concerned about, the environment and its associated problems and which has the knowledge, skills, attitudes, motivations, and commitment to work individually and collectively toward solutions of current problems and the prevention of new ones. (UNESCO 1976)

The next year, the *Tbilisi Declaration* (1977) identified three objectives for environmental education in terms of fostering awareness, providing opportunities for knowledge acquisition and creating new patterns of behaviour (UNESCO 1978). Much of the early conceptualization and promotion of environmental education came from these international gatherings and international agencies.

In North America, environmental education grew initially in the higher education sector to assist college educators with resources, but it quickly expanded into and remains rooted in primary and secondary schooling (Disinger 2005). Seminal theorist Stapp et al. (1996) theorized the role of

environmental education as generating an ecologically knowledgeable citizenry, interdisciplinary problem-solving and motivation towards action. The most significant debate became whether public educators needed to maintain ‘value-neutrality’ or ‘bias-balance’ by presenting all sides of an environmental issue, lest they become propagandists (Disinger 2005). In a more nuanced argument, Bob Jickling (2005) asserted that the purpose of education is critical inquiry, not environmental advocacy.

One of the early critiques of environmental education addressed this affiliation with schooling (Simmons 1989). Adult educators critiqued the exclusion of adults from environmental education based on the old view of adults as ‘beyond learning’ or ‘too irremediable’ (Russell in Clover 2002; Jarvis 2009). The importance of non-formal education and non-education sectors was largely ignored until the North American Association for Environmental Education conferences began to attract a wide range of professionals outside of classroom teachers and teacher educators—interpretive naturalists, conservationists, environmental researchers and scientists, museum and nature centre educators, resource and environmental managers, outdoor educators, government and industry communication specialists, and environmental activists. This led to tremendous organizational strains and tensions regarding philosophical approaches and vested interests (Disinger 2005). It also highlighted the differences in privileging either the ‘environment’ or ‘education’.

Another early critique of environmental education was its home in the science curriculum and the focus on scientific investigation. Not only did this exclude many public schools and higher education educators by subject discipline, it required high-level science knowledge and field skills. In this way, science was exclusionary and often knowledge elitism and yet reductionist science was one cause of the epistemological predicament. It was proposed by David Orr that all education should by nature be environmental education, as it concerns the human prospect (Orr 1992, 1994). Another debate became the difficulty of integrating the holistic nature of environmental education into a discipline-specific schooling system. Even the architecture of schools reinforces separation, artificiality, passivity, monologue and domination.

The field then shifted the focus from environmental issues to the human–environmental relation and from attitude change to behaviour change. Environmental literacy became the key model (Roth 1992): building from awareness to environmental understanding; fostering an emotional, caring connection; capacity-building in terms of issue analysis, in situ research and problem-solving; and community empowerment for resolving environmental issues. To capture the widening spectrum of practice in environmental education, Arthur Lucas (1991) distinguished approaches to environmental education as ‘education *about*, *in* and *for* the environment’—the first as information transmission, the second as a site for inquiry and the last as transformative in ethics and values.

In the field of adult and lifelong learning, the dominant approaches of information transmission, behaviour modification and attitude formation were critiqued as antithetical to sound educational inquiry (Clover 2003;

Cole 2007). On one hand, some felt environmental education was too highly politicized for the adult education field (Boggs 1986; Imel 1990) while on the other hand it was critiqued for the focus on individual change rather than social movement engagement (Field 1989). Matthias Finger (1989) asserted that the problem-solving approach needed to give way to transformative learning regarding worldviews. In 1991, the International Council for Adult Education established the Learning for the Environment Programme (LEAP) to provide one 'place of encounter' for adult educators interested in an ecological framework for their practice (Clover 2004: vii).

At Rio in 1992, Chap. 36 of *Agenda 21* specifically focused on the critical role of education, public awareness and training as a vital tool or instrument for promoting and achieving the goal of sustainable development. In a parallel gathering at Rio, the NGO Alternative Treaty on Environmental Education was signed, choosing to replace the word 'development' with 'equity'. Out of this, the World Environmental Education Network (WEEC) was established. Nevertheless, education became the forgotten priority of Rio, as little activity ensued (Hamú in Tilbury et al. 2002).

With the fall of the Berlin Wall, the late 1980s and 1990s witnessed the acceleration of neoliberal economic globalization and structural adjustment programmes. This shift denigrated social welfare infrastructure, promoted the privatization or market provision of formal education, defunded many sites of adult and lifelong education including development and environmental NGOs and concentrated on 'learning for earning' in North America and 'learning pays' in the European Union. It decreased the role of the State as regulator and arbiter of social goods while increasing the power of economic elites and corporate freedom around the globe (Harvey 2005). Ortega (cited in Barber 1992) calls this the 'artificial intensification of practices' (p. 62) that have led to decay, resulting in significant increase in environmental destruction, climate emissions and social inequity over the last 40 years.

EDUCATION FOR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Five years after Rio, UNESCO hosted the Thessaloniki Conference in 1997, profiling UNESCO's responsibility in 'reshaping education so as to promote attitudes and behaviours conducive to a culture of sustainability' (UNESCO 1997). The term sustainability had gained broad currency and this conference moved ahead to determine the key messages for what they called ESD, again acknowledging the concerns of both the Northern and Southern hemispheres. It emphasized that sustainability education needed to be offered across the spectrum of lifelong learning: in the family and community, basic education and literacy, schooling, teacher education, public communication and awareness, and higher and vocational education. At this time, John Huckle and Stephen Sterling (1996) published one of the first books on EFS which examined the theory and practice across various formal, non-formal and informal sites engaged in sustainability education.

The Thessaloniki conference triggered a heated dialogue about the connection between environmental education and education for sustainability development and whether the latter should supersede the former as a broader concept that included sociocultural and economic concerns (Jickling 2012; Monroe and Fien 2005). Sterling (1996) questioned if sustainability was a fusion of environmental education and development education, while others suggested perhaps this concept would represent the confluence of many ‘adjectival educations’ including peace education, development education, multicultural and anti-racist education, feminist and sexual rights education, citizenship education, futures education, global education and human rights education (Goldstein and Selby 2000). Some, like Peter Martin (1996) advocated that environmental education be phased out and education for sustainability replace it. Pushing back, the World Environmental Education Congress held its first international conference in 2003, illustrating the tensions of conceptual territoriality.

At Rio+10 in Johannesburg, 2002, UNESCO announced the *Decade of Education for Sustainable Development* (DESD 2005–2014), designed to go well beyond ecological concerns.

The overall goal of the DESD is to integrate the principles, values and practices of sustainable development into all aspects of education and learning in order to encourage changes in behaviour that will create a more sustainable future in terms of environmental integrity, economic viability, and a just society for present and future generations. (UNESCO 2005)

By the DESD mid-term report in 2009, a consensus on the meaning of education for sustainable development became less important. It was acknowledged that there were three kinds of relationships between environmental education and education for sustainable development, dependent on national context:

- where the environmental education field was narrowly conceived, education for sustainable development updated or reformed it;
- where the environmental education field was broadly conceived, education for sustainable development was understood as synonymous and terms were used strategically for funding purposes with initiatives used using overlapping infrastructures; and
- where the environmental education field was relatively undeveloped in a nation, education for sustainable development provided the concept and processes for initiating sustainability education.

However, with the global financial crisis in 2008–2009, funding became the key inhibitor to momentum. Then, with the 2009 Bonn Declaration, education for sustainable development was declared an integral component of *all* quality education for the twenty-first century, connecting the United Nation’s Millennium Development Goals, Education for All and the Literacy Decade (Duke and Hinzen 2012).

SUSTAINABILITY EDUCATION IN ADULT AND LIFELONG EDUCATION AND LEARNING

With the new millennium, thinking about environmental education and education for sustainable development began to deepen. John Huckle and Stephen Sterling (1996) and Martha Monroe and John Fien (2005) saw liberal and nature-based environmentalism as too shallow and narrow without the political economic and social analysis necessary for the creation of sustainable communities. In a potent critique, Anna Gahl Cole (2007) suggested that environmental education needs cultural diversity to overcome its Western-centrism and the white, middle class, male orientation that parallels the environmental movement. Further, she called for a rethinking of the ways in which power, race, class, gender and politics shape human interaction with land.

New adult education publications by Edmund O'Sullivan (1999) and Darlene Clover (1995) identified the need for a new cosmology to guide education and drawing attention to the domination matrix where women, children, people of colour, Indigenous people and the natural world are oppressed, demanding a critical and transformative form of learning. In getting beyond environmental education's implicit universalism, David Gruenewald (2003) encouraged place-based education, appropriate to a bioregion, in ways that resonate with the local community. Jennifer Sumner (2005) suggested that sustainability requires the rebuilding of life-based values and the civil commons. Robert Hill (2003) and Tuere Bowles (2007) advocated for an environmental justice orientation that examines unequal exposure to environmental risks by race and class. To enact an inclusive, anti-racist approach, Sandra Tan (2004) promoted alliance building with immigrant newcomer and visible minority communities. Lange (2010; 2012; 2015; 2017) described the many voices or theoretical approaches reflected in sustainability adult education and addressed a relational ontology as the basis for a conceptual reformulation of transformative learning and sustainability education for adults.

Paul Belanger (2003) offered a framework for environmental lifelong learning (ELL) to recognize the role that adult education could play in the ecological transformation of *all* educational practices. He identified the three most effective elements for environmental lifelong learning as: educating in the natural environment; pursuing content rooted in daily life contexts; synergy between lifelong and life-wide education across sectors; and interactive communities with feedback cycles connected to sustainability initiatives. For Karen Malone (2004), given that environmental adult education has its roots in the environmental movement and critical theory, it should be involved in critiquing hegemonic constructions of truth, constructing alternative worldviews and nurturing educator-activists in social movements and community initiatives.

In the final report of the *Decade of Education for Sustainable Development* (UNESCO 2014), education was found to be an enabler for sustainable development. UNESCO helped to activate many international and national strategies that mandate education for sustainable development across formal

education institutions and helped to establish extensive partnerships and networks globally. They found that political leadership and multi-stakeholder partnerships are particularly effective in institutionalizing education for sustainable development. Yet, it is clear that short-term electoral mandates are not amenable for making difficult, long-term policies and that practice lags far behind policy commitments. However, there is now a strengthening global agenda. Other key findings were that: education for sustainable development is a lifelong learning process; community engagement is growing; and pedagogical innovation is advancing across all levels and areas of education towards the central goal of learning to live and work sustainably.

Early critiques of the *Decade* have centred on the instrumentalist approach to education and the top-down implementation that treats educators as technicians rather than participatory contributors. The mid-report of the Decade did recognize that there are a spectrum of approaches, from an instrumental approach of behaviour change to more ‘pedagogical’ approaches that emphasize social learning, critical and imaginative thinking, democracy, and participatory collaboration as the reciprocal exchange of ideas (UNESCO 2009). Impatience with the ponderousness of bureaucratic approaches and charges that UNESCO was perpetuating weak sustainability short on a critical and ethical view, resulted in calls for deeper change that could lead to societal transformation (Kahn 2010).

Formal education sectors are important to change but this change process is difficult and time-consuming. That said, the most effective approach has proven to be the ‘whole school’ and ‘whole institution’ approaches. Moreover, what has become clear is that the most fruitful sites for sustainability education are non-formal and informal sites, largely in NGOs, civil society organizations, continuing education and social media. Practice on the ground is far ahead of policy and research. In these non-formal education and informal learning sites, educators note that the primary inhibitors are misunderstandings regarding the terminology, lack of networks for educators in terms of capacity-building and lack of funding. Often these educators see education for sustainable development as formal-education-centric with little acknowledgement of the importance of non-formal and informal sites, nationally or internationally (UNESCO 2009). The key issue remains funding, yet practitioners note the limitless scope for augmenting existing sustainability education in community learning spaces. To date, there is limited research addressing this tremendous potentiality in community-based sustainability education.

The new 2030 UN Sustainable Development Goals represent the merger of the Millennium Development Goals and Education for Sustainable Development agenda. Goal 4.7 stipulates that inclusive and equal quality education and lifelong learning opportunities for all must

‘ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development, including, among others, through education for sustainable development and sustainable lifestyles, human rights, gender equality, promotion of a culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity and of culture’s contribution to sustainable development’

(United Nations 2015). The 17 indivisible goals are a plan of action for people, planet and prosperity within a transformational vision which is meant to be far-reaching and historic. This poses significant research potential and the need for educator vitality.

THE POLYARCHY OF LEARNING EDGES IN SUSTAINABILITY EDUCATION

Most intriguing has become the emerging discourse about the ‘exploration and implementation of new forms of teaching and learning across all sectors and interests’ (UNESCO 2014). As the 2006 German UNESCO Commission (cited in Duke and Hinzen 2012) summarizes

Because of its interdisciplinary nature, the global image of sustainable development poses a challenge to the entire education system, calling for new teaching methods and a cross-subject approach. Out-of-school education...react[s] flexibly to consequent new demands and to promote new initiatives... [and offers] skills which are indispensable for the future shaping of our society and for meeting our responsibilities as world citizens. (p. 22)

Educational institutions are straining at their edges to accommodate transdisciplinary approaches to education and the profoundly different cosmology, ontology and epistemology that are part of deeper understandings of sustainability. Managerialism, institutionalization and disciplinary silos form the core of formal education, isolating it from other sectors and sites of learning. Furthermore, current schooling structures emerged as an integral part of the Industrial Revolution and thus are deeply implicated in the current economic structure.

One learning edge is the discussion at UNESCO and other mainstream institutions which now point to the elephant in the room: the global economic structure. It is evident that the self-interestedness of political and economic systems as well as self-perpetuating bureaucratic institutions cannot fundamentally question the operational assumptions upon which they are built. Yet, a fundamental transformation in human habitation, harmonized with living planet dynamics, is needed. This is what we are learning our way into, through many community innovations, but it is highly contextual.

Many suggest that a new world is already being built on many fronts and on many levels by individuals and communities willing to experiment and *learn* a new way of being (Turner 2007; Wheatley and Frieze 2011). These hope-filled community experiments, despite all the pitfalls and human frailties, are well documented around the globe (Bernard and Young 1997; Esteva and Prakash 1999; Turner 2007; Estill 2008; Wheatley and Frieze 2011). They are creating the understorey of new societies from where family and village can be reknit. In essence, they use self-organizing principles that rejuvenate civic cultures and create an ecologically literate population based on knowledge of their geographic place, part of place-based education (Orr 1992; Grunewald and Smith 2008).

A vital learning edge comes from complexity science and living systems theory which move beyond the scientific epistemology of empiricism and logical

rationalism and the ontology of autonomous individualism that views humans as independent rational agents. Quantum physics describes the subatomic reality of the universe as interchangeable between matter and energy, part of a vast creative and living network (Barad 2007; Spretnak 2011). As Spretnak (2011) asserts, we have only begun to explore ‘the deeply relational nature of reality’ (p. 1).

Challenging Cartesian habits of mind implicit in both traditional realism and representationalism, feminist physicist Karen Barad proposes a relational ontology that rejects ‘thingification’ or the metaphysics of individual entities/relata which pre-exist any relations that hold them together. Her starting point is the *phenomena* itself or the relations within which the entities/relata emerge. She uses the term *intra-action*, contrasting with the term *interaction* between independent entities, to illustrate the inseparability of the observer and the observed or the subject and object, within the phenomena. Boundaries and properties of entities/relata are not things but are performed into existence (see also Fenwick and Edwards 2013). Thus, she rejects the classical ontology of exteriority between the observer and observed or of the gap between representations and that which they represent. The self is considered ‘porous and permeable, in interdependent co-relation’ with all other entities (Danvers 2009).

Existence is not an individual affair...To be entangled is not simply to be intertwined with another, as in the joining of separate entities, but to lack an independent, self-contained existence. Individuals do not pre-exist their interaction; rather individuals emerge through and as part of their entangled *intra*-relating. (Barad 2007: ix; italics added)

Moreover, matter is not a fixed substance or thing, but ‘a doing, a congealing of agency’ (Barad 2003: 822). As part of post-humanism, matter is not dead but ‘an active participant in the world’s becoming’ (p. 803). Spretnak (2011) explains that ‘[i]nherent relationships with our bodymind, with other people, with animals, with the rest of nature all interact and infuse each other, making us what we are. It is not merely a matter of *having* relationships but *being* relationships’ (p. 11). Our being *is* a constellation of relationships and our mind is a collective affair, largely opposed to what we have been taught in modern education, including academe (Spretnak 2011).

In a radical reconception of epistemology, then, *knowing is part of being* (Barad 2007). ‘Humans are part of the world-body space...where knowing is a distributed practice’ (p. 341). We are embedded and embodied in a particular context which shapes us, but it is not a container-self bounded by skin and brain and it is not something inside/outside self. ‘All knowers are social beings in-relation-with-others, and therefore separation or detachment is now seen as a particular [culturally informed] way of relating to others’ (Thayer-Bacon 2003: 10).

Relational ethics, then, extends the moral scope to the integrity, stability and beauty of whole ecosystems, including all living and non-living elements. But this is not relational ethics that refers to a relation between two subjects but

rather where we are fundamentally individuals-in-relations, with the human and more-than-human world. As humans, from the time of birth, we are embedded and embodied in a particular social and ecological context which shapes who we are and our perceptual cognition (Thayer-Bacon 2003). In understanding that our bodymind is composed of relationships that are not bound by our skin and that are constantly changing, we become part of the visible and invisible patterns of energy as well as materiality.

From the New Science, Swimme and Berry (1992), O'Sullivan (1999), Hathaway and Boff (2009) and Macy (2015) advance that a new cosmological story is available to us in which humans situate themselves in the unfolding universe story. This story can be seen as the convergence between New Science and some ancient spiritual wisdom traditions, beyond a mechanistic cosmology of a linear cause-effect universe to a vast, creative living network embedded in a subtle energy force field and a multidimensional space-time continuum. Research is only now emerging about a post-humanist, agential realism approach to sustainability education, with much more to be done (O'Neil 2015; Lange, 2017).

The last learning edge, discussed here, relates to critical pedagogy, based on the work of Paulo Freire (1970), which has been largely quiet on the environmental front. In the vociferous debates in Rio, the South argued that the concept of environment and proposed environmental frameworks were all constructions of the North who remain uncritical of their hemispheric perspectives. They argued against the common perception that 'societies of the Third World are too poor to be green' and that modernity and affluence are the conditions that spawn environmental movements (Guha 2000: 99). The Save the Narmada River movement in India, Kenya's Wangari Maathai and the Green Belt movement, Nigerian Ken Saro-Wiwa and the Survival of the Ogoni People movement, the Chipko or hug-a-tree movement in the Himalayas, Brazilian Chico Mendes and the rubber tappers as part of the Landless Rural Workers' movement are just a few examples of well-known movements opposing oil production, dams, mining, logging, monocultural agriculture and privatization of resources. Typically, these movements do not artificially separate 'environment' into an object or category. More often, social justice and environmental concerns are conjoined as part of the defence of rural or Indigenous livelihoods (Guha 2000: 105).

Too often, subsistence dwellers and Indigenous peoples are asked to make a 'national sacrifice' of their land, water and livelihoods for progress. Thus, environmentalism in the South is rooted in material conflicts aimed at changing production structures, rather than value and lifestyle change. Moreover, a key feature of the 'environmentalism of the poor' is not only the role of spirituality but the 'determining part played by women...assuming leadership roles and making up the numbers in marches and demonstrations, strikes and fasts. They have been unafraid, in an often brutal political culture, of being harassed, beaten

or jailed' (Guha 2000: 107). These movements build on Traditional Ecological Knowledge of Indigenous peoples in opposition to the scientism that proliferates in environmentalism.

Out of these debates and movements, grew the nascent international ecopedagogy movement (Kahn 2010). A colleague of Freire, Gadotti (2008) argues that sustainability will not be possible in an economy centred on profit and competition that rewards greed and predation. Only social mobilization against this current economic model and the strengthening of global civil society experimenting with models predicated on a gift economy and an economy of solidarity and cooperation will bring about sustainability. Maximizing social well-being and happiness is the goal, rather than maximizing economic growth (Hathaway and Boff 2009). This international movement is starting to synthesize grassroots social movements, alternative social institutions, community-based learning and popular education movements (Kahn 2010).

To rethink the dominant education and learning paradigm, Gadotti (2010) summarizes 'Simply improving the current model of education is to continue to follow the educational model that has been destroying the planet since the nineteenth century' (p. 210). The artificial separations of disciplines, ages, institutions, community and movements need to blur. 'Educating for another possible world is educating for life in networks, being capable of communicating and acting in groups, and creating cooperative methods of production' (Gadotti 2008: 26). Learning in community clusters that partner existing government, formal education, NGOs and civil society organizations in intergenerational, experiential and transformative learning processes begins to move towards a more expansive view of a 'learning society *as* sustainability' (O'Neil 2015).

A CIVILIZATION LEAP

Hawken (2007) concludes that this is the movement with no name. Sustainability has been used to denote it but really it has no ideology, universal goals, slogans or key leaders. Its form grows from the context. It is a polyarchy of learning edges. Thus, deep sustainability education is not instrumentalist or doctrinal, but profoundly relational work.

As faith in the current systems fail and climate change progresses, the basic purpose of sustainability education is to link people, help to reclaim and generate needed knowledge, and foster the free flow of information for self-organization. For a civilizational leap, transformative sustainability education towards a relational ontoepistemology and ethical sensibility is important but restorative learning to revivify subjugated ways of knowing is also vital (Lange 2004, 2015). Creating space for a political and economic imagination and for mobilization in the face of turbulent times is an act of hope in the future.

REFERENCES

- Associated Press. (2015, May 7). *Carbon dioxide global levels surpass daunting milestone*. Retrieved from <http://www.cbc.ca/news/technology>.
- Atkinson, H., & Wade, R. (Eds.). (2015). *The challenge of sustainability: Linking politics, education and learning*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Barad, K. (2003). Posthumanist performativity: Toward an understanding of how matter comes to matter. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 28(3), 801–831.
- Barad, K. (2007). *Meeting the universe halfway: Quantum physics and the entanglement of matter and meaning*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Barber, B. (1992, March). Jihad vs. McWorld. *The Atlantic Monthly*.
- Belanger, P. (2003). Learning environments and environmental education. In L. Hill & D. Clover (Eds.), *Environmental adult education: Ecological learning, theory and practice for socioenvironmental change, new directions for adult and continuing education*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Benyus, J. (1997). *Biomimcry*. New York: William Morrow.
- Bernard, T., & Young, J. (1997). *The ecology of hope: Communities collaborate for sustainability*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
- Boggs, D. (1986). A case study of citizen education and action. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 37(1), 1–13.
- Bonaiuti, M. (2014). *The great transition*. New York: Routledge.
- Bowles, T. (2007, June). The dimensions of black women's learning in the environmental justice movement in the Southeastern U.S. *Proceedings of the Joint International Conference of the AERC* (pp. 55–60). Halifax, NS: Mount St. Vincent University.
- Brown, L. (2015). *The great transition*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company.
- Brundtland, G. (1987). *Our common future*. Retrieved from <http://www.un-documents.net/ocf-02.htm#I>.
- Capra, F. (2002). *The hidden connections: A science for sustainable living*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Carson, R. (1962). *Silent spring*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Chappell, C., Rhodes, C., Solomon, N., Tennant, M., & Yates, L. (2003). *Reconstructing the lifelong learner*. London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Cole, A. G. (2007). Expanding the field: Revisiting environmental education principles through multidisciplinary frameworks. *Journal of Environmental Education*, 38(2), 35–44.
- Clover, D. (1995). Theoretical foundations and practice of critical environmental adult education in Canada. *Convergence*, 28(4), 44–54.
- Clover, D. (2002). Environmental adult education. In D. Tilbury, R. Stevenson, J. Fien, & D. Schreuder (Eds.), *Education and sustainability: Responding to the global challenge*. Gland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.
- Clover, D. (2003). Environmental adult education: Critique and creativity in a globalizing world. In L. Hill & D. Clover (Eds.) *Environmental adult education. New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, (5–16), 99 (Fall). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Clover, D. (Ed.). (2004). *Global perspectives in environmental adult education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Della Porta, D., & Diani, M. (1999). *Social movements*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

- Danvers, J. (2009). Being-in-the-world. In A. Stibbe (Ed.), *The handbook of sustainability literacy*. Totnes: Green Books.
- Disinger, J. (2005/1998). Tensions in environmental education. In H. Hungerford, W. Bluhm, T. Volk, & J. Ramsey (Eds.), *Essential readings in environmental education*. Champaign, IL: Stipes Publishing.
- Dresner, S. (2002). *The principles of sustainability*. London: Earthscan.
- Duke, C., & Hinzen, H. (2012). Adult education and lifelong learning within UNESCO. *Adult Learning*, 22(4), 18–23.
- Earth Charter Initiative. (2012). Retrieved from <http://www.earthcharterinaction.org/content/>.
- Edwards, A. (2005). *The sustainability revolution*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
- Edwards, R., Ranson, S., & Strain, M. (2002). Reflexivity: Towards a theory of lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 21(6), 525–536.
- Engelman, R. (2013). Beyond sustainababble. In The WorldWatch Institute (Ed.), *Is sustainability still possible?* Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Esteva, G., & Prakash, S. (1999). *Grassroots postmodernism*. London: ZED Books.
- Estill, L. (2008). *Small is possible: Life in a local economy*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.
- European Commission. (2015). *Paris agreement*. Retrieved from http://ec.europa.eu/clima/policies/international/negotiations/future/index_en.htm.
- Fenwick, T., & Edwards, R. (2013). Performative ontologies. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 4(1), 49–63.
- Field, J. (1989). Is the future of adult education green? *Adult Learning*, 1(1), 24–26.
- Finger, M. (1989). Environmental adult education from the perspective of the learner. *Convergence*, 22(4), 25–32.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury Press.
- Folke, C. (2013). Respecting planetary boundaries and reconnecting to the biosphere. In World Watch Institute (Ed.), *Is sustainability still possible?* Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Gadotti, M. (2008). What we need to learn to save the planet. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development*, 2(1), 21–30.
- Gadotti, M. (2010). Reorienting education practices toward sustainability. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development*, 4(2), 203–211.
- Goldstein, T., & Selby, D. (Eds.). (2000). *Weaving connections: Education for peace, social and environmental justice*. Toronto, ON: Sumach Press.
- Gruenewald, D. (2003). The best of both worlds: A critical pedagogy of place. *Educational Researcher*, 32(4), 3–12.
- Gruenewald, D., & Smith, G. (Eds.). (2008). *Place-based education in the global age*. New York: Routledge.
- Guha, R. (2000). *Environmentalism: A global history*. New York: Longman.
- Hall, B. (2009). To change the world. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of lifelong learning*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Hansen, J., Sato Kharecha, M., Beerling, D., Berner, R., Masson-Delmotte, V., Pagani, M., et al. (2008). Target atmospheric CO₂: Where should humanity aim? *The Open Atmospheric Science Journal*, 2, 217–231. doi:10.2174/1874282300802010217.
- Hansen, J. (2009). *Storms of my children*. London: Bloomsbury.
- Hathaway, M., & Boff, L. (2009). *The tao of liberation: Exploring the ecology of transformation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

- Harvey, D. (2005). *A brief history of neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hawken, P. (2007). *Blessed unrest*. New York: Viking.
- Hill, R. (2003). Environmental justice: Environmental adult education at the confluence of oppressions. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 2003(99), 1–95.
- Huckle, J., & Sterling, S. (Eds.). (1996). *Education for sustainability*. London: Earthscan.
- Imel, S. (1990). *Environmental adult education: Trends and issues alerts*. Columbus, OH: ERIC.
- Jacobs, J. (2005). *Dark age ahead*. Toronto, ON: Vintage Books.
- Jarvis, P. (2009). Lifelong learning: A social ambiguity. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of lifelong learning*. London: Routledge.
- Jickling, B. (2013). Normalizing catastrophe: An educational response. *Environmental Education Research*, 19(2), 161–176.
- Jickling, B. (2012). Debating education for sustainable development 20 years after Rio. *Journal of Education for Sustainable Development*, 6(1), 49–57.
- Jickling, B. (2005). Sustainable development in a globalizing world. *Policy Futures in Education*, 3(3), 251–259.
- Jickling, B. (1992). Viewpoint: Why I don't want my children to be educated for sustainable development. *The Journal of Environmental Education*, 23(4), 5–8.
- Johnstone, R. (2002). *Religion in society*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Jones, P., Selby, D., & Sterling, S. (Eds.). (2010). *Sustainability education*. London: Earthscan.
- Kahn, R. (2010). *Critical pedagogy, ecoliteracy & planetary crisis*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Klein, N. (2007). *Shock doctrine*. Toronto, ON: Vintage Canada.
- Klein, N. (2014). *This changes everything*. London: Allen Lane.
- Korten, D. (2006). *The great turning*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press and Berrett-Koehler.
- Lange, E. (2001). *Living Transformation*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta.
- Lange, E. (2004). Transformative and restorative learning: A vital dialectic for sustainable societies. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 54(2), 121–139.
- Lange, E. (2010). Environmental adult education: A many-voiced landscape. In C. Kasworm, A. Rose, and J. Ross-Gordon (Eds.), *Handbook of adult and continuing education* (pp. 305–315). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Lange, E. (2012). Transforming transformative learning through sustainability and the new science. In E. Taylor, P. Cranton and Associates (Eds.), *The handbook of transformative learning* (pp. 195–211). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers.
- Lange, E. (2015). Transformative learning and concepts of the self: Insights from immigrant and intercultural journeys. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*. doi:10.1080/02601370.2015.1036944.
- Lange, E. (2017). Riverspeaking: The spiralling of transformative and restorative learning toward kinship ethics. In P.B. Corcoran, J. Weakland & A. Wals (Eds.), *Envisioning futures for environmental and sustainability education* (pp. 33–43). Wageningen, Netherlands: Wageningen Academic Publishers. doi: 10.3920/978-90-8686-846-9_1
- Laszlo, E. (2008). *Quantum shift in the global brain*. Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions.
- Lucas, A. (1991). Environmental education: What is it, for whom, for what purpose, and how? In S. Keiny & U. Zoller (Eds.), *Conceptual issues in environmental education*. New York: Peter Lang.

- Macy, J. (2015). The greening of the self. In L. Vaughan-Lee (Ed.), *Spiritual ecology*. Point Reyes Station, CA: Golden Sufi Center.
- Malone, K. (2004). Critical environmental adult education: Taking on the environmental challenge. In D. Clover (Ed.), *Global perspectives in environmental adult education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Martin, P. (1996). A WWF view of education and the role of NGOs. In J. Huckle & S. Sterling (Eds.), *Education for sustainability*. London: Earthscan.
- Maser, C. (1996). *Resolving environmental conflict*. Delray Beach, FL: St. Lucie Press.
- Meadows, D., & Club of Rome. (1972). *Limits to growth*. New York: Universe Books.
- Monroe, M., & Fien, J. (2005). The role environmental education might play in the decade for education for sustainable development. *Applied Environmental Education & Communication*, 4(3), 203–206.
- Orr, D. (1992). *Ecological literacy*. Albany, NY: SUNY.
- Orr, D. (1994). *Earth in mind*. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- O’Neil, J. K. (2015). ‘Cooking to learn’ while ‘Learning to cook’: *(Be)coming and (Re)membering* Sustainability. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Prescott, AZ: Prescott College, .
- O’Sullivan, E. (1999). *Transformative learning: Educational vision for the 21st century*. London: Zed Books.
- Robinson, K. (2013). Is it too late?. In World Watch Institute (Ed.), *Is sustainability still possible?* Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Roth, C. (1992). *Environmental literacy: Its roots and directions in the 1990s*. Columbus, OH: ERIC Clearinghouse for Science, Mathematics and Environmental Education.
- Sachs, W. (1992/2010). *The development dictionary*. London: ZED Books.
- Selby, D., & Kagawa, F. (2015). *Sustainability frontiers*. Opladen: Barbara Budrich.
- Simmons, D. (1989). More infusion confusion: A look at environmental education curriculum materials. *Journal of Environmental Education*, 20(4), 15–18.
- Spretnak, C. (2011). *Relational reality*. Topsham, ME: Green Horizon Books.
- Stapp, W., Wals, A., & Stankorb, S. (1996). *Environmental education for empowerment: Action research and community problem-solving*. Ann Arbor, MI: Global Rivers Environmental Education Network (GREEN).
- Sterling, S. (1996). Education in change. In J. Huckle & S. Sterling (Eds.), *Education for sustainability*. London: Earthscan.
- Sumner, J. (2005). *Sustainability and the civil commons*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Swimme, B., & Berry, T. (1992). *The universe story: From the primordial flaring forth to the ecozoic era*. New York: HarperSanFrancisco.
- Tan, S. (2004). Anti-racist environmental adult education in a trans-global community. In D. Clover (Ed.), *Global perspectives in environmental adult education*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Thayer-Bacon, B. (2003). *Relational ‘(e)pistemologies’*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Tilbury, D., Stevenson, R., Fien, J., & Schreuder, D. (2002). *Education and sustainability: Responding to the global challenge*. Gland: International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.
- Turner, C. (2007). *The geography of hope*. Toronto, ON: Random House Canada.
- UNESCO. (1976). The belgrade charter: A global framework for environmental education. *UNESCO-UNEP Environmental Education Newsletter*, 1(1), 1–4.

- UNESCO. (1978). Final report, intergovernmental conference on environmental education, UNESCO in cooperation with UNEP, Tbilisi, USSR, 1977. Paris: UNESCO ED/MD/49.
- UNESCO. (1992). *Agenda 21: The United Nations programme of action from Rio*. New York: United Nations.
- UNESCO. (1997). *Educating for a sustainable future*. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/education/tlsf/TLSF/theme_a/mod01/uncom01t05s01.htm.
- UNESCO. (2005). *UN decade of education for sustainable development 2005–2014*. Paris, FR: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2009). *Review of contexts and structures for education for sustainable development*. Paris: Division for the Coordination of United Nations Priorities in Education.
- UNESCO. (2014). *Shaping the future we want: UN decade of education for sustainable development (2005–2014) final report*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UN-IPCC. (2007). *Climate change 2007: Synthesis report*. Retrieved August 6, 2008, from http://www.ipcc.ch/pdf/assessment-report/ar4/syr/ar4_syr.pdf.
- UN-IPCC. (2013). Summary for policymakers. In *climate change 2013: The physical science basis, fifth assessment report of the intergovernmental panel on climate change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- United Nations. (2015). *Transforming our world: The 2030 agenda for sustainable development*. Retrieved from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org>.
- Walter, P. (2009). Philosophies of adult environmental education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 60(3), 3–25.
- Westley, F., Zimmerman, B., & Quinn Patton, M. (2007). *Getting to maybe*. Toronto, ON: Vintage Canada.
- Wheatley, M., & Frieze, D. (2011). *Walk out walk on*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.
- Williamson, B. (1998). *Lifeworlds and learning*. Leicester: NIACE.
- World Watch Institute. (Ed.). (2013). *Is sustainability still possible?* Washington, DC: Island Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Elizabeth A. Lange is Associate Professor, St. Francis Xavier University, Canada. She has over 30 years of experience as an educator and facilitator of transformative learning in formal and non-formal settings. Her research focuses on adult education, transformative learning, sustainability education for adults, pedagogies for social change and trans-cultural learning and immigration. The introductory text *The Purposes of Adult Education, 3rd Edition*, was co-written with Bruce Spencer (Thompson Educational Publishing, 2014).

Research Patterns in Comparative and Global Policy Studies on Adult Education

Marcella Milana

Abstract This chapter frames comparative and global policy studies on adult education as an intelligible area of research, and presents a meta-investigation that, without claiming to be exhaustive, enables researchers to reflect on and interpret what connects existing studies, and identify possible gaps. It does so on a corpus of 58 academic texts produced and/or in circulation in the Global North, for the most articles in peer-reviewed journals and, to a lesser extent, books and book chapters, published in 2000–2015; in short, this meta-investigation led to the identification of four research patterns, each based on a combination of the main unit of analysis and particular research scope. By pinpointing at their strengths and limitations, the author argues for the need to cherish these diverse patterns and the necessity of scrutinising closely the type of knowledge they produce.

INTRODUCTION

Education policy represents a large political endeavour; thus, its investigation denotes a wide-ranging area of academic work. When we restrict attention on the education and learning of adults, such political endeavour embraces an extensive area of governmental work as diverse legal and administrative branches of local and national governments deliberate on it at different scales—or territorial organisations in a nested hierarchal structure of sociopolitical systems (Brenner 1998; see also Milana 2017). But national governments also form international alliances and networks that once formalised give rise to inter-governmental organisations with their own missions, governing structures and

M. Milana (✉)

Department of Human Sciences, University of Verona,
Lungadige Porta Vittoria, 17, 37129 Verona, Italy
e-mail: marcella.milana@univr.it

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_22

421

modes of working. These organisations share a mandate to act in the interests of national governments, and to support things as diverse as world peace (e.g. UNESCO), European integration (e.g. the European Union) and national economic growth and betterment in people's living standards (e.g. OECD). So, at continental and global scales, different branches of these international organisations (e.g. the European Commission or the OECD Directorate for Education and Skills), and their specialised agencies (e.g. UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning), also deliberate on the education and learning of adults. Such political endeavour that occurs at multiple scales stretches across differentiated fields of practice (e.g. labour, education, health), each tending towards reproduction of existing social structures (Bourdieu 1993).

Against this background, it is no surprise that local, national, continental and global policy that affect the education and learning of adults at both ideational and practical levels is often referred to in research on the education and learning of adults, and this independently from the researcher's foci, interest and area of study. Often, however, reference to policy provides the background, or at best a context, for a study or investigation of something else. So, for instance, Hinton-Smith (2012) touches upon the changing policy discourse on widening participation in the UK to contextualise research on non-traditional students' (including mature students) access, motivation and experience in higher education (Waller et al. 2014, 2015). Similarly, Bartlett et al. (2000)'s brief account of the historical development of European policy on guidance serves the purpose of justifying research on the diverse range of institutional patterns in the provision of adult guidance services in selected European member states.

Different is the case, however, when we are confronted with *policy studies* for which the political endeavour that affects the education and learning of adults constitutes the very object of inquiry.

This chapter presents a 'meta-investigation' (Mainardes and Tello 2016) of *comparative and global policy studies on adult education* mostly, though not exclusively, produced and/or in circulation in the Global North (e.g. Europe and North America), and discusses some research patterns within this intelligible body of work. A meta-investigation is a process of rendering a set of academic publications the object of reflexion and analysis. As such, the meta-investigation presented in this chapter has no ambition to be exhaustive, but rather aims at reflecting on and interpreting some of the 'connections between existing studies [...] [and] gaps and omissions in a given body of research [that] enables dialogue and debate' (Sandelowski and Barroso 2007: 3). Further, patterns are somewhat consistent and intelligible configurations that in this case apply to the only studies under scrutiny in this chapter; however, they may serve as indicators for reflecting on a larger body of work and for predicting possible future directions in comparative and global policy studies on adult education.

The chapter is structured in two main parts; in the first part, I elaborate on the conceptual framing of comparative and global policy studies as an intelligible area of research, and illustrate the criteria used to identify the body of work

under consideration for the meta-investigation, and the analytical strategy applied; in the second part, I present the results and argue that, at least four patterns can be identified, based on whether the work under consideration aims at: (1) describing changes and evolutions along a temporal continuum; (2) comparing (horizontally) policies by different actors, either at a certain point in time or from a historical perspective; (3) juxtaposing (vertically) policy by intergovernmental organisations with that of their member states, and assessing whether they converge or diverge; or (4) questioning and providing counter-evidence for widespread political beliefs that affects the education and learning of adults. Yet, like any categorisation, this also reduces the complexity under consideration, as at times different aims concur. Nevertheless, for each pattern, I pinpoint at its strengths and limitations, and I argue for the need to further nurture diverse research patterns, rather than privileging one or the other, as they complement our understandings of the political endeavour that affects the education and learning of adults. In the concluding section, however, I also point at the need to put under closer scrutiny the quality of the knowledge that is produced in this field. This could be done through a closer investigation of the epistemologies embedded in *comparative and global policy studies on adult education*.

COMPARATIVE AND GLOBAL POLICY STUDIES: AN INTELLIGIBLE BODY OF WORK

Policy studies on adult education often assume the nation state as the main unit of analysis, and adopt a top-down approach, for instance, to assess the implementation of a governmental policy at systemic or institutional levels (e.g. in adult education, higher education and so on) and/or in a given territory (e.g. a city, a county). Accordingly, many *comparative* policy studies deal with country-to-country comparisons so to capture and explain similarities and differences in national policy developments and implementations. At times cross-country investigations do not study policy as such, but rather provide governments with comparative statistical evidence to support their policy reforms. This is the case, for instance, with large-scale surveys under the aegis of intergovernmental organisations on adults' participation in education, training and other learning opportunities, like the Adult Education Survey (AES) or that assess the skills adults possess, such as the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Skills (PIAAC) (Schleicher 2008) (see also the chapters by Adley; Boyadjieva and Ilieva-Trichkova; and Rubenson, in this volume).

For this reason, the academic literature distinguishes between research *of* policy (under which falls the type of policy assessment studies referred earlier) and research *for* policy (that embraces the latterly mentioned cross-country, large-scale surveys) (Desjardins and Rubenson 2009). Within this distinction, comparative studies *of* and *for* policy share a conception of policy (or the context for a policy) that is territorially bound. Each country under consideration is

treated as a unique and geographically bounded polity that results from stable relations among political administrative institutions, societal processes, and cultural adherence to certain rules, beliefs, etc.

This chapter centres attention to research *of* policy where, since the mid-1990s, there has been also a flourishing of studies on adult education dealing with policy developments at continental and global scales, and the relations these developments hold with transformations in national policy (see among others Desjardins and Rubenson 2009; Nesbit and Welton 2013; Milana and Holford 2014; Milana and Nesbit 2015). From this perspective, intergovernmental organisations concerned with adults and young school-leavers make a conscious effort to legitimise specific political interests, set the agenda regarding what the purpose and content of learning should be, and influence public and private policies and provision. Yet such efforts happen in combination with the liberalisation of the education market (Marginson 1997), which cautions against ascribing a new educational order to global politics only.

Thus a number of recent studies have analysed the efforts of intergovernmental organisations to legitimise specific political interests and shape international agendas for the education and learning of adults (Milana 2013; Panitsides 2015; Rubenson 2015) through the adoption of new governance mechanisms (Ioannidou 2007; Jacobi 2009) and the promotion of a monitoring culture (Tett 2014). These studies typically draw upon broader literature on globalisation, governance and education that emphasises Europeanisation processes (Lawn and Grek 2012) and ‘governance by comparison’ (Martens and Niemann 2010) among other governance mechanisms.

Both the comparative investigations of policy, and the research that centres attention on policy developments at continental and global scales, as well as their relation to national developments, I argue, represent a fairly intelligible—though not necessarily cohesive, body of work that shares three characteristics: (1) an interest on political decisions that affects the education and learning of adults; (2) an understanding that the demand and supply of adult education is not independent from public policy; and (3) a consideration for multiple organised communities and particular systems of government as bringing about transformations in adult education provision.

It is such body of work that I address in this chapter as *comparative and global policy studies on adult education*.

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Education policy studies, as Mainardes and Tello (2016) suggest, incorporate at least three logical components: (1) an epistemological perspective, or the theoretical perspective the researcher applies; (2) an epistemological positioning that allows its application in a way that is coherent with the researcher’s political positioning; and (3) an epistemological outlook, or methodological apparatus that is consistent with both the perspective adopted and the research’s positioning. Accordingly, a meta-investigation of education policy studies, the

authors propose, may focus on the levels of abstraction in the knowledge they produce. These move from the lower level of abstraction (i.e. description), where the researcher is mostly preoccupied with presenting the data, not so much with making sense of them, through the middle level of abstraction (i.e. analysis), where sense-making turns central for the researcher but the epistemological perspective, positioning and outlook are unclear and/or lack coherence; towards the highest level of abstract (i.e. comprehension), where both theoretical and analytical density allow for more assertive and insightful interpretations and explanations (Mainardes and Tello 2016). Yet, when applied to the meta-investigation of comparative and global policy studies on adult education, this proposal presents two blind spots. On the one hand, in comparative and global policy studies the identification of the units of analysis is a crucial element for the epistemological outlook to be consistent with the epistemological perspective and the research's positioning. A unit of analysis, in fact, represents the chief entity that is subject to analysis in a given study, and more than a unit of analysis may be considered at different stages of the study. But in most studies that assume a comparative perspective, diverse units of analysis are often combined, hence leading to multilevel analysis (see Bray and Thomas 1995). On the other hand, in both comparative and global policy studies what moves the researcher in carrying out an investigation (i.e. the aim of the research) is highly dependent on the theoretical perspective s/he applies as much as on her/his political positioning.

For the above reasons, the main questions that guided this work were:

- Q1. What are the main units of analysis, either explicit or implicit, in comparative and global policy studies on adult education?
- Q2. What do these studies aim at?
- Q3. Is it possible to identify (and distinguish between) one or more research patterns?

Answering these questions is a pre-condition or indispensable step to move in the direction of a meta-investigation of the epistemologies embedded in comparative and global policy studies on adult education.

The body of work for this meta-investigation is made up of 58 academic texts, for the most articles that appeared in peer-reviewed journals and, to a lower extent, books and book chapters published over the period 2000–2015. First, I gathered a number of texts I was already familiar with, and then complemented this initial set through systematic searches in libraries and online databases. The main database consulted is ERIC (Education Resources Information Center), an online library of education research and information, sponsored by the Institute of Education Sciences (IES) of the US Department of Education. Here, I restricted my search by education age and levels (i.e. adult basic education, adult education, post-secondary education). Further, I used the internal search engines of selected journals specialising in adult education

and/or comparative education (i.e. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *International Review of Education*, *Comparative Education*). Overall, several combinations of key words were used, depending on the database consulted. These include: adult AND policy; adult AND comparative; (journal title) AND comparative, (journal title) AND policy, (journal title) AND UNESCO, (journal title) AND OECD, (journal title) AND EU, (journal title) AND World Bank. A quick abstract screening run at search stage led to the identification of approximately 200 texts, but a second attentive reading of all abstracts, and selected full texts, led to the final selection herein considered. So, for instance, texts dealing with adult education policy in a given country that did not adopt a comparative perspective nor connected to the work of intergovernmental organisations were not included in the final set.

For the meta-investigation, I employed an inductive analytic strategy that helped synthesise the data so to generate inductive inferences (Polkinghorne 1983) that were ‘grounded in data and not speculative or abstract’ (Schwandt 2001: 125). Specifically, I first engaged in a close reading of each of the texts under consideration and grouped them according to the similarities I observed in terms of units of analysis; in doing so, I relied on my knowledge and understanding of the central unit of analysis for much comparative education research, partly presented also in Bray et al. (2014). Then, I reviewed the aim of each of the studies under scrutiny, and in the light of this regrouped the texts in new ways that would preserve group distinctive features in terms of unit of analysis, while reflecting also a similitude in scope. At this stage I draw also on my knowledge of, and familiarity with, the broader literature on education policy studies to finally categorise identifiable patterns in these studies’ recent evolution.

Overall, the meta-investigation led to the identification of four distinctive research patterns (Q3), each based on a combination of a preferable unit of analysis (Q1) and specific research aims (Q2), as depicted in Table 1. Each pattern is presented in greater details in the sections that follow, and documented through direct references to the literature considered. Due to space constraints, however, I make only reference to texts that exemplify the kind of research characteristic of each pattern, while illustrating also the breath of topics covered within and across patterns. The overall distribution of the whole set of texts examined by research patterns is presented in Fig. 1.

PATTERN 1: DESCRIBING CHANGES AND EVOLUTIONS ALONG A TEMPORAL CONTINUUM

The studies grouped under this pattern assume *time* as the primary unit of analysis, and represent 20% of the total number of studies under consideration. Yet time is not a univocal conception.

Table 1 Identified research patterns, by unit of analysis and research aims

<i>Pattern</i>	<i>1</i> <i>Diachronic/Historical</i> <i>accounts</i>	<i>2</i> <i>Horizontal</i> <i>comparisons</i>	<i>3</i> <i>Vertical</i> <i>juxtapositions</i>	<i>4</i> <i>Counter-argumentative</i>
Unit of analysis	Time	Space	System	(Political beliefs) ^a
Research aims	Comprehend, explain and critique changes in ideologies	Comprehend, explain and critique differences at local, national or international scales	Unpack the dynamic elements of specific systems of governance, and investigate their effects on other systems of governance	Provide counter-evidence to a political belief to problematise the social imaginary it produces

^a Most academic work that falls under this pattern is not empirical in nature; hence no core unit of analysis could be identified. But political beliefs when not a unit of analysis still represent the background or justification for all works falling under this pattern

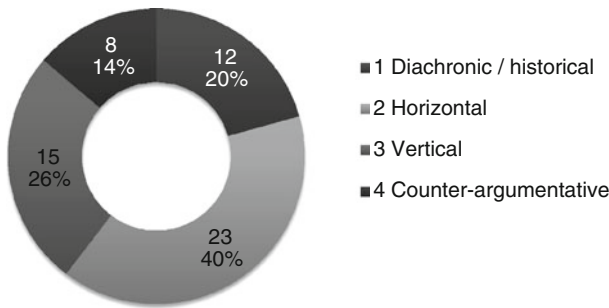


Fig. 1 Distribution of academic texts (number, %), by research pattern

In using time as a unit of comparison, it becomes immediately obvious that there are several ‘types’ to consider. These include (but are not confined to) astronomical time, biological time, geological time, and the two most significant types [...]: personal time and historical time. (Sweeting 2014: 168)

At macro-level, though not unproblematic, comparing two or more times in education (in terms of events, ideas, attitudes, etc.), in one or more places, assists the study of continuity, change and/or development (Cowen 2002; Nóvoa and Yaruv-Marshal 2003; Sweeting 2014).

The main aim of policy studies that use time as their chief unit of analysis is to comprehend, explain and critique changes occurred in political ideologies that brought about perceptible shifts in discourses on and around the education and learning of adults. For the most part, in fact, shifts in discourses depict evolutions (and to some extent involutions) at ideational level that stimulate

alterations, from soft to drastic, at normative, administrative and financial levels. All of which redefines the boundaries of how adult education and learning opportunities concretise, who is responsible for these arrangements, who will benefit from them, and to what end.

Several historical accounts are found in the literature that depicts the evolutions in the thinking about the education and learning of adults by the so-called ‘big actors’ (Jacobi 2009) in education governance, like the World Bank, UNESCO, the OECD and the EU. These diachronic studies usually depart from the identification of a value-laden policy concept like ‘lifelong learning’, and go back in history to depict how such concept has been differently signified over time. Sometimes the authors clarify the interpretative methodology adopted (e.g. critical discourse analysis), as well as the body of documents under consideration, and how these have been selected, yet in the majority of these studies the methodology employed to (critically) interpret conceptual policy evolutions remains at its best unclear, and is at times dubious.

Despite such pitfalls, as a whole this body of literature has brought to light conceptual and policy changes in the way of thinking about the education and learning of adults and the embedded tensions between what in large brush strokes can be termed education for productivity and education for personal development (Holford and MohorčičŠpolar 2012).

For most diachronic, historical analytic studies the comparative perspective is central and concretises in contrasting perspectives by different intergovernmental organisations (see Moosung and Shanzia in this volume) or national governments, yet rarely, if at all, these studies perform ‘intra-national’ comparisons (Croxford and Raffe 2014).

Although not comparing intra-national education systems, as by Croxford and Raffe’s (2014) suggestion, an example that still moves in this direction is Milana and McBain’s (2014) critical analysis of US national policy developments. Here, the authors compare intra-national conservative vs. liberal party-sponsored ideologies to comprehend the failure by the US Congress to reauthorise expenditure of federal funds in support of adult education at state level for more than a decade (2003–2014), and despite various attempts being made along this period by diverse Republican as well as Democratic members of Congress. By recognition that party-elected Congressmen reinforce ‘polarization of conventional conservative or liberal constellations of concepts when involved, under real-time conditions, in revisiting the national legislative framework for adult education’ (Ibid.: 37), the authors appraised both party’s sponsored proposals, together with Democrat and Republican political platforms, then juxtaposed the results to tease out across-parties convergent/divergent ideas about adult education. As a result, they demonstrate that party-sponsored proposals have essentially converged towards the provision of English-language instruction and citizenship education for immigrants, although differently signified by Republican vs. Democrat ideologies. Yet they conclude that:

Party-specific views on adult education, however, also diverge on more subtle yet important matters that partly explains the long-term Congressional inability to reach bipartisan consensus, like the share of responsibilities between central and local governments, parents' positioning in relation to children's school choice, migrant access to adult education provisions, and the contribution to adult education by faith-based and for-profit organizations. (Ibid.: 45)

At times the comparative perspective in diachronic, historical analytic studies remains in the background, for instance, when a study does not contrast states or regions within federal or regional state systems like the US in North America or Germany in Europe, but rather juxtaposes governmental powers, ideologies or actions by national and sub-national regional or local governments, in these studies comparative analysis occurs along a vertical, rather than horizontal, axis.

An illustrative example is Branchadell's (2015) analysis of language education policy in Catalonia aimed at explaining their implications for the learning of adult migrants. Catalonia's political autonomy from Spain has been overtly contested overtime, and its current status as an autonomous region with own language has made it gain the status of a 'minority nation' (Zapata-Barrero 2009) or 'sub-state minority' (Aubarell et al. 2004). Thus it is by contrasting immigration policies and plans by the central and the regional governments that Branchadell argues for a shift in the elitist ideology that has reconceptualised Catalan as 'a supposedly neutral hegemonic language associated with the public sphere' (Ibid.: 85). Accordingly, Catalan language course for adult immigrants are now meant to allow 'all residents, regardless of origin, [...] [to] communicate among themselves' (Ibid.: 91).

In a similar vein, but looking at the US, Spruck Wrigley (2015) investigates language policy that set English literacy requirements for immigrants to acquire the Green Card and obtain US citizenship. Through a critical historical reconstruction of federal immigration policy developments, and of evolutions in English as Second Language Service policy, the study contrasts the limited binding power of these policies outside the federal government and those agencies receiving federal funds, with state and urban policies across the country. Consequently, Spruck Wrigley addresses the contradictions and existing 'tension between a federal government that has never declared English as the nation's official language and individual states eager to promote an English Only ideology in their jurisdiction' (Ibid.: 226). This way, the author discusses and explains their effects on the learning of English as Second Language for different groups, including adult migrants that, when undocumented, may be banned access to the public adult education system.

In short, pattern 1 includes diachronic, historical analysis that concentrates on *time* as their crucial unit of analysis so to capture policy continuity, change and/or development that affects the education and learning of adults. The studies included in this research pattern have given primary attention to policy evolutions (or involutions) within intergovernmental organisations, hence helped in increasing our understandings of external factors that impinge on

normative, administrative and financial alterations in the provision of education and learning opportunities for adults in different localities. At the same time, the studies included under this pattern have paid only a limited attention to internal factors such as within country power relations and other internal dynamics that also affect such provision.

PATTERN 2: COMPARING (HORIZONTALLY) POLICIES
BY DIFFERENT ACTORS, EITHER AT A CERTAIN POINT
IN TIME OR FROM A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Horizontal studies included under this pattern adopt *space* as the primary unit of analysis and represent 40% of the total dataset under consideration. Likewise time, space itself is a non-univocal conception. More traditional comparative analysis equates space to place (Manzon 2014), a geographical/location dimension (Bray and Thomas 1995) that encompasses from geographical areas (e.g. world regions, continents or countries), to any of their political-administrative sections (e.g. states, provinces or districts), but also smaller territories within (e.g. educational institutions or even classrooms). Despite this, a ‘spatial turn’ (Warf and Arias 2009) in the humanities has contributed to reconsidering how education policy researchers construe space ‘not only as geographical, but as ideological, socially constructed and subjective’ (Jokila et al. 2015: 18). This has brought to the fore that norms and ideas (including those that impinge on education policy), which have been conventionally associated with geographical territories, are the result of culture (or the process of meaning making) that occurs in diverse localities through people’s interactions with others, as well as with material objects. Accordingly, even if locally produced, culture (and by extension those norms and ideas that govern education policy) has always a potential for being global (Anderson-Levitt 2012). Further, material objects are no longer considered as the simple carrier of meanings but as what can also prompt people into action (Latour 2005); hence, they are the product as much as the co-producers of culture. The main consequence of all this has been a redefinition of the horizon for comparative and policy research beyond geographical definitions of space to acknowledge, among others, the centrality of both people and material objects in the making of policy, but also the complexity of the global—local nexus in education policy developments, including the leverage of key political actors, like intergovernmental organisations, and of material objects that contribute to educational change.

The principal aim of policy studies that adopt space as their chief unit of analysis is thus double-handed. On the one hand, these studies aspire to comprehend, explain, and critique similarities and differences observed in policy discourses, agendas and actions across geographical and/or geopolitical territories at local, national or international scales. On the other hand, they purposely use geographical and/or geopolitical lenses with the aim of focusing attention on, and debating, the complexity of national or international policy

and their practical implications for the education and learning of adults. So, for instance, Storan (2010) adopts the concept of regionalism, ‘a political ideology that focuses on the interests of a particular region or group of regions’ (Ibid.: 307), to unpack the intricacy of the UK policy on widening participation in higher education. Thus, the author briefly compares a few selected UK’s regions (i.e. North East, South West, East of England, West Midlands) to debate the implications that nation-wide policy has for the actual planning, funding and delivery of educational opportunities aimed at outreaching under-represented groups in higher education, including mature adults. Yet, the author does so with the explicit agenda to argue in favour of so-called learning communities and regions (Longworth 2006).

More broadly, an ever-growing number of investigations deliberately focus attention on political actors, usually intergovernmental organisations but also non-governmental bodies, with a continental or global reach, as their secondary unit of analysis, and examine changes in the governance of adult education and learning, assess the working of specific policy tools, and debate the implications all this has (or may have) for adult education and learning practices.

For the most, actor-centred analysis addresses the evolutions in the way of thinking about adult education and lifelong learning within an organisation like the European Union (Moosung et al. 2008; Panitsides 2015), the OECD (Rubenson 2015), UNESCO (Németh 2015), the World Bank (Easton and Samples 2015), including non-governmental organisations such as the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) (Tuckett 2015). Yet, actor-centred studies may also juxtapose the views of different organisations, embedded in their key policy documents, to pinpoint at whether these organisations’ views converge or diverge, and on which terms (Borg and Mayo 2005; Milana 2012; see also Moosung and Shanzia in this volume).

But the secondary unit of analysis rather than political actors can be also found in specific programmes and/or international implementation plans to which national governments subscribe—programmes and plans that are coordinated at continental or global scales under the aegis of intergovernmental organisations, yet implemented by public–private partnerships. Exemplary here is Education for All (EFA), a declaration that, adopted by UNESCO in Jomtien (1990), and reaffirmed in Dakar (2000), has turned into major implementation plans covering up to 2015 and beyond (e.g. The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development).

Goldstein (2006), for instance, focuses attention on two of the educational standards set by EFA for 2015: free and complete access to good quality primary education, and most importantly for our analysis, improvements in the level of adult literacy by 50%; in a critical exploration of these learning targets, the author draws on what were at that time the most recent evidence on the measurement of adult literacy at international level: the International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS). Specifically, the author teases out a few concerns with the way adult literacy had been measured, how the results of such measurements had been scored, and the way such scores had been used to construe

adult literacy levels. Measurements embed translation and cultural specificity biases, psychometric scoring techniques tend towards exclusion of testing items that do not fit the underlying assumptions about the very object of measurement, while the score levels that result from this psychometric exercise are just one among equally valid ways to capture progress in literacy skills and their usability (see also Blum et al. 2001). Finally, by contrasting the impact that similar learning targets have had on educational systems in both the UK and the US, Goldstein argues that ‘an emphasis on numerical learning targets can be dysfunctional’, thus ‘any rise in test scores should not be confused with a rise in learning achievements as opposed to test-taking performance’ (Ibid.: 124).

In a nutshell, pattern 2 includes horizontal studies that assume *space* as their main unit of analysis so to better comprehend the complexity of global governance in adult education, and the interplay between local–global dynamics. By generally opting to centre attention on identifiable organisations that, being intergovernmental or non-governmental in nature, have a global or continental reach, the studies in this research pattern complements the knowledge produced by those studies describing changes and evolutions along a temporal continuum (cf. Pattern 1). Nonetheless, similar to diachronic studies, the studies under this research pattern have overlooked the potentials for deeper investigations of internal dynamics, such as within-country power relations between federal states, regions, suburbs, cities or towns, and neighbourhoods (as relevant by country).

PATTERN 3: JUXTAPOSING (VERTICALLY) POLICIES BY INTERGOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS WITH THOSE OF THEIR MEMBER STATES, AND ASSESSING CONVERGENCE/DIVERGENCE

Vertical studies comprised under this research pattern represent 26% of the total dataset and use *system* as their primary unit of analysis. A system makes reference to a number of things that are connected in dynamic ways to form a complex whole, thus in educational research the term is often used to address national education systems or any of their subdivisions (e.g. the vocational education and training system, the higher education system, the adult education system and so on). However, in a broader sense, a system can be defined as

any recognisably delimited aggregate of dynamic elements that are in some way interconnected and interdependent and that continue to operate according to certain laws and in such a way as to produce some characteristic total effect. A system, in other words, is something that is concerned with some kind of activity and preserves a kind of integration and unity; and a particular system can be recognised as distinct from other systems to which, however, it may be dynamically related. (Allport 1955: 469)

As such, different systems are made the object of investigation in the literature that employs a vertical analytical axis, like specific systems of governance at global scale (e.g. the UNESCO worldwide systems) or at continental one (e.g. the European system), and the complex mechanisms such systems stimulate for implementation and adoption within national systems of governance.

The aim of policy studies that use system as their chief unit of analysis is to unpack the dynamic elements that compose specific systems of governance, and investigate their effects on other systems of governance. For the most part, such studies recognise that documents produced by intergovernmental organisations, activities these organisations coordinate (e.g. international conferences) or requests and inputs they address to member states are not isolated, but rather dynamic elements that contribute to the global governance of adult education (Milana 2015). As such, documents, activities, requests and inputs by intergovernmental organisations connect various adult education systems around the world that would otherwise be independent from each other, and this not only at ideational level, but also in concrete terms.

Several studies take a point of departure in a political notion that was introduced and/or sustained by the OECD or the European Union, among others, and investigate how such notion concretises within specific national contexts, more often than not by juxtaposing two or more national systems.

For instance, Plant and Turner (2005) centre attention on the notion of workplace guidance advanced by the European Union and even more so by the OECD as ‘a mainly remedial activity targeting the unemployed, yet some initiative involves a more proactive approach’ (Ibid.: 126). Then, the authors dig into the reasons for this notion to have turned into an important feature of the UK and the Danish contexts, where schemes for workplace guidance have been introduced and implemented by the social parties to support access to further learning opportunities amongst employees. By presenting and juxtaposing such schemes and their characteristics, the authors conclude that both countries had pioneered contrasting approaches to workplace guidance that had been successful, yet they also point at the relevance of dedicated resources and legal frameworks for workplace guidance to be sustained over time.

In a similar vein, Pohl and Walther (2007) have dissected the notion of activation of disadvantaged groups, as it emerges from policy developments within the European Union. However, through secondary analysis of statistical data complemented by focus groups discussions, the authors deepened their knowledge on the different activation models in place across European member states. Such knowledge allows a discussion on differential relationships between specific transition regimes in place in Europe and, for each of these regimes, ‘whether activation implies adaptation to mechanisms of selection in education, training and the labour market, or whether it increases young people’s potential to take action in shaping their own biographies (i.e. through participation and lifelong learning)’ (Ibid.: 533).

Additional political notions that have captured the researchers' attention include, yet are not limited to, the validation of non-formal and informal learning (Cavaco et al. 2014), the accessibility to learning opportunities (Papastamatis and Panitsidou 2009) and so on.

A few other studies originate from policy-relevant events that attract global attention and traces back and forth their impact in specific geographical and/or geopolitical territories at either national or continental scales. The most recent international conference on adult education (CONFINTEA VI) held in 2009 under the coordination of UNESCO, and hosted by the Brazilian government, is exemplary of an event that has been the object of several investigations. One such study, by Rubenson and Nesbit (2011), looked closely at the process of producing a national report for Canada, in preparation to the CONFINTEA VI, upon the UNESCO's request. The authors first reviewed how the production process played out in their national context, then juxtaposed the results (i.e. the actual report) with that of a few other countries that, like Canada, showcase upper to high participation rates in adult education (i.e. Finland, Sweden and the UK). This way the authors brought to light that 'as a mechanism for encouraging a national debate, the process [leading to the production of the national report in Canada] fell far short of what it might have achieved or indeed of the consultative processes adopted for several earlier CONFINTEA conferences' (Ibid.: 137). Further, by juxtaposing its end product with that of other countries, the authors brought additional light on the manifest policy ambitions, supply of learning opportunities, and financial policy levers for adult education at the time the Canadian report was produced.

In essence, pattern 3 comprises vertical comparisons and intergovernmental organisations–member state analysis that adopt a *system* as their principal unit of analysis. Sometimes these studies focus attention on the elements that compose an identifiable system of governance at global or continental scales, others on any of the governance mechanisms arising from such system. Further attention is paid on the ways the elements that compose an identifiable system of governance, and specific governance mechanisms, interact to produce perceivable changes in the education and learning of adults. As such the studies under this research pattern have contributed new knowledge on the rise (and fall) of political notions and their concretisations in terms of new educational models, services or provisions. Moreover, they have contributed to our understandings of the impact that global policy-relevant events have had or may have at either national or continental scales. Yet, the studies under this pattern have not yet explored the potentials of 'reverted' vertical comparisons that, departing from member states, may illuminate whether and if so to what extent local and national systems of governance may influence the working of more complex systems, or exploit policy-relevant events with a global reach for internal political gains, etc.

PATTERN 4: QUESTIONING AND PROVIDING COUNTER-EVIDENCE FOR WIDESPREAD POLITICAL BELIEFS

Alongside the three above-mentioned research patterns, a fourth was identified to collate all those contributions for which it was not possible to identify a primary unit of analysis, as I will explain shortly. Yet this body of work, which represents 14% of the total work under consideration, shares an attention to widespread political beliefs and cultural hegemonic principles surrounding policy developments in adult education.

A belief is the acceptance that something is true or in existence, even without evidence. By extension a political belief that explains how society works represents a blueprint for political action. Further, when able to direct the mind and the symbolic elaboration of the citizenry's language and lifestyle by those in power, a political belief may turn into a cultural hegemonic principle persuading citizens to adhere to a particular political project (Gramsci 1975), in so doing, it produces a new social imaginary—'what enables, through making sense of, the practices of a society' (Taylor 2012: 91), about the education and learning of adults.

The aim of these contributions is to provide counter-evidence to a political belief concerned with the education and learning of adults, hence to problematise the social imaginary it produces as the only way of making sense of society and its practices. Yet, two clarifications are needed here. First, I use the term *evidence* literally to indicate 'the available body of facts or information indicating whether a belief or proposition is true or valid' (Oxford Dictionaries Online, n.p.), which does not necessarily reduce facts or information to available statistical data. Second, I purposely speak of contributions rather than policy studies or investigations as most of them may be catalogued as think pieces or discussion papers instead; in other words, these do not derive from empirical work, but are rather speculative critiques or analyses of the conceptual basis on which a political belief is grounded.

A political belief that has attracted research attention in recent years is that the promotion of lifelong learning through relevant educational actions will contrast the effects of the 2008 global financial crisis. Problematizing this political belief, for instance, Ahmed (2010) explores the economic dimensions of sustainable development, existing evidence on the effectiveness of the global fight against poverty, and what have been and could be educational responses; in so doing, the author argues that at the mid-decade global review on the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development, held in Bonn in 2009, the debate had 'underscored that [...] transforming economic systems in order to promote sustainability requires that the education systems also be transformed, and vice versa' (Ibid.: 252).

Another widespread political belief is that lifelong learning, including the education and learning of adults, promotes the development of countries, independently from their geopolitical positioning in the world system. Problematizing this belief are primarily researchers living and working in the

global South. Exemplary in this case is a contribution by Preece (2009) that adopts a postcolonial perspective and uses evidence from Africa to question dominant, Northerly-set learning priorities for the South that, as the author argue, reduce lifelong learning (and adult education) to the provision of basic education from childhood to adulthood.

Further contributions problematise widespread political beliefs through thick, qualitative investigations in areas in which there is still limited evidence despite these being among policy priorities at national, continental and global scales. One instance of this type of contributions is the phenomenological study by de Greef et al. (2012) on the social inclusion of vulnerable adults. With a point of departure in the shared concern by the EU and the OECD for vulnerable adults in lack of basic competencies and thus at risk of social exclusion, based on available literature, the authors first defined social inclusion as an interactive, multidimensional process that incorporates four dimensions: (1) activation—‘the functional outcome for the individual’; (2) internalisation—‘the increase of emotional satisfaction for the individual him- or herself’; (3) participation—‘a growing functionality of an individual in connection with his or her environment’; and (4) connection—‘having more or better contact with others’ (Ibid.: 457). Then de Greef and colleagues applied this conceptual model to explore the life experiences of more than 30 vulnerable adults who had participated in adult education programmes to conclude that ‘increase on an individual level (activation and internalisation) is more often perceived by the interviewees than an increase on the collective components of social inclusion (participation and connection)’ (Ibid.: 471–472), but highlight also that, contrary to other studies, they found that the teacher’s support was an important factor for all interviewees.

Last but not least, problematising widespread political beliefs are also a number of critical overviews of adult education in neoliberal times. For the most these contributions assess the impact of neoliberal policy at national or systemic levels in two or more countries, at times also paying attention on the implications it has for adult educators (Bowl 2014).

Summing up, pattern 4 collates a number of contributions that, either reporting on a policy study or investigation or pulling together different types of evidence found in the literature, aim at problematising widespread political beliefs concerned with the education and learning of adults. While this work does not necessarily complement our understandings of what redefines the boundaries of adult education and learning provision (cf. Pattern 1), nor similarities and differences in policy discourses, agendas and actions across geographical and/or geopolitical territories (cf. Pattern 2) or even the dynamic elements that compose specific systems of governance, and their effects on other systems (cf. Pattern 3), this body of work helps nonetheless to preserve a space for subverting the viewpoints on adult education policy, by provoking new questions that are worth attention by those researching comparative and global policy on adult education.

CONCLUSION

Summing up, this chapter argues that under the research *of policy, comparative and global policy studies on adult education* represents a growing intelligible body of work in its own right. Whether this is on the fringe of or one among the latest developments of International Comparative Adult Education Research (Field et al. 2016) is open to debate.

Further, through a meta-investigation of selected texts, this chapter also brought to light that when we question what the main units of analysis *comparative and global policy studies on adult education* adopt, and to what scope these studies are made, it is possible to identify at the least four distinctive research patterns. Each of these patterns presents its own strengths and limitations in terms of the *type* of knowledge it produces, hence all of them are worth further nurturing and using in a complementary manner.

But what is even more important for future research in this field to grow and flourish is to deepen our understandings of the quality of the knowledge it produces. This could be done through further meta-investigations that look specifically at the epistemologies these studies embed (Mainardes and Tello 2016).

Further studies could, for instance, tease out the epistemological or theoretical perspectives embedded within and between research patterns, as well as the different positioning that researchers assume, and whether these are coherent with the application of unambiguous epistemologies and theoretical perspectives both within and also across the patterns. Equally important is to question what methodological apparatuses are put in place by policy researchers dealing with the comparative and global dimensions of adult education policy, and whether these are coherent with the researcher's epistemology and positioning.

REFERENCES

- Ahmed, M. (2010). Economic dimensions of sustainable development, the fight against poverty and educational responses. *International Review of Education*, 56, 235–253.
- Allport, F. H. (1955). *Theories of perception and the concept of structure*. New York: Wiley.
- Anderson-Levitt, K. M. (2012). Complicating the concept of culture. *Comparative Education*, 48(4), 441–445.
- Aubarell, G., Nicolau Coll, A., & Ros Híjar, A. (Eds.). (2004). *Immigració i qüestionari: Minories subestatal i immigració a Europa*. Barcelona: Mediterrània.
- Bartlett, W., Rees, T. L., & Watts, A. G. (2000). Adult guidance services and the learning society: Emerging policies in the European Union. Bristol, Policy.
- Blum, A., Goldstein, H., & Guerin-Pace, F. (2001). International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS): An analysis of international comparisons of adult literacy. *Assessment in Education*, 8, 225–246.
- Borg, C., & Mayo, P. (2005). The EU Memorandum on lifelong learning. Old wine in new bottles? *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 3, 203–225.

- Bourdieu, P. (1993). *The field of cultural production: Essays on art and literature*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bowl, M. (2014). *Adult education in changing times: Policies, philosophies and professionalism*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education.
- Branchadell, A. (2015). Language education for adult migrants in Catalonia: Nation-state ambitions without nation-state resources. In J. Simpson & A. Whiteside (Eds.), *Adult language education and migration: Challenging agendas in policy and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Bray, M., Adamson, B., & Mason, M. (2014). *Comparative education research: Approaches and methods* (2nd ed.). (Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, the University of Hong Kong).
- Bray, M., & Thomas, R. M. (1995). Levels of comparison in educational studies: Different insights from different literatures and the value of multilevel analyses. *Harvard Education Review*, 65(3), 472–490.
- Brenner, N. (1998). Between fixity and motion: Accumulation, territorial organization and the historical geography of special scales. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 16, 459–481.
- Cavaco, C., Lafont, P., & Pariat, M. (2014). Policies of adult education in Portugal and France: The European Agenda of validation of non-formal and informal learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 33, 343–361.
- Cowen, R. (2002). Moments of time: A comparative note. *History of Education*, 31(5), 413–424.
- Croxford, L., & Raffe, D. (2014). Social class, ethnicity and access to higher education in the four countries of the UK: 1996–2010. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 33(1), 77–95.
- de Greef M., Verte D., & Segers M. (2012). Evaluation of the outcome of lifelong learning programmes for social inclusion: A phenomenographic research. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31(4): 453–476.
- Desjardins, R., & Rubenson, K. (2009). *Research of vs research for education policy: In an era of transnational policy-making*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag.
- Easton, P., & Samples, M. (2015). Adult education at the World Bank: Poor cousin or key stakeholder? In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Field, J., KüNzel, K., & Schemmann, M. (2016). International Comparative Adult Education Research. Reflections on theory, methodology and future developments. *internationale Jahrbuch der Erwachsenenbildung*, [International Year book of Adult Education], 39, 111–133.
- Goldstein, H. (2006). Education for all: The globalization of learning targets. In L. Tett, M. Hamilton, & Y. Hillier (Eds.), *Adult literacy, numeracy and language: Policy, practice and research*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Gramsci, A. (1975). *Quaderni dal Carcere (edizione critica a cura di V. Gerratana, 4 Voll)* Torino: Einaudi (1971) [Engl. Trans. (1971), Selections from the Prison Notebooks (Eds. Q. Hoare & G. Nowell Smith). New York: International Publishers].
- Hinton-Smith, T. (2012). *Widening participation in higher education casting the net wide?* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holford, J., & MohorčičŠpolar, V. (2012). Neoliberal and inclusive themes in European lifelong learning policy. In S. Riddell, J. Markowitsch, & E. Weedon (Eds.), *Lifelong learning in Europe equity and efficiency in the balance*. Chicago: Policy Press.

- Ioannidou, A. (2007). A Comparative analysis of new governance instruments in the transnational educational space: A shift to knowledge-based instruments? *European Educational Research Journal*, 6(4), 336–347.
- Jacobi, A. (2009). *International Organizations and lifelong learning*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jokila, S., Kallo, J., & Rinne, R. (Eds.). (2015). *Comparing times and spaces: Historical, theoretical and methodological approaches to comparative education*. Jyväskylä: Finnish Educational Research Association.
- Lawn, M., & Grek, S. (2012). *Europeanizing education—Governing a new policy space*. Didcot: Symposium Books.
- Latour, B. (2005). *Reassembling the social: An introduction to actor-network-theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Longworth, N. (2006). *Learning cities, learning regions, learning communities: Lifelong learning and local government*. London: Routledge.
- Mainardes, J., & Tello, C. (2016). Research on the field of education policy: Exploring different levels of approach and abstraction. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 24(75), <http://dx.doi.org/10.14507/epaa.24.2331>.
- Manzon, A. (2014). Comparing Places. In M. Bray, B. Adamson & M. Mason, *Comparative education research: Approaches and methods* (2nd ed.). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.
- Margison, S. (1997). *Markets in education*. St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin.
- Martens, K., & Niemann, D. (2010). Governance by comparison—How ratings and rankings impact national policy-making in Education, *TranState Working Papers*, 139, Bremen: Sfb 597, StaatlichkeitimWandel/Transformations of the State.
- Milana, M. (2012). Political globalization and the shift from adult education to lifelong learning. *RELA—The European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 3(2), 103–117.
- Milana, M. (2013). Globalisation, transnational policies and adult education. *International Review of Education*, 58, 777–797.
- Milana, M. (2015). Debating global polity, policy crossing and adult education. *Comparative Education Review*, 59(3), 498–522.
- Milana, M. (2016). Global polity in adult education and UNESCO: Landmarking, brokering, and framing policy. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 14(2), 203–226.
- Milana, M. (2017). *Global networks, local actions: Rethinking adult education policy in the 21st century*. New York: Routledge.
- Milana, M., & Holford, J. (Eds.). (2014). *Adult Education Policy and the European Union: Theoretical and Methodological Perspectives*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Milana, M., & McBain, L. (2014). Adult education in the United States of America: A critical examination of national policy (1998–2014). *Encyclopaedia*, 18(40), 34–52.
- Milana, M., & Nesbit, T. (Eds.). (2015). *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Moosung, L., Tryggvi, T., & Na'im, M. (2008). The evolution of the European Union's lifelong learning policies: An institutional learning perspective. *Comparative Education*, 44, 445–463.
- Németh, B. (2015). Lifelong learning for all adults? A new concept for the United Nations educational, scientific and cultural organization—Limits and opportunities for a changing intergovernmental organization. In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Nesbit, T., & Welton, M. (Eds.). (2013). *Adult Education and Learning in a Precarious Age: The Hamburg Declaration Revisited (New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, 138)*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Nóvoa, A., & Yariv-Mashal, T. (2003). Comparative research in education: A mode of governance or a historical journey? *Comparative Education, 39*(4), 423–438.
- Panitsides, E. A. (2015). Towards 'utilitarian' adult education perspectives? A critical review of the European Union adult education policy development. In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Papastamatis, A., & Panitsidou, E. (2009). The aspect of 'accessibility' in the light of European lifelong learning strategies: Adult education centres-a case study. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 28*, 335–351.
- Plant, P., & Turner, B. (2005). Getting closer: Workplace guidance for lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 24*, 123–135.
- Pohl, A., & Walther, A. (2007). Activating the disadvantaged. Variations in addressing youth transitions across Europe. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 26*, 533–553.
- Polkinghorne, D. (1983). *Methodology for the human sciences: Systems of inquiry*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Preece, J. (2009). Lifelong learning and development: A perspective from the 'South'. *Compare, 39*, 585–599.
- Rubenson, K. (2015). Framing the adult learning and education policy discourse: The role of the organization for economic co-operation and development. In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Rubenson, K., & Nesbit, T. (2011). CONFINTEA VI from a Canadian perspective. *International Review of Education, 57*, 127–143.
- Sandelowski, M., & Barroso, J. (2007). *Handbook for synthesizing qualitative research*. New York: Springer.
- Schleicher, A. (2008). Piac: A new strategy for assessing adult competencies. *International Review of Education, 54*, 627–650.
- Spruck Wrigley, H. (2015). Green card english: New possibilities and enduring challenges in US immigration reform. In J. Simpson & A. Whiteside (Eds.), *Adult language education and migration: Challenging agendas in policy and practice*. London: Routledge.
- Storan, J. (2010). Government's regional policy and its shaping of widening participation practice in England. In N. Longworth & M. Osborne (Eds.), *Perspectives on learning cities and regions: Policy, practice, and participation*. NIACE: Leicester.
- Schwandt, T. A. (2001). *Dictionary of qualitative inquiry*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sweeting, A. (2014). Comparing Times, in M. Bray, B. Adamson & M. Mason (Eds.). *Comparative education research: approaches and methods* (2nd Ed.). Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, The University of Hong Kong.
- Taylor, C. (2012). Modern social imaginaries. *Public Culture, 14*(1), 91–124.
- Tett, L. (2014). Comparative performance measures, globalising strategies and literacy policy in Scotland. *Globalisation, Societies and Education, 12*(1), 127–142.

- Tuckett, A. (2015). The international council for adult education and adult learning policy: Addressing the gap between rhetoric and practice. In M. Milana & T. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Waller, R., Holford, J., Jarvis, P., Milana, M., & Webb, S. (2015). Neo-liberalism and the shifting discourse of 'educational fairness'. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 34(6), 619–622.
- Waller, R., Holford, J., Jarvis, P., Milana, M., & Webb, S. (2014). Widening participation, social mobility and the role of universities in a globalized world. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 33(6), 701–704.
- Warf, B., & Arias, S. (2009). *The spatial turn: Interdisciplinary perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Zapata-Barrera, R. (2009). *Immigration and self-government of minority nations*. Brussels: P.I.E. Pet.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Marcella Milana is Associate Professor at the University of Verona, Italy, where she directs the International Research Centre for Global and Comparative Policy Studies on the Education and Learning of Adults (IRC-GloCoPos). A Joint Editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis), and Joint Convenor of the Policy Studies in Adult Education Research Network of the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA), her work deals with the politics of adult education policy in a globalised world. Her latest book is *Global Networks, Local Actions: Rethinking Adult Education Policy in the 21st Century* (Routledge, 2017).

Latin America: Adult and Popular Education in Dialogue

Danilo R. Streck and Cheron Zanini Moretti

Abstract In this chapter, the authors discuss adult education in relation to the power structures of Latin American societies, emphasizing its role in the promotion of social justice. Of particular interest are the developments within the popular education movement since the middle of the last century, when a distinctive understanding of popular education grew out of the educational work with adults. In the meantime, a breach emerged between adult (and youth) education and popular education, largely due to the integration of adult education as a modality within the institutionalized education system. In the first part of the chapter, we revisit a period in Brazilian and Latin American history (1950s and 1960s) that was filled with a great and rich variety of experiences of popular empowerment that ended up in repressive military regimes. The second section discusses how adult education became largely identified with the liberation movement and the third section is dedicated to some recent developments, arguing for a desirable and necessary dialogue between contemporary adult education and popular education.

D.R. Streck (✉)
Bairro Jardim América, Rua Pastor Rodolfo Saenger,
144, 93035-110 São Leopoldo-RS, Brazil
e-mail: dstreck@unisinos.br

C.Z. Moretti
Bairro Jardim América, Rua Gonçalves Dias N°46,
93032-070 São Leopoldo-RS, Brasil
e-mail: cheron.moretti@gmail.com

INTRODUCTION

In a recent round of e-mails among professionals and students involved with popular education, someone raised the question about the origin of the concept of popular education in the sense it is presently used in Latin America. It is well known that the idea of popular education has a long trajectory, but the puzzle for the group was the change of its meaning from the idea of public education connected with the emancipation movement and the constitution of national states in the nineteenth century to the broader conception of education imbued with political commitment and ideas of social transformation. It is also known that it was in the 1960s that this change happened, but the question was about the first use of the concept and under what conditions it took place. This may seem to be a trivial curiosity, but a closer look reveals the relevance of the question to understand the relation between adult education and popular education in Latin America.

There is a consensus that adult education, basically consisting of literacy programs in the middle of the last century, is part of the history of popular education, so much so that at a time and in some socio-historical contexts they were treated as synonymous. It was even questioned whether popular education could be used with children and youth. Today, adult and youth education are included in public policies and take place within the formal systems of education, albeit precariously. In Brazil, for example, there is little special training of teachers for this group of students, classes do not consider the discrepancies in experience and interests that may exist between different generations that study together, schools rarely take account of the special needs and circumstances of adults and young persons, professional training programs are mostly restricted to technical training, and the learners' knowledge and cultural backgrounds are disregarded.

It can be argued that adult education and popular education have grown apart in Latin America. A fact that illustrates the growing gap is the change of name of the Council for Adult Education in Latin America (Consejo de Educación de Adultos de América Latina—CEAAL), which was created in 1982 and had Paulo Freire as its first president. Although it has kept the same initials, the organization has identified itself since 2012 as Council of Popular Education in Latin America and the Caribbean (Consejo de Educación Popular de América Latina y de Caribe—CEAAL). According to the definition of its mission, it is

a movement that, as a network, works with, and follows processes of educational, social, political, cultural and economic transformation of the Latin American and Caribbean societies, in local, national, and regional contexts, in international dialogue, in support of the sovereignty and integration of the peoples, social justice and democracy, from the perspective of human rights, gender equity, critical interculturality, and an emancipatory ethical, pedagogical and political option. (CEAAL 2015)

Education of adults and of young persons is one of the fields of activity of the organization.

The purpose of this chapter is to present a systematic view of this change, based on the assumption that adult education and popular education, although distinct in nature, should engage in critical dialogue. When referring to their differences in nature, what is meant is that adult and youth education is today understood as a modality of education integrated within the system, as are elementary or higher education, while popular education has developed into a pedagogical proposal that can be broadly understood as the pedagogical dimension of emancipation. This implies, among other features, the recognition of the particular knowledges of the educatees as the starting point for education; a democratizing perspective within societies with a highly authoritarian tradition; the understanding of citizens as social agents in the local, regional and national social contexts; and the use of dialogical methods in the formal and non-formal educational processes.

In the first part of the chapter, we revisit a period in Brazilian and Latin American history filled with a great and rich variety of experiences. The coup d'état in Brazil (1964), while representing a rupture with the ongoing processes, did not erase the movement, which kept growing, largely underground or protected by progressive sectors of Christian churches. In the second section, we characterize what can be identified as the liberation movement, when adult education became split between conservative practices by military dictatorships and counter-hegemonic movements that consolidated popular education as an original pedagogical perspective, with new authors entering the scene as theoretical references. These differing perspectives are, as we try to present in this section, the product of the dispute between different educational programs in Latin America, which provide a historical background for understanding adult education in the region. This historical background also allows us to refer to Latin America as a unity, in spite of its diversity in terms of culture, social organization and economic development. In the third section, we focus on some recent developments, considering the visibility of new social subjects as well as the integration of popular education within the social policies of progressive governments in the region.

The article reflects the authors' practices and studies in the field of education, situated at the intersection of formal and non-formal education, dealing with issues in the field of social movements and with popular education in a variety of contexts including schools and universities. Furthermore, it is our understanding that adult education, while particularly affected by economic and political changes, should not lose track of its historical development, which reflects the struggle for a citizenship with knowledge at its centre.

ADULT EDUCATION, POPULAR CULTURE AND LITERACY

In the 1950s and 1960s, many creative and innovative practices in adult education were developed. In a Latin America that was predominantly rural, the relationship between education and politics revealed the limits of people's participation in democratic life in the region. Based on strong criticism of an

education that was limited to the teaching of ‘letters’, critical educators started to raise the question, ‘Whom do we serve with education?’ In this social context in Brazil and other countries in Latin America, some important movements arose that represented a rupture with hegemonic adult educational practices until then represented by sporadic top-down campaigns. In what follows, we present three of these movements that are representative of the new practices of adult education.

Among the most influential organizations was the *Movimento de Cultura Popular* (Popular Culture Movement), created in the northeastern Brazilian city of Recife, in 1960. Inspired by the French *Peuple & Culture*, its aim was not to bring culture to those who supposedly did not have it but to promote people’s culture in the sense of social and political protagonism. ‘The popular movement does not generate an undefined cultural movement. It generates, precisely, a movement of popular culture’ (Soares and Fávero 2009: 59). This concept of culture referred to a broad range of human experiences: intellectual, professional, political, artistic, social, leisure, sport and organizational. Literacy and adult education was thus part of a vast array of activities, from editorial work to theatre, popular music and dance.

As both an alternative and complement to the emerging organizations, some of them with overt communist influence, the Catholic Church, represented by the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops, created the *Movimento de Educação de Base*—MEB (Basic Education Movement), which was officially recognized by the Brazilian government. Through radio programs, MEB aimed at ‘elevating the masses, an effort that makes it possible, through education, to integrate them in a global process of cultural, social and economic self-promotion’ (Soares and Fávero 2009: 97). As recognized by the founders, one source of inspiration was the radio schools (Radio Sutatenza) in Colombia, founded in 1947 by Father José Joaquín Salcedo. The educational activities of MEB were carried out in the most ‘underdeveloped’ regions in Brazil.

It was certainly the experience in Angicos, where early efforts at developing adult literacy were led by Paulo Freire, which became a symbol for the struggle against illiteracy embedded in a sociopolitical process. Paulo Freire had participated actively in the *Movimento de Cultura Popular*, where, among other activities, he coordinated the Project of Adult Education. It was in this project that he developed the idea of the centres and circles of culture, with the latter becoming a mark of his educational practice. The adult literacy process began with the identification of generative words, extracted from the sociological and linguistic contexts of the participants. The program started in January 1963, and on 2nd April of the same year, the *commencement* of the first group was celebrated with the presence of the Brazilian President, João Goulart (Freire 2006: 142). In his speech, Paulo Freire remarked:

Mister President, only eleven sociological situations were necessary for us to enable these 300 persons of Angicos, not only to be able to write a letter to Your Excellency, but above all to be able to say consciously that from now on they will

vote not for those men who ask for a vote; not for their godfathers, but they will vote for those candidates who reveal a possibility of really and loyally serving the people and their interests. (Scocuglia 2000: 50)

This landmark experience led the Minister of Education to invite Paulo Freire to coordinate the National Program of Literacy, which had the aim to make 5 million adults literate. Later, reflecting on the process, Paulo Freire remarked that ‘this was such an extraordinary thing that it could not continue’ (Freire 2006: 145). And, indeed, this is what happened: on 1st April 1964, the military seized power, supported by the Brazilian elite and with the approval of the US government.

A look at these three experiences helps us identify common features relevant to the discussion we are proposing in this chapter. First, they reveal the attempt to overcome the inefficacy of isolated campaigns to *eradicate* illiteracy. Adult education became part of a broader view of culture, understood as the transformative and creative power of people. The ‘masses’ ceased to be considered empty vessels to be filled with knowledge and with culture. Second, there was a convergence of government and civil society, not necessarily moved by the same intentionality. The Brazilian constitution did not grant illiterates the right to vote, despite the fact that training them to read and write, even if it were only their names, could mean an increase of the electorate. This new form of education also represented the emergence of an active civil society that saw in social and cultural inequalities a major hindrance to the country’s development. Thus, hundreds of centres were created, with the active participation of the church, universities, students, artists and professionals.

POPULAR (ADULT) EDUCATION AND POLITICAL ACTION FOR LIBERATION

The roots of popular education (of adults) cannot be understood without taking into account the colonizing process in the context of Eurocentric modernity. This fact left deep scars, which today are identified as the *coloniality of knowledge* (Moraña et al. 2008). The 1970s witnessed important responses to colonial imposition. Latin America was experiencing creative and innovative practices that emerged in and with *the popular* in the perspective of liberation, considering that political emancipation from countries of the north failed to bring with it autonomy in the field of pedagogical ideas and the possibility of social transformation. In this context, the following developments took place: Dependency Theory, claiming that underdevelopment was nothing but the other side of the hegemonic development that divided the world into centre and periphery; Liberation Theology, erasing the line between salvation in a glorious afterlife and present suffering due to social injustice; Popular Communication, emphasizing horizontal forms of communication among subjects and developing alternative instruments for producing and sharing information; the Theater of the Oppressed, whereby people were empowered to use oral and bodily expressions

to produce culture on the basis of daily life experience. This was also the milieu where large literacy campaigns were carried out (in Cuba and Nicaragua) and where many centres of popular education were created with an emphasis on adult education. The major reference of these developments can be found in the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Freire 1972), which, with its critique of banking and colonizing education, is built on experiences developed in various contexts and has served to inspire new ones in Latin America and other continents.

From a historical perspective, it is possible to identify two ideological perspectives that vying for space in both the political and educational fields. These concerned the conflicting relation between colonization and emancipation—the first as domination and the second as a movement of liberation. To understand this dispute, we make use of the analysis of the Argentinian historian Adriana Puiggrós who challenges us to look beyond present-day discourses in order to identify ‘in which conception, political line or social commitment we have inscribed our education in these 200 years’ (Puiggrós 2013: 103). At the time the bicentennial of the declaration of independence of most Latin American countries was being celebrated, she raised the question about the educational program that has been carried out in Latin America. Puiggrós argues that the Latin American history of education has not followed a linear track, as there has not been only one political-educational approach. She identifies at least four projects or programs, as summarized below.¹

The first project was announced by Simón Rodríguez, the teacher of Simón Bolívar, and argued in favour of a school system that should have the poor, the ‘blacks’ and the Indians as its main concern, as ‘the heart of education, its most significant core’ (Puiggrós 2013: 104). With the slogan, ‘We either invent or we err’, this project defended a popular and democratic education that would be aware of both the way adult education had been pushed aside by the new political project of independence, and the need to educate the young generation whose responsibility it would be to develop new republics in the continent. The second project was one defended by the conservative sectors of society, mainly anchored in the medieval Christianity transplanted in Latin America. In this project, the state was not supposed to interfere in education, and, differently from the political-educational project of Rodríguez, the popular sectors of society were destined to receive low-quality education in comparison with that of the elite. The third project is characterized by Puiggrós as the *triumphant* or victorious project commencing at the end of the nineteenth century. This was proposed by the liberals and positivists, and marked the implementation of an educational system in Latin America characterized by elitist features connected with the imaginary of modern citizenship. The school was thus a place reserved for the children of “civilized people”, excluding the poor, the blacks and the Indians. Finally, the last two decades of the past century saw the emergence of a project promoted and supported by neoliberal worldwide policies. This system of exploitation was largely responsible for the disorganization of the incipient and still precarious public services of transportation, health, social security and education, among others. In accordance with this logic, educational systems

were fragmented, disarticulated and underfunded by the state, assuming that their presence would be reduced to the minimum. The educational reforms proposed the extension of basic education, with obligatory schooling restricted to this level, the reduction of time for the intermediary school level and the exclusion of adult education from the ‘central axis of the educational systems’ in many Latin American countries (Puiggrós 2013: 107).

One can see that, on the one hand, projects such as the conservative and the liberal ones were designed to keep class privileges and to maintain the hegemony of the elite in education. On the other hand, the emancipatory or liberating project underwent a dynamic process of reinvention to present itself as an alternative. This reinvention characterizes popular education as a critical response to European modernity.

The deep scars of colonialism still felt in Latin American society after the political independence from colonial powers is what we identify as *coloniality*, evidenced in the relations of *power*, of *being* and of *knowledge* (Quijano 2010). This violent encounter between the colonizer and the colonized is the foundation for the education known as traditional or banking education, on the margins of which the *conscientizing* or liberating education emerged as an alternative.

Paulo Freire, who liked to play with words to express novel ideas, used to refer to *sulear* (southerning)² in order to identify the process of autonomy building within and through a liberating education by characterizing the colonized as protagonists in their struggle for liberation. This implies assuming an endogenous movement committed to the construction of ‘another world’ from the perspective of the wretched of the earth (Fanon 1979). The *South*, created by the colonial expansion of Europe, today also signifies a centre for reinventing social emancipation.

By analyzing Brazilian and Latin American reality, in the decade of 1960, while he was in exile, Paulo Freire understood the need to see the colonial inheritance as a condition to be overcome. In his words, ‘Brazil was born and was raised without having had the opportunity to experience dialogue’ (Freire 1976: 67). The country, like Latin America at large, had been invented in an authoritarian way. He understood that the colonizing power would be extended from the conquest of the territory to its people, considering that ‘the large social basis made up by slavery was not compatible with a democratic and popular political structure’ (Adams 2012: 373). Thus, adult education became very much connected with popular education, which, in the dialectical relation between reading of the word and reading of the world—and with the world—unveiled how the education of the hegemonic projects served the purpose of reproducing a colonialist order going far beyond the territorial dimension. Dialogue is the tool for the production of a new conscience in the *popular* educational process.

Popular Education, Popular Culture, and Adult and Youth Education

As mentioned above, the word *popular* in Latin American education has had different meanings in the historical process. In the political projects of the new

republics, it was understood as a way of including those already considered citizens in the public school system, as a process of extending elementary school education to the children of the poor or as elementary education for all. In Brazil, most notably Fernando Azevedo (1963) understood popular education as the pedagogical activity of the Jesuits in their schools and as their catechizing activity in the Indian settlements. However, popular education with connotations regarding social class would be used later, in the second half of the twentieth century. The corresponding concept was *popular culture*, from which the ideas of *popular theater*, *popular cinema*, *popular poetry* originated, identifying the different contexts of participatory and collective social construction of *popular education*.

The movements of popular culture and popular education represented a qualitative leap when compared to the campaigns to eradicate illiteracy among youth and adults or education in rural areas that were carried out in the decades of 1940 and 1950 by governmental initiative. What distinguished popular education from these earlier campaigns is the explicitly assumed commitment in favour of the popular classes, both urban and rural, and the fact that their educational action was directed towards political action.

On the other hand, banking and colonizing education restricted literacy to a merely technical and pedagogical activity. It is necessary to say, however, that the literacy method proposed by Paulo Freire was not intended to be politically utilitarian in the sense of simply training ‘new cadres for a new type of society. There was at play a broader, more humane, political approach: to create, with the knowledge of the liberated person, a new subject, also free from the inside out’ (Brandão 2013: 87). In terms of our argument, this corresponds to a movement of decolonizing *knowledge*, *being* and *power*.

In its historical process, popular education and adult education have developed a methodology that has reinvented itself in the tasks of national reconstruction. For instance, in 1979 in Nicaragua more than half of the population was illiterate. With the coming to power of the Sandinista movement, a national campaign was implemented to eradicate illiteracy and reconstruct the nation. The *Cruzada Nacional de Alfabetización* [National Literacy Crusade] had the direct collaboration of Paulo Freire. Also in other revolutionary contexts, adult literacy in the perspective of popular education became a priority. UNESCO has considered Cuba free of illiteracy in 1961, Venezuela in 2005 and Bolivia in 2008. Venezuela and Bolivia were inspired by the Cuban method *sí, yo puedo* [Yes, I can], but, above all, these experiences have in common José Martí’s (1853–1895) view that ‘education has to go where life is’ (Martí 2001, vol. 22: 308).

In Brazil, as in many other Latin American countries, popular education moved from the focus on political action with people through literacy to political action with people beyond literacy. Particularly in the process of redemocratization, this form of education was related to people’s claims for the improvement of their living conditions in their struggles and mobilization. In this way, popular education occurs in multiple sites: political parties, church-based communities, workers’ unions, popular social movements, public

policies in health and social work, non-governmental organizations, social economy and schools among others. The question that can be raised today is whether there is a spot in the large field of education where popular education would be of no interest. Furthermore, ‘the places of popular education are not fixed. Being viscerally contrary to dogmatization, popular education reinvents itself in other spaces and contexts when institutions or groups try to domesticate it’ (Streck and Esteban 2013: 8). In these practices, adults are still a major part of the public taking part in them.

NEW ACTORS, NEW THOUGHTS AND NEW PRACTICES

The last decade of the twentieth century has been marked by the ‘globalization of perversity’ (Santos 2003) and global policies had a significant impact on education. Chile and Mexico were the first countries to adhere to the new orders of the world system. The market-led globalization, in its turn, had a strong impact on social movements that had (1) played a major role in the resistance to dictatorships in many Latin American countries and later in the process of redemocratization and (2) developed educational strategies of popular education, basically with adults and in non-formal settings. In this period, important new developments occurred in popular education and adult education. Popular education began to include new subjects, now understood under the umbrella of the concept of social exclusion. It also penetrated the official public sphere, becoming part of some public policies. Adult education was largely integrated with youth education in an institutionalizing/schooling process where much of the original sociopolitical thrust had been weakened or lost.

Framework of Reference of Popular Education for Public Policies

A document that can be considered a culmination in the process mentioned above is the ‘Marco de Referência da Educação Popular para as Políticas Públicas’ (Brasil 2014) [Framework of Reference of Popular Education for Public Policies] signed by the Brazilian President in 2014. This document, written by representatives of various segments of the federal government and of civil society, is intended to inform the work of all public policies with the pedagogical principles derived from popular education. Its objective is thus formulated:

The objective of the *Framework of Reference of Popular Education for Public Policies* is to promote a common field for reflection and orientation of practices coherent with methodological perspectives proposed by popular education for programs, projects and policies that have their origin fundamentally in public action, contemplating the diversity of sectors linked to educational and formative processes of public policies of the Federal Government.

The epistemological foundations of the *Framework of Reference* embrace key ideas of popular education, particularly from the work of Paulo Freire. The first one is *dialogicidade*, which can be translated as the disposition or condition for

dialogue (Zitkosky 2012: 100). As we know from Freire, dialogue cannot be reduced to a particular method but is a way of being with others and with the world, a way that consists of openness derived from the fact that neither persons nor the world is complete. Human action is conditioned but never determined by circumstances.

The next key idea is *amorosidade*, which could be translated as lovingness or *amorosity* (Fernandes 2012: 22). For Freire and for popular education, conventional school education is one-sided in that it pays little attention to the body and to emotions. This tradition of integrating the intellectual and emotional capacities goes back at least to José Martí (1853–1895), the Cuban revolutionary and intellectual, who proclaimed the need for educators who would go to the countryside with tenderness to bring to the peasants technical knowledge. This would be a way of dissolving the blood coagulated in the veins during centuries of oppression. Hope, indignation and other expressions representing emotions are part of the pedagogy of popular education.

Conscientização is another key concept of this proposal, and it corresponds to the ethical and political dimension of education (Freitas 2012: 68). It is based on the assumption that conscience and the world cannot be separated, and thus social changes must take into account subjective and objective elements. It was part of the early practices of popular education and adult education, as we saw in the previous section, but the concept also gave rise to strong criticism. The military dictators interpreted *conscientization* as communist indoctrination³; Anglo-Saxon intellectuals criticized conscientization—translated as ‘consciousness raising’—as expressing the action of a self-defined enlightened vanguard.⁴

Since their beginnings, popular education and adult education in the perspective of popular education were related to *the transformation of reality and the world*. For Freire, the reading of the world in the educational process precedes the reading of the word, and the authentic word is *palavração* [word in action], a word connected with action (Almeida and Streck 2012: 426). Closely related to this concept is the idea that education should *start from concrete reality*. Codified reality actually mediates the dialogical relations between subjects who engage in knowing–transforming their world. This is, today, one of the problems with institutionalized adult education, which is largely based on the imparting of contents, with little room for the problem-posing approach that was at the root of popular and adult education.

The two following key ideas are related to education and the production of knowledge. In one of them (*construction of knowledge and participatory research*), popular education is linked with research. As education should be dialogical, the production of knowledge about people’s reality and about their lives should not occur without them. The adult literacy process started with the investigation of people’s linguistic universe, and with the communities’ participation. After this, generative words were derived which, in their turn, were the starting point for reading and writing, instead of textbooks that had been produced in social contexts with little or no relation to people’s reality.⁵ Participatory research may be considered a twin sister of popular education,

since both originated within the same socio-historical practices. Finally, there is the idea of *systematization of experiences and of knowledge*, a methodology developed to help groups and organizations to appropriate their experiences, reconstructing and interpreting them, discovering the inner logic of the lived processes, as a way of becoming protagonists in the production of theoretical-practical knowledge about their lives and realities.

These key ideas of the *Framework of Reference*, although directed to public policies, apply to adult education, especially in non-formal contexts. Their implementation in public policies depends on the ideological orientation of the elected officials as well as on the particular work contexts. Dialogue, lovingness or *conscientização* cannot be imposed, and the fact that these concepts have found their way into the highest level of public administration may have different meanings. On the one hand, it represents the organization of popular movements and their allies in universities and public administration to occupy a space from which it is possible to influence social practices and promote changes from within the system. On the other hand, there is the well-known risk of co-opting marginal practices, namely, once they are integrated into the structure of policy development, they can easily cease to represent a challenge to existing practices.

The Struggle for Identity and Emergence of New Social Subjects

In a society with changing and multiple needs and demands, popular education—and adult education in the perspective of popular education—takes place with different subjects in different social contexts and processes. In a recent research project carried out in a large Brazilian city in partnership with an NGO that works together with popular organizations (Streck and Adams 2014), we were shown the work of over 20 community bakeries, where producing bread and biscuits is an experience of solidarity as well as a way of improving the family's income. Moreover, the many 'exchange clubs' in the same city created their own currency to negotiate the interchange of goods ranging from homegrown tomatoes to chairs and refrigerators outside the 'normal' market. Needless to say, relevant learning happens in and through these social practices that may not have an immediate impact on the hegemonic education or market, but function as a kind of social and pedagogical laboratory for creating alternatives.

There are two features that characterize popular education as a pedagogical practice and movement. The first one is that historically it is grounded in the movement of resistance of individuals and social groups included in society in a manner that is nothing but perverse. From this marginalized position, strengths with great creativity also emerge. This is the second feature. In Brazil, one of these examples is the participatory budget, created in the city of Porto Alegre in 1989 through popular organizations that pressed the city government to allow them to participate in what can be considered the hard core of public administration, namely, in its budget. Another sign of this creativity is the theology of liberation movement, which grew out of the church-based community

movement and challenged not only the structure of the church but also the way of doing theology. A third practice is the growing sector of social economy, which unites millions of people in Brazil and Latin America. Today in Brazil alone there are over 30,000 small cooperative enterprises. All three of these examples are in some way manifestations of non-formal adult education aligned with popular education. Such creative practices may lose some of their original thrust or become institutionalized, but they nevertheless leave behind some trails, and new practices will certainly appear on the horizon. In what follows, we summarize some of the main concerns in recent research on popular education that have a direct bearing on adult education.

Looking back to the middle of the past century, we see popular education connected with major social movements, mostly with a social class perspective. While this view has not disappeared, today popular education happens in a plurality of spaces. This may have many reasons, including the disillusionment with the coming to power of progressive governments that have frustrated expectations of deeper structural changes. Besides, representative democracy has lost much of its appeal. The reconfiguration of political subjects seems to be following a logic of dispersion, where confrontations are carried out through daily practices in the workplace, in women's groups, among many others, and not in large, hierarchically organized structures.

An important process is underway, giving visibility to narratives that were hidden and sometimes survived clandestinely. One finds today a variety of studies on subjects such as waste-recycling associations, social economy groups, gender relations, racial issues, unemployed workers, child labour and popular artistic expressions, among others. The conclusion of the studies is almost always the same: the educational practices in daily life struggles are formative processes that generate not only knowledge that helps persons and groups to cope with life, but also knowledge that is important for society to recreate itself (Streck 2013).

Latin America is experiencing, in spite of great limitations, a period of democratic governance. This has much to do with the struggles of popular movements where popular education originated. The assumption was that liberation would bring about qualitative changes in the social structure as well as in the way power is exercised, which was sometimes seen almost as a touch of magic. Reality has taught us that history moves within the tension between permanency and change and that education has to assume the Freirean dialectic of patience and impatience within the contradictions of society while it is committed to produce a new one. According to Semeraro (2006), a shift from the paradigm of liberation to the paradigm of hegemony is underway, with social and popular movements becoming part of the power structure. This, however, should not mean a simple substitution in a linear and exclusive manner. 'The achievement of popular hegemony in Brazil passes through the radicalization of the process of liberation, and the latter completes itself in the first one' (Semeraro 2006: 365). This assessment reflects the present stage of popular education, when there are possibilities to participate in public spaces

and policies, and paradoxically popular education has to assume the role of criticizing the inefficiency and inefficacy of these policies or the practices of governments elected with the support of popular classes.

Referring to Bolivia, probably one of the places of most marked changes in Latin America following the election of Evo Morales as president in 2016, Benito Fernández (2006) identifies some tasks which popular education should not give up:

1. To position critical thinking as an essential element of the pedagogical process. This means, among other things, not to give into the enchantment of power and lose the capacity of self-critique.
2. To develop the capacity of negotiation and dialogue, without losing sight of the principles that are at the heart of popular education.
3. To consider interculturality in all spaces and at all levels of public administration and exercise of leadership.
4. To promote the diversity of identities, elaborating methodologies and instruments adapted to the respective practices.
5. To support massive educational programs that open up spaces for people's protagonism and their organization, empowering political subjects.
6. To develop a popular leadership that puts the values of change above particular or group interests.

A variety of practices of popular (mostly adult) education and its methodological creativity can be appraised if one looks at what is called systematization of experiences (Streck and Jara 2015). In the path of the pioneering work of Orlando Fals Borda, a Colombian sociologist who promoted Participatory Action Research in Latin America, a massive movement of *sistematización de experiencias* was developed—more in Spanish-speaking countries than in Brazil—which integrates the following elements, with different emphases and using different strategies according to context: dialogue as the basic methodological principle; development of strategies for effective participation; recollection of the group's history as a (re)construction of identity; analysis of the economic, social and cultural context of a given experience; development of strategies for transforming action; and (re)construction of theory from practice. Groups may make use of the experience of professional external consultants (academic or not), but they must rely very much on their own capacity, which is built in the interaction with other groups.

AS CONCLUSION: A DESIRABLE AND NECESSARY DIALOGUE

In her study on adult education and popular education, already in the early 1970s, Vanilda Paiva (1973) called attention to the separation of the pedagogical and the sociopolitical dimensions of education. The decade of the 1960s was a moment for fruitfully bringing these two dimensions together. Since then, both have grown in different directions: what is officially called adult and youth

education is becoming part of the public educational system, where it has a marginal position with little specific training of teachers and few adequate institutional arrangements; and popular education, in turn, is becoming a relatively coherent pedagogical approach that can be found in a vast range of contexts, from national public policies to universities, but without institutional anchoring. For example, while there is a *Framework of Reference of Popular Education for Public Policies* signed by the Brazilian President, it is only exceptionally part of the regular training of professionals who will work with these policies.

It would be naïve to try to turn back the clock to a time when, as we argued in this chapter, the term *popular* signified a pedagogical practice with adults that gave rise to one of the most vibrant educational movements in Latin America. This is not only historically feasible, but there have been also changes in Latin American society and in the global context that requires another view of adult education. The challenges today extend far beyond facing the problem of illiteracy, and include focuses ranging from digital literacy and identity movements of gender or ethnicity to professional training in a rapidly changing work and labour market. In a certain sense, education—formal and non-formal—has become integrated as an essential part of the contemporary world.

Nonetheless, the history of adult education and popular education has pointed to the priority of extending the knowledge democracy to those who were excluded from opportunities at certain times in their lives or who for some reason did not cope with the requirements of the school system. What we have tried to argue is that adult education today can benefit from a critical dialogue with popular education. Often in non-formal settings, adult education *is* popular education. In this case, there is a natural identification of both, as is the case in popular social movements such as the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*—MST [Landless Rural Workers' Movement]. Important theoretical and methodological contributions have been made through a systematic reflection on their practice that may serve as an inspiration for social and pedagogical practices in other contexts.

Popular education has also entered the classrooms and may contribute to promoting changes in official adult and youth education programs. First, in terms of content relevance, it may help to address absenteeism in classes and school desertion, two major problems in adult education. A look at the original experiences of the 'reading of the world' and the identification of 'generative themes' could well be helpful to develop a more adequate and relevant curriculum. Second, it can help to promote changes within the school system from the perspective of popular education, ranging from the forms of administration to the integration of schools with their communities.

NOTES

1. Gregorio Weinberg presents a periodization of the cultural and educational processes in Latin America as follows: (1) *an imposed culture* characteristic of the colonial time, when the prevalent values and ideas were those of the colonizers, who were the main

- beneficiaries of the policies; (2) *an admitted or accepted culture* which coincides with the time of the emancipation of the colonies, and (3) *a critiqued or discussed culture* representing a moment of rejection of the ideas and values of the former period, but without proposing alternative models (Weinberg 1984). In other words, there seems to be a basic consensus on the historical development of educational alternatives, although Puiggrós emphasizes the non-linearity of that development.
2. In Portuguese, *Sul* corresponds to the English word *South*. *Nortear*, originated from the word North, has the same meaning as to guide or to orient. The verb *sulear* is a metaphorical way of suggesting that one should turn one's attention to another direction for orientation, adopting the perspective of the South as against the hegemonic perspective of the North.
 3. In the 'Transcript of Questions to the Defendant' (*Termo de perguntas a indiciado*) we read, for example: 'Asked if his supposed method, even in regard to conscientization and *politization* does not contain originality as compared to the methods used by HITLER, MUSSOLINI, STALIN AND PERÓN ... he answered that, considering what he had already testified, he could never recognize any similarity'. (Quoted by Araújo Freire 2006, p. 190).
 4. In *Pyramids of Sacrifice* (1976) Peter Berger writes: 'He (Freire) called his method *conscientização*—literally, "making conscious". ... "Consciousness-raising" is the method by which any oppressed group is taught to understand its condition and (in unity of theory and praxis) to be activated politically for the revolutionary transformation of its condition' (p. 122).
 5. See Chapter 3 of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* for a full description of thematic investigation (Freire 1972).

REFERENCES

- Adams, T. (2012). Southerning [Sulear]. In D. R. Streck, E. Redin, & J. J. Zitkoski (Eds.), *Paulo Freire encyclopedia*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Araújo Freire, A. M. (2006). *Paulo Freire: Uma história de vida*. Indaiatuba, SP: Villa das Letras.
- Azevedo, F. (1963). *A cultura brasileira*. Brasília, DF: Editora UnB.
- Berger, P. L. (1976). *Pyramids of sacrifice: Political ethics and social change (garden city)*. New York: Anchor Books).
- Brandão, C. R. (2013). *O que é método Paulo Freire*. São Paulo: Brasiliense.
- Brasil. (2014). *Marco de referência da educação popular para as políticas públicas*. Retrieved September 18, 2015, from <http://conae2014.mec.gov.br/images/pdf/MarcodeReferencia.pdf>.
- Consejo de Educación Popular de América Latina e Caribe (CEAAL). *Misión y objetivos*. Retrieved September 13, 2015, from <http://www.ceaal.org/v2/index.php>.
- Fanon, F. (1979). *Os condenados da terra*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira.
- Fernandes, C. (2012). Amorosidade [Amorosity]. In D. R. Streck, E. Redin, & J. J. Zitkoski (Eds.), *Paulo Freire encyclopedia*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Fernández, B. (2006). Educación popular y nueva hegemonía. In CEPROTAC (Ed.), *Tareas de la Educación Popular em la revolución democrática y popular*. La Paz: CEPROTAC.
- Freire, A. M. A. (2006). *Paulo Freire: Uma história de vida*. São Paulo: Villa das Letras.

- Freire, P. (1976). *Educação como prática da liberdade* (6th ed.). Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Freitas, A. L. S. (2012). *Conscientização* [Conscientization]. In D. R. Streck, E. Redin, & J. J. Zitkoski (Eds.), *Paulo Freire encyclopedia*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Martí, J. (2001). *La Habana: Obras completas*. La Habana: Centro de Estudios Martianos; Karisma Digital. Edição Eletrônica.
- Moraña, M., Dussel, E., & Jáuregui, C. A. (Eds.). (2008). *Coloniality at large: Latin America and the postcolonial debate*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Paiva, V. P. (1973). *Educação popular e educação de adultos: Contribuição à história da educação brasileira*. São Paulo: Loyola.
- Puiggrós, A. (2013). La disputa por la educación en América Latina. Hegemonía y alternativas. In M. Gómez Sollano & M. Corenstein Zaslav (Eds.), *Reconfiguración del educativo en América Latina*. Experiencias pedagógicas alternativas. México, DF: UNAM.
- Quijano, A. (2010). *Colonialidade do Poder e Classificação Social, in Santos, Boaventura de Souza; Meneses, Maria Paula (Orgs.). Epistemologias do Sul*. Coimbra: Edições Almedina.
- Santos, M. (2003). *Por uma outra globalização: Do pensamento único à consciência universal*. Rio de Janeiro: Record.
- Scocuglia, A. C. (2000). *Educação popular: Do sistema Paulo Freire ao IPMs da ditadura*. São Paulo: Cortez.
- Semeraro, G. (2006). Libertação e hegemonia: Chaves de filosofia política na educação brasileira. In A. Torres, G. Semeraro, & L. A. Passos (Eds.), *Educação: Fronteira política*. Cuiabá: EdUFTM.
- Soares, L., & Fávero, O. (Eds.). (2009). *I Encontro Nacional de Alfabetização e cultura popular*. Brasília: Ministério de Educação.
- Streck, D., & Jara, O. (2015). Research, participation and social transformation: Grounding systematization of experiences in Latin American perspectives. In: H. Bradbury (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of action research* (3rd ed.). London: Sage.
- Streck, D. R., & Adams. (2014). *Pesquisa participativa, emancipação e (des)colonialidade*. Curitiba: CRV.
- Streck, D. R., & Esteban, M. T. (Eds.). (2013). Apresentação. In D. R. Streck & M. T. Esteban (Eds.), *Educação popular: Lugar de construção coletiva*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Streck, D. R., & Almeida, C. D. (2012). Word/word-in action [Palavração]. In D. R. Streck, E. Redin, & J. J. Zitkoski (Eds.), *Paulo Freire encyclopedia*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Streck, D. R. (2013). Territórios de resistência e criatividade: Reflexões sobre os lugares da educação popular. In D. R. Streck & M. T. Esteban M. T. (Eds.), *Educação popular: Lugar de construção coletiva*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Weinberg, G. (1984). *Modelos Educativos en la historia de América Latina*. Buenos Aires: UNESCO-CEPAL-PNUD.
- Zitkoski, J. J. (2012). *Diálogo/Dialogicidade* [Dialogue/Dialogicity]. In D. R. Streck, E. Redin, & J. J. Zitkoski (Eds.), *Paulo Freire encyclopedia*. Lanham: Rowman Littlefield.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Danilo R. Streck is Professor at the Graduate School of Education, Unisinos University, Brazil, where he teaches and carries out research on Latin American pedagogy, popular education and participatory methodologies in educational research. He is the author of *A New Social Contract in a Latin American Educational Context* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), and co-editor of *Paulo Freire Encyclopedia* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), and Editor-in-chief of the *International Journal of Action Research* (Rainer Hampp Verlag).

Cheron Zanini Moretti is Professor at the Department of Education and the Graduate School of Education, Universidade de Santa Cruz do Sul (UNISC), Brazil, and Executive Editor of the journal *Reflexão e Ação* (UNISC). Her research focuses on themes related to Popular Education, insurgency as a pedagogical principle, (de)coloniality of knowledge and pedagogical thought in Latin America, with emphasis on women's contributions. She co-authored *Educação popular e docência* (Corte, 2014).

Europe: Comparing Lifelong Learning Systems

Éric Verdier

Abstract Verdier reviews the various comparative approaches to vocational training and lifelong learning, notably in terms of ‘Varieties of Capitalism’. The typologies that they provide confirm that there is no convergence of national lifelong learning systems, despite the growing influence of the recommendations of transnational agencies. But these typologies struggle to account for the transformations the national systems undergo in the course of time. For this reason, the chapter puts forward an approach in terms of public policy regimes that is able to account for the societal dynamics of European lifelong learning systems.

INTRODUCTION: LIFELONG LEARNING AT THE HEART OF SOCIETAL DIVERSITY AND DYNAMICS OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Today the policy makers of Western countries agree in considering that the formation of skills is crucial to national competitiveness and social cohesion in the global economy; more and more frequently, they refer to public policies that have succeeded elsewhere to legitimise and design reforms of their own national institutions. Almost from their inception, social scientists have debated whether, beyond their historical specificity, the institutions of the industrialised countries, especially in education and training, are expected to converge on a single model or whether, on the contrary, they can only remain highly particular. This chapter seeks to understand to what extent the principles and rules of national lifelong learning systems differ and how they evolve. It argues that these systems

É. Verdier (✉)
Aix-Marseille Université - LEST, 35, Avenue Jules Ferry,
13626 Aix en Provence, France
e-mail: eric.verdier@univ-amu.fr

are not converging but are becoming more and more hybrid. Public policy within the European Union clearly illustrates these issues and debates.

Over the past decade, lifelong learning (LLL) has gradually imposed itself in the European space as an essential referent in political discourse on education, skills and competences (Saar et al. 2013). This ‘great founding narrative’ (Radaelli 2001) developed under the influence of two ideological conceptions. The British neoliberal revolution of the 1980s gave rise to the emergence of a new repertoire for policy making in initial and continuing training. The British White Paper entitled ‘A New Training Initiative’ (1980) is the cognitive referent of the 1983 Employment and Training Act, which eliminated traditional apprenticeships and introduced a new certification system, National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ). It promoted and formalised a forceful twofold idea: setting up unique certifications for initial education and training, and continuing training and focusing their skills guidelines on criteria of performance in work situations. In 1995, the European Commission also published a White Paper, ‘Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society’. The EU report was strongly inspired by the British NVQs, with the aim of giving individuals access to regular, flexible validation of the skills acquired ‘throughout their working lives’ within the framework of a European qualifications directory.¹

In 2000, the strategy adopted by the European Council in Lisbon for the building of the ‘knowledge society’ made lifelong learning a key instrument of economic competitiveness combining innovation and social cohesion. It was inspired by the macroeconomic policy of the Scandinavian countries aimed at combining competitiveness through product innovation with high added value, heavy collective investments in education and continuing training, and a high degree of social welfare provision. The term ‘lifelong learning’ places the emphasis explicitly on the multiplicity of sources and forms of knowledge. The intention is to emphasise that what is at stake is the individual’s entire learning trajectory, regardless of age: no institutional sanctuary, such as basic instruction, is to escape the re-examinations called for by this exhaustive view of the lasting or occasional ways and opportunities for learning.

The title of the resolution adopted by the European Council in Brussels in 2003—‘Different systems, shared objectives’ in education and training—clearly attests that the common strategy has to come to terms with the diversity of national settings. This political realism is probably explained by the fact that this area falls within the competence of member states. But it also results from the institutional and organisational complexity that covers lifelong learning. First of all, vocational education and training (VET) schemes are embedded in other social subsystems (e.g. labour relations, basic education, higher education, the labour market and company management) (Bosch and Charest 2009). Besides, at least in rhetorical terms, this narrative aims at a new purpose, namely helping to ensure career paths and job transitions, to the point of making it a new ‘pillar’ of the social welfare systems, although this orientation is strongly criticised (Solga 2014).

The first section of this chapter reviews the various comparative approaches to vocational training and lifelong learning. The typologies that they provide confirm that there is no convergence of national lifelong learning systems, despite the growing influence of the recommendations of transnational agencies (OECD, EU). But at the same time, it appears that these typologies struggle to account for the transformations the national systems undergo in the course of time. For this reason, the second section puts forward an approach in terms of public policy regimes that is able to account for the societal dynamics of European lifelong learning systems.

COMPARATIVE APPROACHES AND TYPOLOGIES OF LIFELONG LEARNING SYSTEMS

By crossing different disciplinary traditions and themes (see Janmaat et al. 2013; Saar and Ure 2013), we schematically identify three kinds of typologies: (1) Those resulting from comparative research conducted in educational sociology. (2) Those carried out in socio-economics of work and employment (3) Those conducted in political science in terms of varieties of capitalism. The emergence of lifelong learning systems in post-socialist countries is a demanding challenge for comparative approaches. In any case, these typologies struggle to capture the increasing hybridisation of national systems.

Sociology of Education and Training Faced with the Diversity of National Models

Many typologies are linked to a particular modality of education and training provision to characterise and compare national systems. Based on a comparison of the relative emphasis on different learning places, the typology of Shavit and Muller (1998) distinguishes theoretical vocational training, mainly in schools (the Netherlands, Sweden, France, Italy), dual systems including training courses at school and work experience in the company (Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Denmark) and on-the-job training (Ireland, the US, the UK, Spain). In order to explain these societal configurations, Greinert (2004) focuses on the imprint of origins ('work cultures') to bring out three vocational education and training models: liberal market-oriented/state-regulated bureaucratic/dual-corporatist.

The degree of standardisation and stratification of education and training provision supports the typology of Allmendinger (Allmendinger 1989). Standardisation concerns 'the degree to which the quality of education meets the same standards nationwide' (Ibid.: 46), that is to say systems involving standardised curricula, assessment, examination, and certification procedures as in the German-speaking countries versus those emphasising informal rules as in the Anglo-Saxon countries. This distinction is strongly linked to the role of credentialist or meritocratic referents in education systems, e.g. formal

credentials as both filters within the education system and screening devices for access to jobs (Buechtemann et al. 1993) as in Germany. The stratification of education system determines to what extent general education and vocational training are organised in different tracks and whether the boundaries between these tracks are rigid or not. Comprehensive school systems are little stratified (UK, USA, Sweden) while work-based systems of training (Germany, Switzerland etc.) use early tracking with weak reversibility of education careers. The degree of stratification also concerns the organisation of vocational education: for this reason, Green's typology (1991) separated the previous first model of Shavit & Muller—'theoretical vocational training'—into two specific ones: on the one hand, an education-led system which in upper secondary school offers general education and vocational training but in different institutions (France, Italy, the Netherlands); on the other hand, general education and vocational training organised in the *same* institution (Sweden).

Thus these typologies refer to the intakes or access to education, e.g. the relative comprehensiveness or internal selectivity of education and training, their relative 'openness' towards different social groups (Hamilton and Hurrelmann 1993). They are also linked to the priority attached to different education contents and curricular orientations, e.g. towards general education versus vocational education (Prais and Wagner 1985). Unlike the German-speaking countries, the US and more or less the UK (till the end of the 80s), where vocational skills acquisition occurs largely through informal on-the-job training, are characterised by the widespread lack of formal intermediate skills and qualifications in the employment segment ranging from trained blue-collar workers to higher level technicians (for the US see Lynch 1993; for the UK; Prais 1989).

In the perspective of lifelong learning, an important question is whether participation in continuing training is a complement to or a compensation for initial education. In comprehensive school systems which are less stratified and provide general skills (the English-speaking countries), the development of non-formal learning is required for compensating the deficiencies of initial general education, notably of early school leavers, taking into account the weak role of formal qualifications in the recruitment processes (Dumas et al. 2013).

In education systems stratified by standardised authoritative skill certifications (German-speaking countries), there are no such needs, unless the specific skills become obsolete (Bassanini et al. 2007). Due to the integration of employment and training and to the clear 'signals' sent to prospective employers by nationally standardised training curricula and nationally recognised vocational training certificates, apprenticeship training in the German-speaking countries ensures a high transferability of the skills acquired, thereby promoting labour mobility across occupational labour markets (Bosch 2009). This governance links apprenticeship to occupational certifications during working life through the intermediary of *Berufakademien* ('vocational academy').

*Typologies of Lifelong Learning from the Socio-economics
of Work and Employment*

These typologies analyse the interactions between three domains—labour relations, work organisation and education and training. For instance, societal analysis drew on a comparison between France and Germany to bring out the coherence of the wage-labour nexus specific to each country (Maurice et al. 1986): examining the construction of the actors involved in these processes, this comparative approach points out the fundamental social mediations of the institutions specific to each country, such as the dual system in Germany, which supports occupational labour markets and favours a work organisation considerably less hierarchical than in France, where the education system functions primarily as a process for the selection of elites. This research was subsequently critiqued and extended by Géhin and Méhaut (1993), who demonstrated the importance of taking into account not only initial education and training, but also continuing training within companies, which was at that time much more institutionalised in France than in Germany, because of a legal requirement for every company to fund continuing education for employees. But due to the institutional complementarities between a very elitist initial education and the hierarchical ('Taylorist') organisation of the companies, in France access to continuing training is very unequal, to the detriment of non-qualified people.

Extending the scope to the state role and the welfare regimes, Green (2006) characterise models of lifelong learning notably through three dimensions: the overall outputs of skills for the labour market; the distribution of these skills; the rates of participation in adult training. The model of the English-speaking countries provides a moderate aggregate level of skills with a high degree of polarisation and offers good opportunities in continuing training but is closely linked to the individual's initial levels of skills. In Nordic countries and notably in the Swedish social-democratic model, the high level of skills is associated with a narrow distribution while the prevalent adult education and training is often subsidised by the state. The social market model of North-Western continental European countries, particularly well established in the German-speaking countries, is distinguished by the remarkable prevalence of intermediate skills and a less developed adult education and training than in the Nordic countries. The French and Mediterranean model—with a marked internal heterogeneity—exhibits a medium level of skills with signs of polarisation and a comparatively low participation in adult education. Green's first typology also identifies a Japanese (East Asian) model in which in-company training is prevalent and is based on upgrading of the level of education of the workforce driven by the state. Green et al. (2006) link each cluster of countries to a societal configuration of social cohesion and inequalities, whether in the distribution of knowledge or in the quality of access to jobs and income: 'the comprehensive systems of the Nordic countries, with low levels of selection and ability grouping [of pupils inside the schools], produce relatively egalitarian outcomes compared with the countries in Liberal and Social Market models which have more school

diversity and ability-grouping (e.g. the UK) or selection by ability to secondary schools (particularly in German-speaking countries)' (Green and Mostafa 2013: 20).

*The 'Varieties of Capitalism' Approach: A Dualistic Vision
of Skills and Lifelong Learning*

Extending previous typologies of skill formation systems (see Finegold and Soskice 1988) and based on the institutionalism of rational choice, the comparative political economy approach known as 'varieties of capitalism' (Hall and Soskice 2001) focuses on the institutional arrangements which coordinate individual choices and company strategies. These 'credible commitments' are aimed at generating predictable social behaviours. Individuals seek to protect themselves from the risks of unemployment and downgrading of their investments in human capital (Estevez-Abe et al. 2001), while companies exploit dynamic capabilities to develop goods or services and derive profits from their sale. Liberal market economies—LMEs—the UK, the US, Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand) and coordinated market economies—CMEs—(Scandinavian countries, German-speaking countries, Japan and Korea) may be distinguished by the specific features of their modes of coordination: in the latter, young people know that it is not irrational to invest in specific or semi-specialised training, and companies, which expect comparative advantages from the skills thus produced, protect themselves from the risks of poaching. In liberal market economies, by contrast, acquiring general skills enables individuals to confront the uncertainties of the labour market and enables companies to redeploy themselves towards new productive strategies at lower costs.

Thus, the comparative approach through varieties of capitalism emphasises the structural relationship between the education and training arrangements and the economic structuring of the different kinds of capitalism, highlighting the links between the formation of skills and the dynamics of innovation (incremental versus radical). In addition, with the ideal type of coordinated market economies, it shows that employers' organisations, which are major actors in societal configurations, have every interest in cooperating with the trade unions and the state so as to have access to a workforce whose skills will be the source of a long-term comparative advantage in globalised markets.

Even if it remains an essential reference, this distinction (CMEs versus LMEs) has been the subject of much criticism. From a conceptual point of view, Streeck (2012) argues that it is rooted in a misunderstanding of the specific versus general skills distinction established by the human capital theory, as well as in a functionalist misconception of the relationship between politics and economy. On the basis of a new concept of institutional complementarities between training, industrial relations and labour market and welfare institutions, Busemeyer (2009) demonstrates the existence of three distinct skill regimes in CMEs: the segmentalist (firm-based) regime of Japan, the integrationist (school-based occupational) skill regime of Sweden and the differentiated

(workplace-based occupational) skill regime of Germany. Crouch et al. (2009) consider that the dynamics of institutional arrangements could allow for the emergence of autonomous subsystems at the sectoral or local level. Thus Culpepper (2003) shows why and how the successes and failures of new youth training schemes in France and the former East Germany may be explained by the quality of the territorialised networks appropriating the national rules. He emphasises the regional disparities tied to particular forms of adaptation of the national institutional framework. This research calls into question the pertinence of works that regard the national level as the reflection of a societal homogeneity.

Already in their seminal book (2001), Hall and Soskice recognised that Southern European countries are not readily ranged in one (CMEs) or the other (LMEs) category. The same observation can be made about the countries of Central and Eastern Europe.

*The Lifelong Learning Systems of Post-socialist Countries:
A Headache for the Comparativist Researcher?*

A first approach reveals a strong path dependence. Thus, the systems of Central European countries, historically linked to the Austro-Hungarian empire, are akin to the corporatist model; those of the Baltic countries, heavily influenced by the previous Soviet system, are characterised by a marked predominance of general education; those of Bulgaria and Romania appear close to the model that prevails in Southern Europe, but are still far from the French model with its tripartite regulation of continuing training.

But the intense liberalisation of the economy and society has changed the characteristics of these lifelong learning systems. Given the influence of multinational corporations and international organisations like the International Monetary Fund, some authors, in line with the varieties of capitalism approach, have identified a special type of capitalism: the ‘dependent market economy’ (Nölke and Vliegenhar 2009). Its comparative advantage is a well-educated and inexpensive workforce that, in the short term, does not encourage states to invest heavily in education and training. Bohle and Greskovits (2007) distinguish three variants in dependence vis-à-vis international interests: a clearly neoliberal one (Baltic countries), with an education system now differentiated by the penetration of market rules; a neoliberal type embedded in collective rules (Czech and Slovak Republics, Poland and Hungary); a neo-corporatist model in Slovenia, due to the involvement of the companies in initial and continuing training, which is explained not only by historical links with Austria, but even more by a political transition refusing abrupt deregulation and revitalising the achievements of the self-management period inherited from the former Yugoslavia (Crowley and Stanojevic 2011).

*Clusters of Countries: Overestimation of National Coherence,
Weak Analysis of Changes*

While the contribution of these various typologies to the understanding of lifelong learning systems is undeniable, the cases of Eastern and also Southern European countries exhibit two major difficulties. First, they tend to impose on each national model an assumed coherence that makes it difficult to understand the changes that cause them to evolve and sometimes reconfigure them, except by referring to exogenous causes—globalisation—and neglecting endogenous factors. This difficulty is even greater when, to increase the power of the ideal types, the analysis emphasises a primordial structuring dimension, for example, in the case of the ‘varieties of capitalism’, the employers’ strategies leading to incentivising rules that shape individual behaviours in education and training. In this particular case, the training system loses all autonomy vis-à-vis the structural choices of the employers’ organisations and must necessarily adapt to them. *A contrario* it could be argued that the education system is imbued with a dynamic that is specific to it—for example, an internal organisation designed to produce equality of outcomes, even if this keeps at arm’s length the employers’ preoccupations in terms of skills and qualifications.

Secondly, all these typologies are struggling to capture several factors which favour an increasing hybridisation of national lifelong learning systems. In a context of economic uncertainty and demands for effective public spending, these include the successive attempts of public policy and politics to respond to recurring educational and labour market challenges, especially the early school-leaver phenomenon, the failure of the school-to-work transition and long-term unemployment. Quite often, the reforms undertaken in the area of education and training draw their inspiration from (supposed) ‘successes’ developed within reference countries. Along the same lines, the transformations specific to general education lead to a repositioning of initial vocational training within young people’s study programmes because of their increasing access to higher education. Last of all, European education and training policies create a favourable context for hybridisation. Without imposing requirements, they organise the circulation of ideas and ‘good practices’ and encourage member states to undertake initiatives aimed at attaining the objectives jointly defined on the basis of the so-called Lisbon strategy and then the Europe 2020 strategy. The European approach leads member states to engage in reflexivity when, for one thing, considering European and international assessments (notably those of the OECD with the Programme for International Student Assessment, PISA) and, for another, drawing up the activity reports they prepare every 2 years to describe the actions aimed at fulfilling the joint objectives.

Socio-historical approaches develop comparisons by tracing the genesis and evolution of the national institutions, public issues and social categorisations at work. Applied to vocational training in national contexts, the historical institutionalism of Thelen (2004) brings out forms of change in order to understand, for instance, how the training for trades that prevailed within the

framework of guilds could be recycled to become a decisive resource for the rapid industrialisation that Germany underwent in the second half of the nineteenth century. Basically, considering that institutions are not only formal rules but also result from the interpretations and adaptive implementations that the actors make of them, Thelen shows that significant transformations can result from a gradual process of adaptation of institutions to realities. Streeck and Thelen (2005) conceptualised the different forms of this process into displacement, layering, drift and conversion. Recent works cast in this sociohistorical mould shed light on the conditions in which the German industry-oriented dual system was able during the 1990s to adapt to the accelerated mutations of globalised capitalism, the challenges of reunification and the emergence of a society in which service activities have taken a major role (Culpepper and Thelen 2008). But this approach is ‘more of a methodology for comparison than a cross country typology’ (Saar and Ure 2013: 71). By combining the ‘varieties of capitalism’ approach and the theory of power resources (Esping-Andersen 1999), Iversen and Stephens (2008) have provided a stimulating explanation of the emergence of different worlds of human capital formation. Resulting from the action of political coalitions, they are associated with the welfare state regimes for contributing to specific organisation of capitalism: the systems of Scandinavian countries with high levels of public investment in initial and continuing education supported by social-democratic coalitions; the systems of German-speaking countries with a dual system driven by employers (and social partners) predominantly influenced by Christian-Democratic coalitions; systems of liberal market economies with substantial private investment.

HOW TO CAPTURE THE HYBRIDISATION AND CHANGES OF EUROPEAN LIFELONG LEARNING SYSTEMS?

To explain the growing hybridisation in the context of the reforms of national systems, it is necessary to construct ideal types of lifelong regimes (and not types of countries clusters). In a second part of this section, we apply this grid to analyse the trajectories of several national lifelong learning systems during the last decades. We attempt to deal with the stimulating challenge proposed by Saar and Ure’s (2013) invitation ‘to develop a conceptual framework for the comparative analysis of education and skills formation systems’ (p. 73).

Five Ideal-Typical Regimes of Lifelong Learning

Each regime is identified mainly by the principles of justice informing the institutions responsible for its regulation. These principles underlie the legitimacy of the rules of each regime, all of which depend on various forms of justification (Boltanski and Thévenot 2006): vocation (*Beruf*), academic meritocracy, solidarity, utility of the service, transparency of the quality–price ratio. The regimes have been constituted on the basis of sociohistorical analyses of the

national systems in order to bring out the political principles which, at a given phase in their history, have spurred a reorganisation of education and training (see Busemeyer 2015 in this perspective). These ideal types are reconstructions of social and political trajectories in order to move beyond the tension between the diversity of particular historical occurrences and the general nature of these national evolutions. These regimes result from responses to a series of political issues. They express a coherent vision of choices in lifelong learning; it results in complementary characteristics, that are institutional (governance: role of private and public players notably for funding, degree of decentralisation; responsibility for qualification and competences-related risks: individual, collective choice or state, etc.), organisational (nature of the skills of young people: vocational versus general; provision of training: school-based vs dual-system vs on the job; degree of continuity between initial and further training etc.) and social (schemes compensating for initial inequalities vs rules for selection of individuals; accessibility of tertiary education and continuing training subsidised or not by the state etc.).

The five regimes can be grouped into two categories in terms of their linkages with market rules. Three of them are more or less based on ‘decommodification’ (Esping-Andersen 1990).² They are described as ‘academic’ (meritocracy), ‘corporatist’ (vocation) and ‘universal’ (solidarity), respectively. The other two are market-oriented but with different conventions, distinguishing ‘pure market competition’ (utility) and ‘organised market’ regimes (quality–price ratio).

They also decommodify education and training to varying degrees. The academic regime is built around a school-based competition among individuals, the fairness of which must be guaranteed by a public actor invested with incontestable political legitimacy (Duru-Bellat 1992). The corporatist regime relies on occupational identities sustained by individual commitment to a vocation, as well as on highly involved social actors (Streeck and Schmitter 1985). Due to their political commitment, the vocational training qualifications enjoy high social esteem and become the rules governing occupational labour markets (Eyraud et al. 1990). The universal regime is based on a principle of solidarity, which attempts to compensate at an early stage for inequalities stemming from a disadvantaged social environment (Wiborg 2009).

The other two lifelong learning regimes are market-oriented. Both of these regimes, the pure market competition regime and the one ‘organised’ around networks linking public and private actors, approach training in utilitarian terms. In the former, a price marks the successful matching of service supply and demand in the market of education and (further) training; in the latter, a quasi-market (Bartlett and Legrand 1993) plays a predominant role: its workings are subject to a body of rules intended to guarantee the transparency of quality–price relationships for all the protagonists.

In reality, each national system results from a compromise between several possible regimes, even if one of these ideal types may predominate. It is supported by specific coalitions of public and private actors. This societal

arrangement may be more or less sustainable depending on the endogenous social dynamics and capacity to cope with external changes.

The Evolution of European Lifelong Regimes: What Challenges?

The characterisation of each national system and its evolution relative to the five ideal types is based, first, on a body of information and analyses concerning the political principles, actors' logics, rules and instruments and, secondly, on a series of statistical indicators: a priori the presence of a particular regime should manifest itself in a specific (upward or downward) trend for each indicator. The latter are intended to describe several dimensions: access to the different levels and courses of education and training; internal selectivity of the education system and the pupils' level of achievement; expenditures in education; school-to-work transition; access to lifelong learning.

The interpretation of the indicators cannot be separated from an analysis of the institutional modalities through which national systems are organised and regulated, all the more so since no system is purely academic, corporatist, etc. The trends in the indicators must be correlated with the reforms implemented to account for the effectiveness of new hybrid forms.

This approach is put to the test by the transformations that have taken place in some national education and lifelong learning systems since the early 2000s, chosen for the emblematic places they occupy in the typologies available. Sweden has been selected because its education system is presented as typically social-democratic and is, moreover, embedded in a strongly redistributive welfare state (Esping-Andersen 1990). The German system is regarded as the flagship of a corporatist orientation underpinning a 'coordinated' variety of capitalism. Denmark is interesting in two respects: its model of 'flexicurity' has been strongly promoted by the European Commission on account of its capacity to prevent long-term unemployment, in particular through training; moreover, although embedded in a universal-style welfare state, its educational system makes strong use of training in apprenticeship. France is a priori the symbol of an academic and selective training of young people and has developed a model of lifelong learning based on a tax paid by employers, very rare in international terms. In the late 1990s the United Kingdom was the country in which a market system of education and lifelong training was most likely to be favoured by the reforms of the Conservative and then New Labour governments.

Of course, it would be interesting to select individual countries of Eastern Europe. Indeed, as shown by Bohle and Greskovits (2007), these countries experienced very profound changes in their transitions to market economies and it is evident that hybridisation processes have been and are still at work in their lifelong learning systems, in extremely variable modalities from one country to another, depending on the specific institutional legacies and the choices made by successive political coalitions. In the case of Slovenia, ultimately close to a corporatist regime, we have seen above how political compromises explain the

specificity of this societal trajectory. In contrast, it appears that a Baltic country like Estonia was able to move towards a system where the logic of the organised market predominates today, paradoxically because it relied on the achievements of communist universalism. Indeed, the latter is reflected in the high level of general education of the workforce, which made it more acceptable that the citizens become responsible for the development of their individual skills. What will happen to the next generation who will have been educated and trained in a system where market competition is strongly developed?

Sweden: Predominance of the Universal Regime but for How Long?

In the early 2000s, Sweden accumulated a set of features corresponding to a lifelong learning regime with a dominant *universal* orientation: high rates of access to the various levels of education and a low rate of early school leaving (13% against an EU21 average of 23%); modes of funding (lowest share of private expenditure on education: 3% for all levels of education against a European average of 7.9 and 14.8% in the British case)³ and organisation reflecting a political determination to channel the effects of the market, academic selection and corporatist closure; student performances generally less uneven than in comparable countries. All of these findings and practices are inseparable from the ‘individualised model of integration’ which means ‘integration through common objectives and differentiation of pathways’ (Mons 2007: 119). At upper secondary level, one of the basic objectives was to reduce as much as possible the gulf between vocational training and general education in order to offer all pupils access to higher education. Adult education is part of the public education system: a very dense network of public centres devoted to adult education (Abrahamsson 1999) limits disparities by qualification, gender and age. Public policies in training have been focused on less well-educated populations (Stenberg 2003). The differences in earned income by level of qualification were considerably lower than in Europe as a whole: amongst 25–34-year-olds, the earnings of Swedish people with tertiary education is 10% higher than for those with upper secondary education; for the EU21, this difference reaches 38%.

With the changes that have taken place in the last 10 years, the *universal* orientation of the system has been significantly weakened by the introduction of rules belonging to the *organised market* regime. Some characteristic features of *universalism* are still present: strong access to higher education, ‘second chance’ in education,⁴ a limited role for the private sector, etc. But the slippage of results in the OECD PISA test is striking, particularly as regards the increased proportion of young Swedes scoring poorly in reading literacy and mathematics (below level 2), which is now (2012) distinctly above the OECD average: 27.1% against 22.2% (17.3 versus 21.5% in 2000). This trend must be seen in relation to the reforms introduced by the conservative coalition in power from 2007 (Wiborg 2010), although they sometimes did no more than systematise measures introduced by the Social Democrats: education vouchers,

liberalisation of choice of school—clearly driven by an *organised market* logic—, reduced help for pupils in difficulty in the city suburbs, etc.

Germany: Predominant Corporatist Regime but a More Universal Obligatory School

Until the end of the 1990s, the predominant *corporatist regime* of branch-level ‘private governments’ (Hilbert and Weber, 1990) linked apprenticeship to occupational certifications. From the outset, the system has been based on a *market* in apprenticeship places which is itself highly regulated by quality standards set at federal level in the tripartite context of trade unions, business organisations and government. The predominance of corporatist regulation helps to explain (1) the low rate of youth (15–24-year-old) unemployment (in 2012, 8% against 23.1% for EU21 see OECD 2014a) maintained by this ‘regulated integration’ on the labour market (Garonna and Ryan 1991); (2) the stagnating rate of university graduates among the younger generation at a time when the increases were very rapid in many other European countries.⁵ Since the mid-1980s, the German-style ‘primacy of professional know-how’ has sought to integrate the growing versatility of competences by considerably diminishing the number of diplomas and accelerating the rate of curriculum revisions and creation of new qualifications (Bosch 2009). But while it remains attractive to young people, the dual system as a whole has faced increasing pressures from (1) the structural shortage of apprenticeship places at the expense of the 36% of young people exiting at best with a certificate from the shortest lower secondary programme (*Hauptschule*), or without any qualification at all; the issue is important in social terms given that in Germany, more than elsewhere, lack of qualification increases the risk of unemployment; (2) the erosion of promotion prospects for holders of qualifications acquired in the course of their careers in the continuity of their apprenticeship training. In addition, access to pre-elementary school was in 2000 still four points below the EU average and 25 points lower than in France (Salzbrunn 2007) (see Table 1).

As for the continuing training of the unemployed, recent reforms (Hartz IV) are clearly based on a regulation in *organised market* terms in order to favour a quick return to employment regardless of its quality. The upgrading training provided to the unemployed by federal agencies was sharply reduced (Bosch and Weinkopf 2008). The ‘PISA Shock’ (the poor results of young Germans in the first OECD PISA survey) which gave rise to debate among politicians, led to the introduction of both federal and regional retraining programmes for young people excluded from the dual system⁶ within a set of measures (improve teacher professionalism; subsidise all-day schools; merge the two vocational tracks of lower secondary; make the pre-school education system universal). Evidence of these efforts is the fact that per capita spending on pupils has more particularly risen in Germany, especially since 2008. Moreover, in the last decade, the improvement in the PISA scores of young Germans has been fairly spectacular: in mathematics they have moved from below to significantly above the OECD

Table 1 'Decommodified' LLL regimes

	<i>Corporatist</i>	<i>Academic</i>	<i>Universal</i>
Justice principle	Access to an occupational or craft community (vocation)	School-based merit system ('rank' and selection)	Compensation for initial inequalities ('solidarity' and social inclusion)
Conception of skills in initial education or training	Overall mastery of a trade or occupation	Education levels	Reconciliation of basic knowledge and practical skills
Certification	Recognised qualification	Certification by an academic authority	National diploma
Nature of programme	Contents determined by negotiation	Subject-based standards	Interaction between different kinds of knowledge
Area of recognition	Occupational labour market	Internal and hierarchical market	'Multi-transitional' labour market
Key actor in initial education or training	Company	Academic education institutions	Community of partners
Objective of initial education or training	Occupational rules	Indicators of abilities	Social citizenship
Main risk	Stigmatisation of those without qualifications	Sharp inequalities in schooling	Increased collective costs
Key actor in institutional regulation	Social partners at industry level	Educational institution	Public authorities
Continuing training objectives	Higher levels of occupational mastery	Short-term adaptation of skills	Social autonomy
Political responsibility for employability	Collective agreements at occupational branch level	Companies and public bodies	National tripartism
Funding of continuing training	Vocational training schools and individuals	Companies and employers' associations	Public agencies and mutual funds

average. The performances of young people with an immigrant background have significantly improved (see Table 2).

These various trends testify to a touch of *universalism* which does not call into question the coherence of a system which remains clearly *corporatist*. The results in terms of employment are excellent: unemployment has declined sharply for all levels of qualification and the proportion of NEETs (Not in Education, Employment or Training) is one third lower.

Table 2 Market LLL regimes

	<i>Market competition</i>	<i>Organised market</i>
Principle of justice	Utility of services provided	Fair price for quality
Objective of initial (vocational) education	Human capital	Social capital
Conception of skills in initial education and training	Meeting a demand (possibly on the job)	Portfolio of operational skills
Certification	Level of remuneration (matching)	Attestation of skills
Nature of programme	N/A (not available or inadequate)	Quality procedure
Area of recognition	Immediate transaction (spot market)	External 'organised' markets
Key actor in initial training	Individuals as consumers	'Guided' individuals
Main risk of failure	Under-investment in training	Inefficient incentives
Key actor in institutional regulation	Invisible hand	Public regulatory and accreditation agencies
Conception of continuing training	Utility of service provision	Diversified skills portfolio
Political responsibility and employability	Individuals	'Active' individuals and agencies
Funding	Direct payment or loans for individuals	Training vouchers, individual training accounts

Denmark, a Sustainable and Virtuous Compromise: The Good European Student?

The Danish model constitutes an original compromise between a historically *corporatist regime* and an increasingly *universal* one (Méhaut 2013). Formally, the share of apprenticeship is still high within upper secondary education (44% of students in 2012, 14% in EU21), but unlike the German case, it is associated neither with high rates of early school leaving nor with very unequal outcomes in the PISA evaluations, or obstacles to entering higher education. But taking into account the radical changes in apprenticeship based on reforms towards more comprehensive schooling in the 1980s, 'it is no longer possible to speak of 'apprenticeship' but rather of basic vocational training' (op. cit.: 102). Indeed, the share of private funding, in secondary and higher education alike, is quite limited, which reflects the *universal* principles defended by the state. The same is true for continuing education, funded essentially by the public authorities. This approach yields high rates of access to continuing training, whether it leads to certification or is directly related to the job⁷; it also turns out to be considerably more egalitarian than in OECD countries overall. This situation expresses the specific concept of *folkeoplysning* (literally 'popular enlightenment') which brings together 'personal development, the sense of community, education, vocational training and individual responsibility within the democratic process' (Meilland 2006).

Danish young people benefit from a system set up by the state to guarantee them broad financial independence, whether they are students or in employment, through two funding sources associating an allowance and earned income (van de Velde 2008).

Nonetheless, despite the generous budget allocation to education and training, some evolutions are disturbing. The school-to-work transition is facing a dramatic increase in NEET rates amongst 15–29-year-olds from 2000 (5.8%) to 2012 (12%). Initial training pathways are marked by the discrimination encountered by young people of non-EU origin in terms of access to and participation in apprenticeship (Wiborg and Cort 2010): it could be linked to the ‘very large performance gap between students born in Denmark and first-generation migrants, and even larger between those born in Denmark and second-generation migrants’⁸ (EC 2014c)—a big new challenge for a *universal* orientation that is still predominant.

France: An Uncertain Compromise Between Academic and Corporatist Regimes

The *academic* regime (‘everything is played out by age 25’, after which companies adapt individual skills to their needs, with the active support of the public authorities) is historically prominent. ‘French meritocracy’ is based on rigorous selection throughout the school career.⁹ The upper secondary cycle is structured around a three-way segmentation (vocational/technological/general) and although there has been undeniable progress, the democratisation of the education system is so ambiguous that some authors speak of ‘segregative democratisation’ (Duru-Bellat and Kieffer 2001). Access to higher education has significantly expanded and the proportion of graduates in the 25–34 age group is as high as in Sweden, but this is due to the development of short vocational degree programmes (France remains behind many European partners in terms of the proportion of graduates at Master’s or PhD level) and there has been no change in the predominance of the highly selective *Grandes écoles*, which still shape the ‘scholar gentry’ (analysed by Pierre Bourdieu). Indeed, the influence of social origin on PISA results is the highest among the OECD countries.

Nevertheless, in the course of 30 years of successive reforms which addressed youth unemployment, France’s educational policy has developed vocational certifications integrated into the hierarchy of general education levels while promoting alternating training in the form of apprenticeships or school-based programmes. In this respect, the creation of the vocational baccalaureate marked a major turning point. ‘Integrated vocationalism’ was thus developed as a compromise between, on the one hand, a *corporatist* regime and, on the other, the historically dominant *academic* one.

A form of channelling towards VET by default is still widely practised. The school-to-work transition phase is all the more risky for young people with low training levels (17% of exits without qualifications) who are forced to go back and forth between studies, odd jobs and unemployment (EC 2014b).

This transition remains marked by the chronic inability of the schemes to curb youth unemployment (23.6% in 2012, 20.6% in 2000).

Since 1971, continuing training has been run on a tripartite basis (government, trade unions and employers), which has made short courses more accessible to the most skilled employees (Verdier 1994). Thus the role of business in the organisation of training is predominant, but the rate of access to training during working life is less than half the European average and is very unequal. Three industry-wide agreements on ‘lifelong learning’ (2003, 2009 and 2014) have not really changed the situation, but they express the growing weight of a *corporatist* orientation strongly supported by the central state.

United Kingdom: A Complex Mix of Academic Elitism, Organised Market and Universal Principles

The British system is probably the one that has undergone the greatest transformations in the last 10 years. Within a regime that was *academic* (centred on ‘Oxbridge’) and secondly *corporatist* (with the former apprenticeships), Margaret Thatcher’s reforms promoted a *quasi-market* logic but one which was organised from the outset around standards for certification. The NVQs were the figurehead, in terms of both initial and continuing training, and the programmes themselves were thus left to the free initiative of the training providers. From 2000, moreover, the Labour government invested in the development of initial education and training within a ‘redistributive’ logic devoted to people without qualifications but within an ‘organised market’ logic. The aim is notably to reduce the proportion of young people who, at the end of compulsory schooling, find themselves unemployed, inactive, and outside of any training programme to the point of falling into social exclusion (European Commission 2014c). Various schemes like the 14–19 Strategy (ensuring that each young person finds a suitable study programme after compulsory schooling) to some extent reflect the emergence of a *universal* regime.

From this standpoint, the results have been unequal. On the one hand, the proportion of young people with a level of education below the second cycle of secondary schooling has strongly declined, bringing the UK up to the European average, while public investment has increased, even since 2008, with a view to providing a basic level of education for all pupils—with some success, as shown by the improved PISA scores of British youngsters; but, on the other hand, the fall in rates of schooling between the ages of 16 and 19 remains significantly higher than in neighbouring countries, while the proportion of NEETs among 15 to 29-year olds has remained stable and thus significantly above the European average (14.2% in 2000—7.9% in EU21; 16.3% in 2012—14.8% in EU21). In addition, the UK has a relatively low proportion of upper secondary students enrolled in initial vocational training and ‘in contrast with the wider EU trend, graduates in the UK have an employment rate that is 2.4% points lower than their counterparts from general education’ (European Commission 2014c: 4).

Moreover, ‘while the main activation programme for young people in the UK—the New Deal for Young People—has helped many youth return to work, sustainable employment outcomes have proved difficult to achieve’ (OECD 2009: 2). Under the coalition government (2010–2015), the role of charitable foundations and private entities in providing services to NEETs was developed.

In a general way, the UK differs from other European countries in the very high proportion of private expenditure in overall education spending—two and a half times as great—a gap which widened significantly during the 2000s (7 points in 2000, 14.5 points in 2012). It is spectacular as regards higher education (70% private expenditure as against 21% for the European Union). This British specificity testifies to the weight of the rules of the *organised market* regime in the functioning of the educational system.¹⁰ But it has to be borne in mind that the repayment of the loans that British students take out is underwritten by the state (which protects against personal bankruptcies). The effectiveness of this arrangement is undeniable, since the proportion of graduates among 25–34-year-olds has risen by 20 points and is now significantly above the European average. There is a similar configuration in lifelong learning, since the rate of returns to education among 30–39-year-olds has remained significantly higher than in Germany and France, thanks to a mix of private resources and public aid, although lower than in clearly universalist countries.

CONCLUSION

Analysis of national systems of education and lifelong learning in terms of regimes confirms that the typologies shaped by clusters lead to an overestimation of the social homogeneity of national systems. They do not spring from a single logic: not only does each of these prove to be the result of historically constructed compromises between ideal type regimes, but the analysis of their evolutions often reveals a growing complexity of their societal configurations, even if not of equal magnitude. In Europe, the last quarter century has seen a growing hybridisation of national training systems.

Among the countries examined, Denmark has seen the construction over a long period of an original compromise between universal and corporatist learning regimes. Until the end of the 1990s, the Swedish system saw a strong convergence of vocational training and general education curricula, manifesting a growing universalism; however, the conservative governments have amplified the logic of an ‘organised market’ within general education. Can we say that the Swedish system remains firmly rooted in a universal logic (Saar and Ure 2013). In Germany, the changes have so far been more limited: the corporatist oriented system has been able to adapt to the general trends; in the future, the increased proportion of young people going into higher education will very probably present a new challenge that the Swiss and Danish systems have already faced (see Méhaut 2013 for the latter). In France, the academic regime remains predominant, but reforms have set up an original system, called ‘integrated vocationalist’, superimposing vocational certifications of different levels,

including higher education: it could be fruitful to compare this trajectory with the specific evolutions of the Dutch and Italian systems, in which the academic regime is important (Méhaut 2013). In the UK, the last decade has given rise to substantial public-private investment in compulsory schooling, which is a mix of both organised universal and organised market inspirations. Ireland seems to be developing a more universal oriented policy (OECD 2014b). In the perspective of systematic comparisons of societal trajectories, there is no doubt that the countries of Eastern Europe are a very exciting field of investigation, given the rapid commodification of education.

Finally, if there is convergence in Europe, it is mainly in the trend towards a growing hybridisation of national systems that is favoured by European strategies. In this perspective, for at least two reasons, the approach in terms of lifelong learning regimes based on principles of justice could effectively challenge ‘the assumption that institutional configurations are relatively stable’ and enable us to ‘analyse the underlying tensions in LLL systems’ (Saar and Ure 2013: 74):

- Unlike approaches that refer to the action of political coalitions, it takes into account the principles of action actually at work—and not formal political labels that increasingly overlap ambiguous practices;
- It is not limited to the internal coherence of national systems but takes into account the circulation of reform ideas from one country to another but also from supranational organisations to their member states.

NOTES

1. Some sentences are clearly representative of this inspiration: In this context, individuals become the principal constructor of their own abilities (p. 14); By diversifying education provision, building bridges between various channels, increasing preoccupational experience and by opening up the potential for mobility as widely as possible, people can build up and build on their level of employability and better control their career (p. 14); This link between paper qualification and status, however logical it may be, accentuates the internal lack of flexibility of the labour market (p. 15); It also implies an independent assessment of training, i.e. an assessment made outside the education system. This assessment should be simple, establish a ranking and make clear comparisons (p. 20).
2. Decomodification refers to activities and efforts (generally by government) that reduce individuals’ reliance on the market and their labour for their well-being.
3. And a slight difference between individual expenditure on higher education and that on primary schools.
4. In Sweden, in 2012, 14% of 30–39-year-olds are in education against 5.7% for all OECD countries.
5. The rate of tertiary education graduates amongst 25–34-year-olds increased from 22% in 2000 to 29% in 2012 in Germany, and from 24 to 37% in the EU21.

6. Under the neo-corporatist coordination of the training pact formed between the government and social partners (*Ausbildungspakt*) (see European Commission 2014a).
7. In 2012, 9% of 30–39-year-olds are in education, 6% in OECD; the participation rate in continuing training is 66% in Denmark, 51% in EU21.
8. It refers mainly to the children of immigrants from outside the EU.
9. In 2012, 28.4% of students repeated a grade in primary, lower or upper secondary school versus 13.3% in the OECD (respectively, 39.5% and 13.8% in 2000).
10. It would be necessary to take into account the devolution of competences to the governments of the four constituent nations of the UK: their respective public policies are becoming increasingly divergent even if England's must remain the dominant influence.

REFERENCES

- Abrahamsson, K. (1999). *Vocational education and training in Sweden*. Thessaloniki: Cedefop.
- Allmendiger, J. (1989). Educational systems and labour outcomes. *European Sociological Review*, 5(3), 231–250.
- Bartlett, W., & Legrand, J. (1993). The theory of quasi-markets. In W. Bartlett & J. Legrand (Eds.), *Quasi-markets and social policy*. Houndmills: Macmillan Press.
- Bassanini, A., Booth, A., Brunello, G., De Paole, M., & Leuven, E. (2007). Workplace training in Europe. In G. Brunello, P. Garibaldi, & E. Wasmer (Eds.), *Education and training in Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bohle, D., & Greskovits, B. (2007). The state, internationalization, and capitalist diversity in eastern Europe. *Competition and Change*, 11(2), 90–115.
- Boltanski, L., & Thévenot, L. (2006). *On justification: Economies of worth*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bosch, G. (2009). The revitalization of the dual system of vocational training in Germany. In G. Bosch & J. Charest (Eds.), *Vocational training. International perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Bosch, G., & Weinkopf, C. (2008). *Low-wage in Germany*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Bosch, G., & Charest, J. (Eds.). (2009). *Vocational training. International perspectives*. New York: Routledge.
- Buechtemann, C., Schupp, J., & Soloff, D. (1993). Roads to work: School-to-work transition patterns in Germany and the US. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 24(2), 97–111.
- Busemeyer, M. (2009). Asset specificity, institutional complementarities and the variety of skill regimes in coordinated market economies. *Socio-Economic Review*, 7(3), 375–406.
- Busemeyer, M. R. (2015). *Skills and inequality: Partisan politics and the political economy of education reforms in western welfare states*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crouch, C., Schröder, M., & Voelzkow, H. (2009). Regional and sectoral varieties of capitalism. *Economy and Society*, 38(4), 654–678.
- Crowley, S., & Stanojevic, M. (2011). Varieties of capitalism, power resources, and historical legacies: Explaining the Slovenian exception. *Politics & Society*, 39(2), 268–295.
- Culpepper, P. (2003). *Creating cooperation—How states develop human capital in Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

- Culpepper, P., & Thelen, K. (2008). Institutions and collective actors in the provision of training: Historical and cross-national comparisons. In K.-U. Mayer & H. Solga (Eds.), *Skill formation, interdisciplinary and cross-national perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dumas, A., Méhaut, P., & Olympio, N. (2013). From Upper Secondary to Further Education: European Models of Post-Compulsory Learning. In J. G. Janmaat, M. Duru-Bellat, A. Green & P. Méhaut (Eds.), *The Dynamics and Social Outcomes of Education Systems*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 46–69.
- Duru-Bellat, M. (1992). Evaluer les trajectoires sociales à l'aune de la méritocratie. *Savoir*, 3, 453–468.
- Duru-Bellat, M., & Kieffer, A. (2001). La démocratisation de l'enseignement en France: polémiques autour d'une question d'actualité. *Population*, 55(1), 51–80.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1990). *The three worlds of welfare capitalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Esping-Andersen, G. (1999). *The Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Estevez-Abe, M., Iversen, T., & Soskice, D. (2001). Social protection and the formation of skills: A reinterpretation of the welfare state. In P. Hall & D. Soskice (Eds.), *Varieties of capitalism—The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- European Commission. (2014a). European training monitor Germany. Retrieved October 4, 2015, from http://ec.europa.eu/education/tools/docs/2014/monitor2014-de_en.pdf.
- European Commission. (2014b). European training monitor Denmark. Retrieved October 4, 2015, from http://ec.europa.eu/education/tools/docs/2014/monitor2014-dk_en.pdf.
- European Commission. (2014c). European training monitor United Kingdom. Retrieved October 4, 2015, from http://ec.europa.eu/education/tools/docs/2014/monitor2014-uk_en.pdf.
- Eyraud, F., Marsden, D., & Silvestre, J.-J. (1990). Occupational and internal labour markets in Great-Britain and France. *International Labour Review*, 129(4), 501–517.
- Finegold, D., & Soskice, D. (1988). The failure of training in Britain: Analysis and prescription. *Oxford Review of Economic Policy*, 4(3), 21–53.
- Garonna, P., & Ryan, P. (1991). The regulation and deregulation of youth economic activity. In P. Garonna, P. Ryan & R. Edwards (Eds.), *The problem of youth: The regulation of youth employment and training in advanced economies*. London: Macmillan.
- Géhin, J.-P., & Méhaut, P. (1993). *Apprentissage ou formation continue? Stratégies éducatives en Allemagne et en France*. Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Green, A. (1991). The reform of post-16 education and training and the lessons from Europe. *Journal of Education Policy*, 6(3), 327–339.
- Green, A. (2006). Models of lifelong learning and the 'Knowledge society'. *Compare*, 36(3), 307–325.
- Green, A., & Mostafa, T. (2013). The dynamics of education systems: Convergent and divergent trends. In J.-G. Janmaat, M. Duru-Bellat, A. Green & P. Méhaut (Eds.), *The dynamics and social outcomes of education systems*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Green, A., Preston, J., & Janmaat, J. G. (2006). *Education, equality and social cohesion: A comparative analysis*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Greinert, W.-D. (2004). European vocational training 'Systems'—Some thoughts on the theoretical context of the historical development. *European Journal of Vocational Training*, 32(1), 18–25.
- Janmaat, J.-G., Duru-Bellat, M., Green, A., & Méhaut, P. (Eds.). (2013). *The dynamics and social outcomes of education systems*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hall, P., & Soskice, D. (Eds.). (2001). *Varieties of capitalism—The institutional foundations of comparative advantage*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hamilton, S., & Hurrelmann, K. (1993). School-to-work transition in Germany and the United States. *Teachers College Record*, 96, 329–344.
- Hilbert, J., Südmersen, H., & Weber, H. (1990). *Berufsbildungspolitik—Geschichte, organisation, neuordnung*. (Editions Opladen).
- Iversen, T., & Stephens, J. (2008). Partisan politics, the welfare state and 3 worlds of human capital formation. *Comparative Political Studies*, XXXI, 600–637.
- Lynch, L. (1993). The Economics of Youth Training in the United States. *The Economic Journal* 103 (420): 1292–1302.
- Maurice, M., Sellier, F., & Silvestre, J.-J. (1986). *The social foundations of industrial power: A comparison of France and Germany*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- Méhaut, P. (2013). Formal or actual convergence? Three cases of hybridisation. In J.-G. Janmaat, M. Duru-Bellat, A. Green & P. Méhaut (Eds.), *The dynamics and social outcomes of education systems*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Meilland, C. (2006). Danemark: la formation continue des adultes, instrument de politique de l'emploi et enjeu des négociations collectives. *Chroniques internationales de l'IRES*, 101, 23–29.
- Mons, N. (2007). *Les nouvelles politiques éducatives. La France fait-elle les bons choix?* Paris: PUF.
- Nölke, A., & Vliegenthart, A. (2009). Enlarging the varieties of capitalism: The emergence of dependent market economies in east central Europe. *World Politics*, 61(4), 670–702.
- OECD. (2009). *Jobs for youth, United Kingdom*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2014a). *Education at a glance 2014*. Paris: OECD.
- OECD. (2014b). 'Country note Ireland', *education at a glance 2014*. Paris: OECD.
- Prais, S., & Wagner, K. (1985). Schooling standards in England and Germany. *National Institute Economic Review*, 112, 53–76.
- Prais, S. (1989). Qualified Manpower in Engineering: Britain and other Industrially Advanced Countries. *National Institute Economic Review* n°127, 76–83.
- Radaelli, C. (2001). The domestic impact of European Union public policy: Notes on concepts methods, and the challenge of empirical research. *Politique européenne*, 5, 107–142.
- Saar, E., Ure, B.-O., & Holford, J. (2013). Introduction. In E. Saar, B.-O. Ure, & J. Holford (Eds.), *Lifelong learning in Europe: National patterns and challenges*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Saar, E., & Ure, B.-O. (2013). Lifelong learning systems: Overview and extension of different typologies. In E. Saar, B.-O. Ure, & J. Holford (Eds.), *Lifelong learning in Europe: National patterns and challenges*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Salzbrunn, M. (2007). Entre autonomie et insertion. Les grands dispositifs de la politique de la jeunesse et de la famille en Allemagne. *Horizons Stratégiques*, Avril, 43–69.
- Shavit, Y., & Müller, W. (1998). *From school to work. A comparative study of educational qualifications and occupational destinations*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Solga, H. (2014). Education, economic inequality and the promises of the social investment state. *Socio-Economic Review*, 12(2), 269–298.
- Stenberg, A. (2003). ‘An evaluation of the adult education initiative relative labor market training,’ doktorsavhandling, *Ekonomiska studier* No. 609, Nationalekonomiska institutionen, Umeå universitet.
- Streeck, W. (2012). Skills and politics: General and specific. In M. Busemeyer & C. Trampusch (Eds.), *The political economy of collective skill formation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Streeck, W., & Schmitter, P. C. (1985). Community, market, state—and associations? The prospective contribution of interest governance to social order. In W. Streeck & P. C. Schmitter (Eds.), *Private interest government: Beyond market and state*. London: Sage.
- Streeck, W., & Thelen, K. (2005). Introduction: Institutional change in advanced political economies. In W. Streeck & K. Thelen (Eds.), *Beyond continuity: Explorations in the dynamics of advanced political economies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Thelen, K. (2004). *How institutions evolve: The political economy of skills in Germany, Britain, The United States and Japan*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Van de Velde, C. (2008). *Devenir adulte. Sociologie comparée de la jeunesse en Europe*. Paris: PUF.
- Verdier, E. (1994). Training and enterprise in France. *International Journal of Manpower*, 15(5), 38–54.
- Wiborg, S. (2009). *Education and social integration: Comprehensive schooling in Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Wiborg, S. (2010). Swedish Free Schools: Do they work? *LLAKES Research Paper* 18, <http://www.llakes.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/Wiborg-online.pdf>.
- Wiborg, S., & Cort, P. (2010). The vocational education and training system in Denmark. In G. Bosch & J. Charest (Eds.), *Vocational training. international perspectives*. New York: Routledge.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Éric Verdier is Research Professor at the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) and Aix-Marseille University (Industrial Relations and Sociology of Work). His work deals with the policies of Lifelong learning systems in Europe and Maghreb. His latest publication in 2016 is “The social conventions of guidance as a major component of Lifelong learning systems. A French-Danish-British comparison” in E. Berner and P. Gonon (Eds.), *History of Vocational Education and Training in Europe: Cases, Concepts and Challenges*. Bern: Peter Lang, 29–44.

The Mediterranean: Adult Education Landmarks

Peter Mayo

Abstract This chapter addresses the Mediterranean basin as not simply a geographical space but a cultural–political construct. While some project the Mediterranean in a manner reflects a colonial and Eurocentric worldview, others see it as part of ‘the South’. By providing an overview of adult education provision in this heterogeneous region, Mayo seeks to place ‘Adult Education in the Mediterranean’ on the international educational map—in line with other regions of the world (e.g. Latin America).

INTRODUCTION

The Mediterranean basin is not simply a geographical space but a cultural–political construct. Some project the Mediterranean in a manner that reflects a colonial and Eurocentric worldview. Others describe the region in a different manner, according to its features that are characteristic of what can broadly be termed ‘the South’, including parts of the ‘Global South’. This chapter attempts to provide an overview of adult education provision in this recognised heterogeneous region in line with the literature on similar provision in other regions of the world (e.g. Latin America). This chapter is meant to contribute, albeit in the form of an encyclopaedic overview, to placing ‘Adult Education in the Mediterranean’ on the international education map.

P. Mayo (✉)

Department of Arts, Open Communities & Adult Education,
University of Malta, Msida, Malta
e-mail: peter.mayo@um.edu.mt

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_25

485

WHY ADULT EDUCATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN?

As this chapter will show, the Mediterranean is rich in adult education experiences, many of which being grassroots-based. There is a mixture of Northern-European imposed forms of lifelong learning, which of course do not necessarily occur ‘on the ground’ in a monolithic manner, and others that arose directly from different communities and the specific struggles they sought to confront. Some of these experiences stand out for their originality, popular appeal and contextual rootedness, their collective dimension of learning, and, I would argue, conditioning by the kind of climatic and cultural features found throughout the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, save for a few isolated instances (Wain 1985; Mayo et al. 2003; Caruana and Mayo 2004; Mayo 2005), this region is given lip service in the adult education literature, especially that which is available in English.

It is well-nigh impossible to be exhaustive in a survey such as this. I will, therefore, focus on a selection of countries on the basis of material available in the literature at hand and first-hand experience of having visited, carried out workshops (e.g. Palestine) and taught in some of them, Italy and Spain in particular (I have also taught in Cyprus and Turkey to which passing references are made—see note 11). The countries from Europe I draw upon are Italy, Spain, the former Yugoslavia and Portugal. In *strictu sensu* Portugal lies on the Atlantic but flanks Spain within the Iberian Peninsula and shares a ‘Mediterranean climate and culture’; these two features are to be defined shortly. As for the Middle East and North Africa (MENA), I draw on Palestine, Israel, Egypt, Syria and Libya.

THE MEDITERRANEAN

The Mediterranean is an almost landlocked sea ‘ringed round by mountains’, as we are reminded by the French *Annales* historian, Fernand Braudel (Braudel 1972: 26). It lies between Southern Europe, North Africa and Southwest Asia. The area surrounding the sea, comprising the water itself, is generally referred to as the Mediterranean Region (Mayo 2005: 395). It consists of no less than 23 countries, if one includes the disputed state of Palestine and the Northern Republic of Cyprus, the latter territory having been under Turkish occupation since 1974 and recognised as a national state only by Turkey. The number can rise to 24 if one also includes Portugal. Furthermore, there are also surrounding territories such as the British overseas outpost, Gibraltar, recently even gaining recognition as a national entity in areas such as sports, notably football (it has joined UEFA and FIFA and participates in their competitions for national teams).

MEDITERRANEAN AS CONSTRUCT?

Braudel (1972) highlights ‘climate’, what is generally referred to as a ‘Mediterranean climate’, with its ramifications for forms of cultural production and rhythms of life, as a factor that establishes a certain ‘uniformity’: ‘...it is of great importance that the Mediterranean complex should have taken its rhythm from the uniform band of climate and culture at its centre, so distinctive that the adjective “Mediterranean” is usually applied (Braudel 1972: 231)...Everywhere can be found the same eternal trinity: wheat, olives and vines, born of the climate and history, in other words an identical agricultural civilization, identical ways of dominating the environment’ (Braudel 1972: 236). This climate, a particular variant of the subtropical one, shared with other places such as California and Chile, is characterised by warm to hot and dry summers and mild to cool and wet winters. It helped generate a certain affinity regarding ways of life: same climate, same vegetation, same colours and often similar landscapes (Braudel 1972: 235). The climatic effects on cultural production have much to do with factors such as tempo, taste and rhythm. Food (heart-healthy olive oil, protein-rich legumes, fish and whole grains with moderate amounts of wine and red meat, etc.) is often deemed the main exemplar of cultural production. One ought to remark, however, that the variety of cuisines throughout the Mediterranean renders it difficult and erroneous to essentialise with respect to a ‘Mediterranean diet’.¹

Of course, developments in the course of history, such as the advent of European colonialism, with its deep-rooted legacies in the Southern Mediterranean, despite its earlier, often contradictory presence² in parts of the Northern area, or entry into the European Union, engendered a certain form of hybridisation. This occurred through impositions of rhythms of life and work *prima facie* extraneous to those traditionally associated with the region. The Northern and Central European perception would be reflected in bland, often racist, stereotypes of the Southern ‘other’, whether Southern European or Arab.

Many countries adapted to absorb aspects of this external conditioning alongside those that are in keeping with the area’s climatic conditions. For instance, while Mediterranean countries would absorb new rhythms of work, they would jealously guard traditional features of everyday life such as periodic (especially afternoon) rests (e.g. the Spanish ‘siesta’) and other forms of slowing down the tempo of work.

The context surrounding the Mediterranean has also called for special treatment of this geopolitical area, which, one ought to note, suffered a gradual decline after 1492, becoming to some extent a backwater—the Suez Canal and Middle-Eastern and North-African oil somewhat altered the situation. Historically, however, the Mediterranean offered possibilities for strategic control for which several powers vied against each other. Despite constituting one huge ‘bazaar’ where ‘exchange’ of all sorts took place (Braudel 1972), the Mediterranean was, for centuries, a theatre for confronting armies and fleets which also left their indelible mark on the surrounding countries’ culture.

Conflicts raised issues about the Mediterranean's importance as an area of strategic concern, on the doorstep of a Europe still reeling from the effects of two devastating World Wars and seeking stability and security through all kinds of means - military, diplomatic and cultural. The potential for conflict gradually rendered the Mediterranean an important focus of international relations. The region slowly began to gain recognised geopolitical importance, with the watershed probably being the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which called for cooperation and dialogue, with non-member states from the Mediterranean, to work towards disarmament and reduction of conflicts in the region. Thanks to the Helsinki accords, the Mediterranean began to make inroads into the diplomatic, international relations arena which had hitherto been dominated by the East-West conflict.³

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE MEDITERRANEAN: A BROAD SWEEP

In this section, focusing on different regions, I shall be providing an overview of adult education provision in the Mediterranean primarily from a historical but also a contemporary perspective. I have organised the material around the North-South dimension, also giving specific importance in the former case to the Eastern dimension. I will highlight the influence of key practitioners and thinkers, notably in the North Mediterranean section and movements. The discussion on the Southern Mediterranean places less emphasis, with the exception of Israel, on personalities and movements and greater stress on issues such as literacy, religion and the role of the State. This overview is intended to highlight those aspects of adult education, in thought and practice, which stand out in various parts of the Mediterranean. Some countries have furnished us with key figures, movements and projects. Others have furnished us with projects and issues. To date, however, few personalities and movements stand out in the field. This explains the different emphases in the discussion of adult education in different parts of the Mediterranean. There is room for further research to possibly highlight hitherto unheralded movements and personalities, in adult education, from certain areas of the region. This also explains the variations in depth of analysis in this paper. Some countries and regions of the Mediterranean are given greater consideration than others because of the impact some of their key figures and projects have had on the field.

North-West Mediterranean

It would not be amiss to say that this region tends to attract the bulk of attention in the available adult education literature. It foregrounds important figures. One of these is Antonio Gramsci (1891–1937), one of the founders of the Italian Communist Party whose ideas seem to have become *de rigueur* for discussions on radical adult education (see Coben 1998; Mayo 1999, 2015), especially with regard to issues concerning language, citizenship and workers'

education/learning. He also becomes very relevant, like his compatriot don Lorenzo Milani (Batini et al. 2014), with regard to learning to read history ‘against the grain’, although, as elsewhere, one should not overlook the presence of people/communities who have their own way of interpreting historical events, very different from mainstream historical narratives (see Levi 2006).

Gramsci attached importance to adult education within the context of his overall vision of an ‘intellectual and moral reform’ that can bring about change rooted in popular consciousness. It plays an important part in the workings of hegemony itself, every relationship of which is regarded by Gramsci as a pedagogical relationship. Of importance here are strategies gleaned from his writings in the *Quaderni del Carcere* and his incomplete piece on the Southern question, especially with regard to learning to avoid false alliances with people having different class interests (Mayo 2015). This has implications for a more extended view of the Southern Question today in the context of large-scale migration within and across ‘both sides’ of the Mediterranean ‘divide’ (Augustin and Jørgensen 2016).

Ettore Gelpi (1933–2002) is another prominent figure from Italy who has, in his later years, dealt with this and other themes. He helped direct the Lifelong Education Unit at UNESCO in Paris, a unit which placed tremendous focus on third world approaches to learning, especially through non-formal means, involving popular education and indigenous knowledge. Gelpi and others represented lifelong learning as it is rather than as they hoped it would be, based on the recognition that ‘learning societies’ exist in every community, country and region of the world. Included are the various Mediterranean countries, districts or areas, which need to be studied with a view to cross-cultural learning and reinvention (Gelpi 2002). Italy has, of course, furnished us with other important figures for a democratic approach to adult education, notably the anti-fascist peace educator, Aldo Capitini. He is well known in Italy for his efforts at setting up, in the post-War era, in the context of de-Nazification, centres of social orientation (Centri di Orientazione Sociale—COS) to help generate ‘Omnicrazia’, a democracy *for, with* and *by* everyone, meant to be developed from below. These centres, founded in 1944, originated in Perugia, soon after the city’s liberation from Nazi-Fascist rule. They eventually extended their reach to territories beyond⁴ Umbria including cities such as Ferrara.

The term ‘education’ is here being used in its widest sense possible to include activities in the social field that always have a learning dimension. The same applies to the COS. Aldo Capitini was twice guest at the internationally famous School of Barbiana founded and directed by Don Lorenzo Milani (1921–1967) in Tuscany. Don Milani is one of the key radical figures in the history of Italian pedagogy. Largely well known for his work among the ‘Gianni bocciati’ (the failed Gianni) at Barbiana, he became relevant for a discussion on adult education through documentation of his work in the formation of youth and adults, industrial workers and farmers, at San Donato di Calenzano (Simeone 1996). In his San Donato work, he incurred the wrath of the local power brokers because

of his arguably major adult education contribution, the Friday conference held at the non-confessional school he helped develop. This conference brought together people on both sides of the economic divide, employers and workers, landowners and peasants, to thrash out issues of public import (Simeone 1996: 99).

Likewise, in Sicily, Danilo Dolci (1924–1997) engaged in community mobilisation and action in a Mafia-dominated region. Gandhi-inspired, Dolci made a great contribution to thinking and practice in education, social organisation and activism tied to the realities and cultures in a specific territory with its power dynamics and challenges, not least coming to terms with the conventional ‘patron–client’ relationship (Davis 1977; Gellner and Waterbury 1977), whereby people show deference to those in a position of power and, in doing so, gain access to resources (Davis 1977: 132). This relationship is said to be pervasive throughout the Mediterranean. Dolci inspired different means of collective mobilisations comprising ‘hunger strikes’, leading by example to draw attention to terrible social situations. These included lack of housing, following an earthquake, owing to the state’s failure to honour promises made—a manifestation of the ‘weak state’ said to be typical of the Mediterranean region (Sultana 1995: iv). He also inspired such actions, among the unemployed, as the famous ‘sciopero alla rovescia’ (reverse strike): unemployed persons engaged in infrastructural projects without being called upon to do so by the authorities or such influential people as building contractors (Castiglione 2004; Barone 2004).

If we move to Spain, we will encounter several documented popular educational activities. There were experiments in community theatre as the *La Barraca* (the Shack) project which even extended its activities to Harlem in New York City and which were directed and led by then Granada-born law student, Federico Garcia Lorca, one of Andalucía’s and Spain’s greatest poets and playwrights. *La Barraca* formed part of the several educational missions, including popular education missions, generated by the Second Republic (Otero-Urtaza 2011) with its emphasis on education, health and land reform. This brought its key figures into confrontation with powerful traditional elites in Spanish history, notably the *Latifundisti* (landowners), dominant sectors of the Church and all those set on maintaining the status quo. Lorca paid the ultimate price. Thousands of teachers, trained during the Second Republic in a widespread programme of teacher education, lost their lives during the Civil War as part of an anti-leftist *limpieza* (cleansing). Violence and terror occurred on both sides with the Blue terror (Francoist) reported to far exceed the Red terror (Iglesias 2005). A thousand other teachers lost their jobs in the Civil War’s aftermath. They were often replaced, between 1939–1975, by nuns, priests, Falangists and Opus Dei members. This is the scenario against which educators, including popular educators in adult education, operated at the time.

Examples of progressive Spanish adult education, including ones focusing on this horrific chapter in Spanish history, abound today. One can point to the

collective ‘history from below’ project held at the Manolo Reyes School in Seville’s Barriada ‘Las Aguilas’ district (English and Mayo 2012: 137). It concerns memories of the Civil War and the Franco years of rule. This is still taboo especially among members of the older generation, many of whom, I have been told, still whisper political issues cautiously not to be heard by neighbours.

Other progressive adult education projects include the ‘rural university’ set up to address the demographic imbalances resulting from migration to the coastal areas. This migration flow has deleterious effects on the rural hinterland. The *Escuela de Campesinos* in Avila and other places plays an important role here. Seville also played host to a ‘reinvented’ concept from Latin America and especially Brazil—learning for participation in the Participatory Budget (*Presupuestos Participativos*). Members of the adult education programme at the University of Seville played an important role in this project (Lucio-Villegas 2004; CIMAS 2006). This is a case of countries on the Northern side of the Mediterranean adopting a ‘semi-peripheral’ role. They serve as a link, in sociologist’s Boaventura de Sousa Santos’ terms, between centres and periphery, though not in the conventional manner. The move is from periphery to semi-periphery rather than vice versa, although nothing is completely unidirectional when it comes to cultural flows.

Like Spain, Portugal can also be said to have played an inverse ‘semi-peripheral role’ through education. The famous 1974 ‘Revolution of the Carnations’ which brought an end to the Salazar–Caetano dictatorial era was followed by a flourishing of cultural activities and education, in the spirit of popular education, thus attesting to the ‘peripheral’ influence of Latin America. Some important modifications were, however, documented in the existing literature; as always one must allow for what is contextually specific. The idea of a mass literacy campaign on the Cuban model was first mooted. After the removal of the ‘leftist’ elements from power in the period July to November 1975, it was abandoned (Melo 1985: 41). Literacy education was also played down, incorporated into a broader project intended to initially highlight what the people ‘had in abundance... popular culture, the people’s own store of knowledge, their oral and manual skills, in short, their own living culture’ (Melo 1985: 42–43) rather than what they lacked—eschewing the ‘deficit model’.

Despite the Latin American influence, especially that of Brazilian Paulo Freire, there were ‘clampdowns’ by even democratic governments in the area of popular education. In a report for the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), Agneta Lind and Anton Johnston refer to a Freire-inspired state-sponsored programme being planned and carried out following the revolution and the country’s transition to civilian rule. They, however, refer to the fact that the national directors in question were suspended, in 1976, because of the State-sponsored programme’s ‘political implication of action or potential action against the government’ (Lind and Johnston 1986: 61).

East Mediterranean

One important former East Mediterranean country, Yugoslavia enjoyed a prominent role in adult education or 'andragogy'. The latter seems to be the more popular term in this now regional context comprising countries such as Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Bosnia–Herzegovina, Kosovo, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and Montenegro, all having formed part of the former Mediterranean country, Yugoslavia.⁵ The self-management experiments in the former Yugoslavia, introduced under the leadership of the country's war hero, Marshall Josip Broz Tito, led to an array of adult learning institutions. Stipe Tonkovic wrote that 'ownership of the means of production should be neither private nor state, but *'social'*, managed by workers themselves' (Tonkovic 1985: 135). Self-management constitutes an alternative approach to management requiring sound educational preparation.

Education for self-management has been defined as 'education which animates, stimulates, and prepares workers for decision-making, develops their critical attitudes and analytical faculties, and encourages them to seek change and improvement' (English and Mayo 2012: 91). It entailed the use of the case study method and criticism of unfeasible solutions and wrong behaviour and attitudes (Tonkovic 1985: 141). Summer schools, lectures, debating groups and evening course programmes were held.

There was criticism on the grounds that education for self-management was ideological in character, addressing issues concerning the Communist Party and its ideology rather than management and professional approaches. Others would point to the fact that this programme raised the whole population's educational level. In the early post-war period (1945–1950) no less than 2,324,158 people learnt to read and write. Around 1000 people's universities were opened throughout the country (Samolovčev 1985: 47).

Adult education made its mark throughout the former Yugoslavia in the context of this approach to management, involving the establishment of more than 390 Workers' and People's universities and more than 430 cultural centres (Tonkovic 1985: 143). It is hardly surprising therefore that adult education/andragogy featured in centres, institutions and universities throughout the former Yugoslavia (see for instance the Andragoski Centre in Zagreb and the Faculty of Philosophy and Andragogy at the University of Belgrade) and continues to do so in the various countries that broke away from it in the 90s.

While workers' education was widespread in the former Yugoslavia, the EU concept of lifelong learning, focusing on 'employability', has today gained prominence in contrast to general 'social purpose' adult education in many countries of Southern Europe. This situation also applies to countries that went through the process of transformation from a planned economy to a market driven one. Albania is a case in point.

Northern Mediterranean Synthesis

I would submit that there are landmarks to be registered in any account of adult education in the Western or Eastern Mediterranean. These would include the Factory Council experiment in revolutionary workers' democracy in Turin during the *biennio rosso* (the two red years) which resulted in the factory occupation by workers in which Gramsci played an important role; Italy's 150 hours experiment in working class adult education, obtained by the metal workers union that led to programmes geared to personal and social development, and not to satisfy the employers' vocational requirements⁶; the concept of the 'università popolare', developed differently in Italy and Spain, very much adult education for the working class as denounced by Gramsci in Italy while first being, in Spain, a form of university extension and later becoming a cultural centre financed by the municipal government—*ayuntamiento*; education for self-management in the old Yugoslavia; popular education in Greece (Papandreu 1985), and the concept of automorphose (self-learning), which was regarded as a vehicle for democratisation following the totalitarian military junta experience.

Elsewhere, among European Mediterranean countries, especially new and aspiring EU member states, lifelong learning constitutes, at different levels, the major policy concept for education based on the EU Lifelong Learning Memorandum and related documents (Mirceva 2004). As is well known, the focus in this discourse is on developing employability competences and social cohesion. In these countries, and also certain Arab countries (e.g. Egypt) and Turkey that have forged close ties with the EU, adult education is primarily focused on functional literacy, new basic literacies (especially digital literacy) and the development of vocational competences.

One comes across another type of adult education that often occurs outside state control and is carried out at the level of community or regional territory. It is strictly 'social purpose' oriented. One finds this approach in several Mediterranean countries with a vibrant social movement and NGO culture (referred to these days as a 'civil society' culture) (Balta 2004; Puigvert 2004; De Vita 2009). Fine examples are the Social Solidarity Economy and 'social creation' projects in Italy's Veneto region. One 'Social Creation' project entails community and environmental renewal in Verona (De Vita and Bertell 2004; De Vita 2009). It also involves graduates engaging in agricultural production to render generally available and affordable fresh land products that would, otherwise, constitute a small niche market 'luxury' (De Vita 2009; De Vita and Piussi 2013). De Vita and Piussi (2013: 304) maintain that the Social Solidarity Economy also includes Social Solidarity Purchasing Groups [GAS], consumer associations, etc., said to have 'great potential for self-learning that occurs within groups and for capacity building'.

When reflecting on the importance of certain figures in adult education in the Mediterranean, albeit in the Northern part of the region, it is important to recall that some key themes were prompted not solely by the thought of single

individuals but also through the contributions of groups and movements. In fact, one notices a break between individuals and movements marked by a watershed as far as time is concerned. The foregoing account indicates that movements have always existed in adult education, including Mediterranean adult education, but the present period lacks the kind of towering individual figures of yesteryear. The Mediterranean seems to attest to this observation, though one must tread with caution here. Perhaps key figures emerged from particular struggles rooted in time and context and the power of institutions such as trade unions, communist and socialist parties. In this neoliberal and post-1990 age, the struggle against the excess of global capitalism, as manifest through such events as the World Social Forum, seems to be led by social movements, from both North and South, favouring a more horizontal type of leadership, some deliberately eschewing the ‘cult hero/ine’.

South Mediterranean: The MENA Region and the Case of Israel

The majority of countries in the MENA are Arab and the situation concerning adult education and Arab states deserves specific treatment. The Middle East, however, also includes Israel which has, since its official inception as a state in 1948, made its mark in the adult education field. I shall start with Israel before moving on to the Arab world.

One can notice, especially among Israelis, the influence of and reverence to philosopher and adult educator Martin Buber (1878–1965). Buber, originally from Austria, attached importance to adult education when he settled and worked in Palestine before 1948. His approach placed dialogue at the centre, as manifest in his writings on interpersonal communication, especially the celebrated work, *I and Thou* (Buber 1970), a work which even influenced Paulo Freire’s thinking on ‘authentic dialogue’ as expressed in the Brazilian educator’s work of the late 60s and early 70s.

In my view, Martin Buber, as with Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig in Denmark and Paulo Freire in Brazil, represents a case of an adult educator becoming a ‘national icon’, certainly, in Buber’s case, among Israelis in what is a settler-colonial state. I cannot think of any other adult educator, apart from these three, who has had a similar sort of influence within a large community in his or her own (born into or chosen) country of abode.⁷ Indeed mention of Buber and Israelis also brings into focus the adult educational roles of *kibbutzim* as communal gatherings for living and production which inevitably include a significant amount of teaching and learning. The issue of literacy also gains prominence here as several people from different backgrounds are integrated into the Israeli state through learning the Hebrew language.

One of the most lauded Israeli projects is the Tehila project which gained the UNESCO award in 1996 and comprised a literacy programme for women, prison inmates and Jewish immigrants (Rubenstein and Friedlander 2002). Israeli literacy programmes helped resurrect a language (Hebrew), for popular usage, which had not been used this way for almost two thousand years.

*South Mediterranean: Arab States**Literacy*

Literacy features prominently in the Arab world. In many Arab countries, notably Syria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco and Tunisia, the main focus of adult education has been on literacy as part of adult basic education. The latter constitutes the ‘principal form of adult education’ in the Arab states (84%) on the basis of the country reports submitted to UNESCO for its Global Report on Adult Learning and Education (UILL 2009: 46).

Middle East Monitor reported, in January 2014, that, according to the Tunisia-based ALECSO (Arab Organisation for Education, Science and Culture), there were no less than 19% or nearly 97 million illiterates in the Arab world. It was stated that ‘the Human Development Reports for 2013 and the Global Monitoring Report on Education for All for 2012 indicate that among the Arab population which amounted to 353,8 million people; only 256,946 million were familiar with reading and writing, which means that nearly 96,836 million are illiterate. This means that the illiteracy rate in the Arab world has increased to 19.73% of the total population, whereas the percentage of female illiterates has amounted to 60.60% compared to 39.42% male illiterates’.⁸ Especially from the 90s onwards, efforts have been exerted in a number of countries, such as Egypt, to confront illiteracy among women (El-Bakary n.d.).

In most of the Middle East, adult education is the least developed area of the entire educational sector. There is general acceptance by governments of the need for adult education. However, a UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning commissioned report for CONFINTEA states that ‘Adult education (including adult literacy) has not gained the recognition it deserves in terms of visibility, prioritisation and resources’ and recommends that ‘States in the region...review the status of adult education as a necessary component of their economic development policy’ (Yousif and UILL 2009: 30).

An ETF report on adult learning in the South Mediterranean indicates that the uptake in adult education programmes is limited, the reasons for which ‘range from an underdeveloped learning culture, both in enterprises and on the part of individuals, to the existence of complex regulations and procedures in relation to grants and subsidies’ (ETF 2012: 36). It is argued that ‘One of the difficulties appears to relate to the effective implementation of existing measures, initiatives and funding procedures. There is a lack of high-quality, regular data that can be used to assess implementation and results as few statistical data are collected on training. Furthermore, data are collected by different types of institutions, bodies and providers, making it very difficult to obtain an overall and reliable perspective’ (ETF 2012, p. 36).

State Adult Education Policy and Sponsorship in Arab States

The programmes in Arab countries are almost entirely created, programmed and financed by the State (Mojab 2005: 401; ETF 2012: 36). Furthermore, the GRALE report states, on the basis of the submitted country reviews, that ‘adult

education is covered directly or indirectly by some kind of government policy' in 68% of countries in the Arab region. However, the Report points out that 'interpretations of the term "policy" vary widely, ranging from the national Constitution, through executive fiats and legislative enactments to medium-term development plans and decennial education plans' (UILL 2009: 28).

Of course, there are notable exceptions regarding state dependency for adult education, with some countries gaining funds from the EU because of close agreements and eligibility to participate in some of its programmes. A number of programmes at Bir Zeit University's Centre for Continuing Education at the heart of Ramallah, in the West Bank and under the Palestinian Authority, fall into this category. The Centre participated in the Tempus programme on 'Lifelong Learning in Palestine' coordinated by the University of Glasgow (Hammond 2012). One also finds, in this Tempus programme, community education work. This work especially concerns women and involves community theatre, also prominent in other parts of the Mediterranean. Community education work among Jerusalemites and other Palestinians is carried out by and through Al-Quds University, in Al-Quds/Jerusalem, via its Centre for Community Education. This is located in the heart of the Old City, and tackles such areas as domestic violence (Silwadi and Mayo 2014), a theme also addressed at Bir Zeit's Continuing Education Centre. Domestic violence has also been the focus of work in other centres or among other groups in the Middle East, notably via the El-Nadim Centre, led by Magda Adly, and by the El-Warsha Theatre group, both in Egypt. The El-Warsha's activities extend beyond Egypt and comprise street theatre in villages in different parts of the Middle East where, according to its founder and director, Hasan El-Gerety (2002):

the troupe directed its attention to the construction and architecture of the theatrical work itself to incorporate our own particular vision of the world, without which both material and spirit are lost. (p. 72)

The El-Nadim Centre, for its part, runs a women's programme, which operates not only through its main Cairo centre but also through 13 field extension outlets, seven in Cairo, two in Lower Egypt and four in Upper Egypt. Between 1993 and 2000, it provided:

psychological, social and rehabilitative support to 316 women, more than half being Egyptian, with a third being torture victims and the rest DV and rape victims. (Adly in Borg and Mayo 2007: 54)

The above is indicative of the variety of adult education provision in the Arab world which extends beyond adult literacy. For instance Jerusalem/Al-Quds shares, with other cities in Mediterranean countries or regions,⁹ the facility of

providing an Open University (Al-Quds Open University, not to be confused with Al-Quds University) (English and Mayo 2012: 146).

Literacy, however, remains a principal concern in the Arab world and many state resources are devoted to confronting this issue. One should underline that, despite not achieving the desired results, there were many concerted Egyptian efforts in this regard, also resulting from the decree by the recently deposed President Mubarak to eliminate illiteracy by 2007 (El-Bakary n.d.). Similarly, Syria developed literacy programmes. They were divided into three stages and specifically targeted women and girls living in rural areas and semi-deserted regions (Saida 2004: 78). The Syrian government claimed to have registered considerable success in lowering the incidence of illiteracy, even though UNESCO reports underscore the difficulties encountered when addressing this issue, owing to the lack of a congenial literacy-sustaining environment. Needless to say, the current situation in the strife-torn and embattled country accentuates this problem. Other efforts to tackle illiteracy through adult education comprised projects targeted at Bedouin communities (forced integration?), as in the case of Libya during the Gaddafi-ruled years, when effective use was made of broadcasting media such as radio and television (UNESCO 2003: 24).

In contexts such as the Palestinian one, efforts to promote and provide literacy are derailed or actually thwarted as a result of the ongoing conflict with the Israeli state that often leads to closure of streets and schools, arrests of adults and children (notably boys and men), during such uprisings as the Intifadas, and curfew imposition (UNESCO 2003: 9). Prison becomes an important place for adult learning as indicated by the documented work of the Education Committee among detainees inside Ansar III in the Al-Naqab/Negev desert (Sacco 2007), where history and language lessons (in Arabic and even Hebrew) were held, taught by inmates to inmates.

Religion and Adult Education in the Southern Mediterranean

Several Mediterranean conflicts are rooted in affirmed ethnic/religious differences, and the Arab states provide clear examples of this, even though this also applies to countries in the North-Western and Eastern-Mediterranean.¹⁰ One needs no reminder that this region has given rise to the three major monotheistic religions. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that a substantial amount of adult education provision is faith-based.

Themes from the Holy Qur'an such as 'Read in the name of your God' are used in literacy programmes in Egypt (Abdel Gawad 2004: 49) and other places, including Morocco. It is however not only Islam that provides the context for literacy education. We also find organisations in the area, connected with Christianity, that attempt to spread literacy. Caritas International, with its branches in many parts of Europe, especially Southern Europe, operates in Arab countries such as Egypt in connection, in this case, with the Coptic Church (i.e. the Egyptian Christian Church).

Southern Mediterranean Synthesis

In sum, the southern part of the Mediterranean is conditioned by the presence of the Israeli state in the midst of what is a predominantly Arab region. In an age characterised by the emergence of 'New Literacies' strongly connected to the digital media, the Southern Mediterranean foregrounds the importance of basic functional literacy and the use of the most rudimentary forms of information technology such as the transistor radio in villages and Bedouin communities. There are, however, differences in access to media within different areas of the Arab world. We have seen how social media played an important role in the different uprisings in Tunisia, Egypt and Libya. Digital media played a key role in mobilising youth and other citizens to take to the streets in these countries, especially the first two. This indicates that, as with the rest of the world, it constitutes a powerful form of learning, including adult learning. We have also seen its use as a vehicle for university adult education in Palestine with its Al-Quds Open University.

The Southern Mediterranean also foregrounds religious instruction given that many countries within this area are marked by the presence of a dominant belief system, a situation on par with many parts of the North Mediterranean with differences between the situations in the latter case and the Arab world being one of degree. The presence of a dominant belief system has implications for different forms of social provision including adult education provision, whether state-sponsored or not. In the Southern part of the Mediterranean, there seems to be less emphasis on inspiring figures and movements and more emphasis on specific forms of literacy and other types of basic education and community practice. The presence of strong religious overtones should prompt at least one type of research agenda for the future in the adult education field. It would involve an exploration of the possible adult education work of such inspiring Qur'anic educators as, for example, the Libyan Omar Al-Mukhtar, leader of the resistance to the Fascist colonial conquest of his country. Writers on Nicaragua have attributed educational thought to a similar resistance leader and martyr, Augusto Cesar Sandino (Tunnerman 1983). The same can apply to figures such as Al-Mukhtar.

BRIDGING THE TWO SIDES OF THE MEDITERRANEAN: MIGRATION

Among the most salient issues confronting politics in the Mediterranean region is Migration. This affects countries such as Egypt where the teaching of English helps facilitate Sudanese refugees to seek and acquire employment abroad (El-Bakary n.d.). It affects Libya, a transit country for migrants hoping to cross the Mediterranean into Europe. It also affects Israel, which, since its foundation in 1948, has always been a multi-ethnic state and which nowadays faces the issue of competition, regarding access to resources from the welfare system, involving Jewish immigrants from Africa, especially Ethiopia, and those from Eastern Europe. The whole issue of Jewish immigration is a major concern

within Israeli adult education (Rubenstein and Friedlander 2002). It is somewhat premature to talk about structures for adult education in the current state of ‘anarchy’ in Libya, with its two competing governments (the Tobruk and Tripoli governments), armed militias and sectors of the population and overall process of destabilisation following the overthrow of a regime which reigned with a tight fist since the 1st September Revolution of 1969.

As for Southern Europe, the countries comprising this region have experienced the gradual transition from sources of emigration to becoming destinations for immigrants. Cultures, which for centuries were constructed, through various forms of representation, as ‘antagonistic’ (think Huntington’s ‘Clash of Civilisations’), now have to co-exist and share the same geographical space. The situation foments tension principally caused by fear of ‘alterity’ and the ‘other’ (Borg and Mayo 2006; English and Mayo 2012).

Challenges for adult education, as for all education for that matter, include that of learning for inclusion/integration or relocation and social conviviality. This is hopefully a co-learning situation involving genuine exchange between the incoming and ‘autochthonous’ members of society. There are also educational challenges concerning the centuries-old demonization and exoticisation of the ‘Other’, the latter is part and parcel of the ‘Orient’s’ construction. Orientalism, as a concept, was developed, even pseudo-scientifically (within seats of learning and social investigation), in the West, often in the Western-Mediterranean. As Said (1978) has argued, this has been based on a strong delusional sense of ‘positional superiority’ with respect to other people who had been previously ‘directly colonized’ by Western forces with a ‘civilising’ mission to accomplish and an appropriative quest in mind. The challenge for adult education here is the creation of programmes and projects concerned with multicultural or intercultural and anti-racist education which do not avoid addressing the basic critical pedagogical *WH* question: *who* dialogues with *whom* and from *which* position of power? (Wright 2009) And we need to add here the ‘*How?*’ question, the quintessential ‘pedagogical process’ question.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing will hopefully have shown how, depending on the specificity of the Mediterranean context (even within a single country or region), the issues concerning adult education differ, at times considerably, between one context and another. The region is characterised by its heterogeneity. Its adult education offerings, of the formal and non-formal type, reflect this. Adult literacy of the most basic and functional type is perhaps the recurring feature of Mediterranean provision and it is prominent not only in the Arab world but also in Southern European regions. It is for instance still an important feature of adult education in Southern Italy (Schettini 2010), with its lack of industrial investment. It has for long been a feature of provision in Portugal and Spain.

We have also seen how, in contexts of workers’ education, as in the former Yugoslavia, literacy education was given prominence. In this regard, there are

affinities between the situations in the Mediterranean and say Latin America where the Mediterranean cultural connections are great. As Rosa Maria Torres pointed out with regard to Latin America, the hegemonic western discourse of lifelong learning overshadows the basic need for existence of adult basic education in the region, although she acknowledges that education should be more holistic and extend beyond literacy (Torres 2013: 30). The same would apply to large swathes of the Mediterranean.

In certain Mediterranean contexts, adult education is principally focused on the acquisition of vocational or ‘employability’ competences. In others, meanwhile, the focus is on social pedagogy and personal, at times collective, development (including faith-based development) through themes linked with literacy (functional, including digital, cultural and at times critical literacy), social inclusion/integration and democratic participation. This kind of participatory education takes many forms, involving a variety of sites, not least outdoor sites—another climatically favoured type of provision—e.g. El-Warsha’s or Spain’s ‘Second Republic’ experiences of community theatre in a region where dramatic representations have a strong ‘outdoor’ dimension (recall amphitheatres of the Greco-Roman periods, the Carnival, fiesta or ‘Semana Santa’ [Holy Week] representations, etc.). Related though not exclusive to the latter are faith-based forms of adult education that, as shown earlier, are found throughout a region.

The issue of religion brings to the fore matters of constituted authority and individual judgement. Adult education in this part of the world has often reflected conformity with and opposition to the established form of authority, be it religious or civil or both. On both sides of the North-South ‘divide’, periods of authoritarianism have alternated with others fostering aspirations of democratic renewal. We have seen this with the recent Arab uprisings and with the twentieth-century histories of Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece. Adult education has featured, in this regard, as a means of subversion and resistance (see Palestinian resistance in a ‘settler colonialism’ context), as a target of reprisals and backlash as with the Franco years in Spain and the Mussolini regime in Italy and as a vehicle for democratic renewal following the fall of dictatorships. In its more conservative forms, it has served as a vehicle for maintaining the status quo.

The more popular and often community-participative forms of education co-exist alongside the dominant hegemonic discourse concerning a competence-based, individualising lifelong learning process. Some of the most effective participative, non-instrumental, adult education, however, has occurred outside national-state and supranational-state control. At times, it was present ‘in and against’ these two organising and financing contexts, with many adult educators being ‘tactically inside but strategically outside’ the systems concerned. It is here that some kind of balancing act occurs, certainly among the most imaginative practitioners and organisers, between the demands of a life characterised by climatically conditioned rhythms and those of an agenda stemming from external quarters such as the EU or some multinationals with

investment interests in the region. The latter type might well reflect life rhythms more commensurate with the culture and climate for learning and study of highly influential Central and Northern European countries. Analysing adult education projects according to the different life rhythms they reflect, and seek to accommodate or resist, would, in the present writer's view, be part of an agenda for further research in the field. This chapter has limited itself to exposing, in an encyclopaedic manner, a selection of examples from the vast and diversified range of provision in adult education in this heterogeneous region.

NOTES

1. When people use 'Mediterranean diet' they normally refer to features of Southern/Western European cuisine.
2. Portugal was a colonial power and at the same time an 'informal colony' of England.
3. Indebted to former Malta Foreign Minister, Dr Alex Scerberras Trigona for this point.
4. The *territorio* is an important term in Italian social work and education, including adult education, meaning a delineated territorial space.
5. This term was popularised by Malcolm Knowles who is said to have borrowed it from Montenegrin scholar at the University of Belgrade, Dusan Savicevic. Personal communication with the late Professor Dusan Savicevic in the late 80s and early 90s.
6. They even led to universities developing so-called 'monographic courses' (short courses around a specific theme) by women for women—a landmark in women's education and feminism in Italy. Indebted to Professor Anna Maria Piussi, University of Verona, for this point.
7. An institute named after Martin Buber, dedicated to Adult Education, was established at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
8. 'ALECSO report: 97 million illiterates in Arab countries', *Middle East Monitor*, Thursday, 09 January 2014 18: 11.
9. These include Catalonia (the Barcelona-based Universitat Oberta de Catalunya), Israel, and Cyprus.
10. During the Ottoman period, mosques and medresses (Islamic theological schools) constituted the principal educative agencies in Turkey. In Cyprus, famous in adult education for its Pancyprian School of Parent Education dating back to 1968, the Orthodox Church boasts a long tradition in adult education (Symeonides 1992: 210), predating public education introduced by the British colonial authorities, and was often posed as a source of cultural resistance to the latter's initiative, then perceived, in certain quarters, as a threat to Hellenic culture and values. In Malta and Italy, organisations such as Caritas, connected with the Catholic Church's larger networks, play an important role in adult education provision with regard to poverty reduction, addictions, health issues etc (Borg and Mayo 2006: 114–115). The tendency is towards what Italians call 'assistenzialismo' (a welfarist type of approach, treating the learners as 'deficits').

REFERENCES

- Abel Gawad, O. (2004). Literacy and adult education in Egypt. In D. Caruana & P. Mayo (Eds.), *Perspectives on lifelong learning in the Mediterranean*. Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Agustin, O. G., & Jørgensen, M. B. (2016). In *Solidarity without Borders: Gramscian perspectives on migration & civil society alliances*. London: Pluto Press.
- Balta, K. (2004). Adult education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In D. Caruana & P. Mayo (Eds.), *Perspectives in lifelong learning in the Mediterranean*. Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Barone, G. (2004). *La Forza della nonviolenza. Bibliografia e profilo biografico di Danilo Dolci* [The force of non-violence. Bibliography and biographical profile of Danilo Dolci*]. Naples: Libreria Dante & Descartes; Palermo: Centro per lo Sviluppo Creativo 'Danilo Dolci,' Partinico.
- Batini, F., Mayo, P., & Surian, A. (2014). *Lorenzo Milani, the School of Barbiana and the struggle for social justice*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Borg, C., & Mayo, P. (2006). *Learning and difference challenges for public education and critical pedagogy*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers.
- Borg, C., & Mayo, P. (2007). *Public intellectuals radical democracy and social movements. A book of interviews*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Braudel, F. (1972). *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers.
- Buber, M. (1970). *I and Thou*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Caruana, D., & Mayo, P. (Eds.). (2004). *Lifelong learning in the Mediterranean*. Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Castiglione, A. (2004). *Danilo Dolci. Memory and Utopia*, Centro per lo Sviluppo Creativo 'Danilo Dolci'. Palermo: Partinico. Retrieved from www.danilodolci.net.
- Coben, D. (1998). *Radical heroes. Gramsci, Freire and the politics of education*. New York: Garland Publishers.
- Davis, J. (1977). *The people of the Mediterranean: An essay in comparative social anthropology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- De Vita, A. (2009). *La Creazione Sociale. Relazioni e contesti per educare* [Social creation. Relations and contexts to educate*]. Rome: Carocci.
- De Vita, A., & Bertell, L. (2004). *La Creazione Sociale*. In A. M. Piussi (Ed.), *Paesaggi e figure della formazione nella creazione sociale* [Paths and figures in the formation of social creation*]. Rome: Carocci.
- De Vita, A., & Piussi, A. M. (2013). Social creation. In P. Mayo (Ed.), *Learning with adults. A reader*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- El-Bakary, W. (n.d.). *Adult education in Egypt* (Non-published article). Cairo: American University in Cairo.
- El-Geretly, H. (2002). From reaching into reaching out: El-Warsha 1987–1999. In J.-P. Hautecoeur (Ed.), *Ecological education in everyday life. ALPHA 2000*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- English, L., & Mayo, P. (Eds.). (2012). *Learning with adults. A critical pedagogical introduction*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- ETF. (2012). *Trends in adult learning in the Southern Mediterranean*. Turin: European Training Foundation.

- Gellner, E., & Waterbury, J. (Eds.). (1997). *Patrons and clients in Mediterranean societies*. London: Duckworth in association with Centre for Mediterranean Studies of the American Universities Field Staff.
- Gelpi, E. (2002). *Lavoro Futuro. La Formazione Professionale come Progetto Politico* [Future work. Vocational education as a political project*]. Milan: Guerini Editore.
- Hammond, K. (2012). Lifelong learning in Palestine. *Holy Land Studies*, 11(1), 79–85.
- Iglesias, M. A. (2005). *Maestros de la República. Los otros santos, los otros mártires* [Teachers of the Republic. The other saints, the other martyrs]. Madrid: La Esfera de los Libros.
- Levi, C. (2006). *Christ stopped at Eboli*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Lind, A., & Johnston, A. (1986). *Adult literacy in the Third World*. Stockholm: SIDA.
- Lucio-Villegas Ramos, E. (2004). Tejiendo la Ciudadanía Desde la Educación [Fostering citizenship through education*]. In E. Lucio-Villegas Ramos & P. Aparicio Guadas (Eds.), *Educación, democracia y emancipación* [Education, democracy and emancipation*]. Xativa: Dialogos.
- Mayo, P. (1999). *Gramsci, Freire and adult education. Possibilities for transformative action*. London: Zed Books.
- Mayo, P. (2005). Mediterranean and adult education. In L. English (Ed.), *The international encyclopaedia of adult education*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan.
- Mayo, P. (2015). *Hegemony and education under Neoliberalism. Insights from Gramsci*. London: Routledge.
- Mayo, P., Symeonides, K., and Samlowski, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Perspectives on Adult Education in the Mediterranean and Beyond*, Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Melo, A. (1985). From traditional cultures to adult education: The Portuguese experience after 1974. In K. Wain (Ed.), *Lifelong learning and participation*. Malta: Malta University Press.
- Mirceva, J. (2004). Some issues, problems and priorities of adult education in Slovenia. In D. Caruana & P. Mayo (Eds.), *Perspectives on lifelong learning in the Mediterranean*. Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Mojab, S. (2005). The Middle East. In L. English (Ed.), *The international encyclopedia of adult education*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Observatorio Internacional de Ciudadanía y Medio Ambiente Sostenible (CIMAS). (2006). *La Pedagogía de la Decisión.. Aportaciones teóricas y prácticas a la construcción de las Democracias Participativas* [The pedagogy of decision making. Theoretical and practical contributions for the construction of a participatory democracy*]. Seville: CIMAS.
- Otero-Urtaza, E. (2011). The educational missions under the Second Republic in Spain (1931–1936): A framework for popular education. *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 47(1–2), 207–220.
- Papandreou, G. (1985). Individual and collective self-learning (Automorphose): The Greek experience. In K. Wain (Ed.), *Lifelong learning and participation*. Malta: Malta University Press.
- Piussi, A. M. (2013). Social Creation. In P. Mayo (Ed.), *Learning with Adults. A Reader*. Rotterdam, Boston and Taipei: Sense Publishers.

- Puigvert, L. (2004). Recent development in adult education in Spain. In D. Caruana & P. Mayo (Eds.), *Perspectives on lifelong learning in the Mediterranean*. Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Rubenstein, S., & Friedlander, D. (2002). Aspects of Adult Education in Israel. In P. Mayo, K. Symeonides, & M. Samlowski (Eds.), *Perspectives on adult education in the Mediterranean and beyond*. Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Sacco, J. (2007). *Palestine*. Seattle: Fantagraphics Books.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism*. New York: Random House.
- Saida, M. (2004). Adult education in Syria. In D. Caruana & P. Mayo (Eds.), *Perspectives on lifelong learning in the Mediterranean*. Bonn: IIZ-DVV.
- Samolovčev, B. (1985). The historical roots of modern adult education in Yugoslavia. In N. Soljan, M. Golubovic, & A. Krajnc (Eds.), *Adult education & Yugoslav society*. Zagreb: Andragoski Centar.
- Schettini, B. (2010). *L'apprendimento degli adulti tra educazione e istruzione* [Adult learning between education and instruction*]. Naples: Scriptaweb.
- Silwadi, N., & Mayo, P. (2014). Pedagogy under Siege in Palestine. Insights from Freire. *Holy Land Studies*, 13(1), 71–87.
- Simeone, D. (1996). *Verso la Scuola di Barbiana. L'Esperienza Pastorale Educativa di Don Lorenzo Milani a San Donato di Calenzano* [Towards the School of Barbiana. The Pastoral experience of Don Lorenzo Milani at San Donato di Calenzano*]. Verona: Il Segno dei Gabrielli Editori.
- Sultana, R. G. (1995). Editorial foreword. The Mediterranean, education and the millennium. *Mediterranean Journal of Educational Studies*, 1(1), i–xi.
- Tonkovic, S. (1985). Education for self management. In N. Soljan, M. Golubovic, & A. Krajnc (Eds.), *Adult education & Yugoslav society*. Zagreb: Andragoski Centar.
- Torres, R. M. (2013). Youth and adult education and lifelong learning in Latin America and the Caribbean. In P. Mayo (Ed.), *Learning with adults. A reader*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Tunnerman, C. (1983). *El Pensamiento Pedagógico de Sandino*. Managua: Ministry of Education.
- UILL. (2009). *Global report on adult learning and education*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning.
- UNESCO. (2003). *Literacy and adult education in the Arab World (Regional Report for CONFINTEA V, Mid-term Review)*. Bangkok: UNESCO Beirut Regional Office for Education in the Arab States.
- Wain, K. (Ed.). (1985). *Lifelong Education and Participation*, Malta: University of Malta Press.
- Wright, H. K. (2009, June 10). *Handel Kashope Wright talks to the project about Interculturalism vs Multiculturalism, Youth in Canada, USA and Europe, his relationship with project founder, Joe Kincheloe and critical pedagogy's influence on his own work* (Webcast, University of British Columbia). Montreal: The Paulo & Nita Freire International Project for Critical Pedagogy, McGill University, Montreal.
- Yousif, A. A., & UNESCO ILL. (2009). *The state and development of adult learning and education in the Arab States, Regional synthesis report*. Hamburg: UIL.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Peter Mayo is Professor and Head at the Department of Arts, Open Communities & Adult Education, University of Malta. He is Visiting Professor at the Institute of Education, University College London, United Kingdom, from October 2016 till September 2018. He teaches and researches in the fields of adult education, comparative education, sociology of education and sociology in general. Mayo is Co-editor of the journal *Postcolonial Directions in Education* (University of Malta). His latest book is *Hegemony and Education under Neoliberalism: Insights from Gramsci* (Routledge, 2015).

The Southern African Development Community: Challenges and Prospects in Lifelong Learning

Idowu Biao and Tonic Maruatona

Abstract The Southern African Development Community (SADC) currently employs lifelong learning to advance social and economic improvement within its member states. Although a few challenges such as poor connections of learning options, lack of uniform qualification framework across member states, neglect of early childhood care and development (ECCD) and poor funding continue to plague the project, prospects for success do exist. To actualise this prospective success, SADC needs to invigorate the current traditional practice of ECCD within its member states by injecting a quantum of modern approaches into it. Additionally, the lifelong learning aspects of traditional African education need a review so that current SADC lifelong learning project may learn about these aspects and ultimately improve its lifelong learning nature in a cost-effective manner.

INTRODUCTION

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) which was originally known as Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) is a community of 15 countries established in 1980 (Maruatona 2012; SADC 2012a). Its initial objective was resistance to and eventual eradication of South African Apartheid policy. Specifically, the community was to reduce dependence on South Africa, achieve regional integration, evolve beneficial national and regional policies and achieve economic liberation (SADC 2012a).

I. Biao (✉) · T. Maruatona
Department of Adult Education, University of Botswana,
P. Bag 0022, Gaborone, Botswana
e-mail: idowubiao2014@gmail.com

T. Maruatona
e-mail: maruatot@mopipi.ub.bw

With the advent of South African independence, SADCC metamorphosed into SADC in 1992 with the main objective to develop and economically integrate all member states (SADC 2012a). The community soon realized that development and economic integration are achievable only through a systematic and aggressive educational promotion. Consequently, beginning from the 1990s, all SADC member states began investing heavily first in formal education and second in out-of-school education following a growing acceptance of the fact that education beyond the school and possibly throughout life will be the most reliable instrument for directing future development efforts. The outcome of the 1990 World Conference on Education for All, (otherwise known as The 1990 Jomtien Declaration) did much to awaken interest in the education of all citizens among member nations. Indeed, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, most SADC countries have come to accept lifelong learning as both an important educational concept and an instrument for socio-economic development. However, perceptions and conceptual understandings of lifelong learning continue to vary across member states.

The present chapter aims to analyse the conceptual and operational development of lifelong learning within SADC region. It also seeks to review the status of lifelong learning policies with a view to determining challenges and discuss further prospects for improving the delivery of lifelong learning within the region.

AREA OF STUDY

The study area is located within the southern and central parts of Africa and it is collectively known as the SADC. As presently constituted, SADC is a politico-economic bloc which has been working towards regional integration since 1992. Although economic development and integration are critical aspects which the community mostly worked at, peace and security are also very important tasks that the community promotes within and among member states (SADC 2012a).

SADC is made up of 15 countries among which are 13 Republics and two kingdoms. One of the kingdoms, Swaziland is ruled by an absolute Monarch who holds executive powers. The other kingdom, Lesotho, has a ceremonial king and a Prime Minister as Head of the country's Government. The 13 Republics include Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (SADC 2012a).

SADC countries attained political independence between 1960 and 1994 (SADC 2012a). Prior to 1960, the countries of this community experienced a variety of colonial rules ranging from settler colonies (Zimbabwe, South Africa, Namibia) through protectorates (Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland) to colonial territories (Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Seychelles, Tanzania). With the exception of Angola, Mozambique, Madagascar and the Democratic Republic of Congo who speak Portuguese and French languages, all SADC countries have English as the official language.

With a total population of about 277 million inhabitants, SADC member states vary from small countries with less than 2 million inhabitants to countries holding about 60 million inhabitants. The per capita income within the region varies from US\$645 to US\$12,000 and inflation rates vary between 0.6 and 2%. A fairly healthy intra-regional trade is carried out within the community (SADC 2012a).

HIV/AIDS and poverty are two phenomena plaguing the community whose negative impact is felt across all sectors of life and activities. In a few member states, more than a quarter of a whole national population suffers from HIV/AIDS (e.g. 27% in Swaziland) and about 53% of those suffering from HIV/AIDS are women (SADC 2012c). The challenge was recently captured in SADC report thus:

One of the greatest challenges facing the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the member states as they move toward greater integration is the adverse effects of the HIV and AIDS epidemic on social, political and economic development. The region has the highest levels of HIV prevalence globally. Many countries are now grappling with the severe impact of the mature HIV and AIDS epidemics, and the related epidemic of tuberculosis (TB) that together are reversing the hard won development gains of the past few years. (SADC 2012c: 1)

Extreme poverty (as measured by a population of persons living below \$1.25 a day) within the region ranges from 19.3% in Botswana to 27.5% in Zambia (UNDP n.d.). Since its inception but particularly from the beginning of the twenty-first century, SADC has deployed numerous instruments (protocols, review of protocols, internally generated initiatives, etc.) to mitigate not only the dual crisis of HIV/AIDS and poverty but also other less severe challenges confronting the region (weMfondo 2012; SADC 2012d).

THE CONTEXT

The current examination of lifelong learning within SADC takes place against specific sociopolitical and economic contexts that are characterized by a struggle against a phenomenon known as Apartheid. Since no education happens in a vacuum and since all education systems and/or models are influenced by the experiences of the societies that engender them (Preece 2009; Nsamenang 2006), it is pertinent to discuss lifelong learning against the backdrop of the characteristics and experiences of Southern African countries. In a general sense, 'Apartheid' was an official socially instituted arrangement wherein inhabitants of a community or society are segregated and some of them denied social and civil rights on the basis of ethnic and/or racial prejudices (Kaplan 1970).

In the particular context of Southern Africa, the picture is more complex. Although Apartheid was known to be officially introduced in South Africa and South West Africa (now Namibia) beginning 1948 (Du Toit 2000), the whole

of the SADC region was so impacted by this system of governance that it is right to submit that the minds and souls of all inhabitants of this whole region did experience the full effects of Apartheid. Whereas Apartheid was officially instituted in these two territories in 1948, the root cause of the eventual motivation to adopt Apartheid can be traced to the fact that prior to 1795 (date at which the British inherited the Cape of Good Hope from the Dutch), racial segregation has been in existence in South Africa and South West Africa. In this sense, Apartheid was only a scaling up of the racial segregation policy that has been in operation in the Dutch Empire prior to 1795. In any case, the same racial segregation continued under the British as there was an agreement between the Dutch and the British to keep the administration of the Southern African region away from the British Common Law (Du Toit 2000).

Specifically, the South African and South West African Apartheid policy hierarchically segregated society into 'White', 'Indians', 'Coloured' and 'Blacks' (Baldwin-Ragaven et al. 1999: 18). The White (The Dutch and other Europeans) were found at the apex of the hierarchy and they enjoyed the best of what society had to offer including education and material wealth. They were followed by Indians who were the second-rung masters and who by virtue of their position in the hierarchy were entitled to good education and material wealth. The 'Coloured' were a hybrid of great heterogeneity as they were products of a variety of mixed procreational processes (individuals born out of White/Black, White/Indian, Black/Indian, and Coloured/White/Indian/Black relationships and/or marriages). By virtue of their third position in the hierarchy, the Coloured enjoyed some patronage and by that token, they were entitled to a fair share of the education offered by the state and the material wealth available in society. The Blacks were on the last scale and occupied the lowest rung of the hierarchy and by that token, they were to be the 'wretched of the earth' as only a minimal provision was made for them either in the realm of education or in other facets of human welfare (Mandela 2013; African Studies Center of Michigan State University n.d.).

Blacks accounted and still account for at least 76% of the population of SADC (76.4% in South Africa [Republic of South Africa 2011]; 87.5% in Namibia [National Planning Commission of Namibia 2012] and about 99% in other SADC countries). For about two centuries, both the racial segregation system instituted in the eighteenth century and the Apartheid system introduced in the twentieth century did not provide most Blacks in Southern African countries with modern education services, therefore, compelling them to wallow in illiteracy (Shalefu 2012; Mandela 2013). Consequently, between 1960 and 1994 when SADC countries attained independence, disproportionately high sections of their societies were non-literate. Since a large population of unschooled and non-literate citizens constitutes an obstacle to socio-economic development, the first priority of each SADC country at independence was always to promote a type of education aimed at fast tracking learning and eradicating illiteracy among Black youths and adults with a view to bringing about accelerated socio-economic development (SADC 2012a). For example,

immediately after independence in the 1960s, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Madagascar and Malawi all promoted free primary education and a relative amount of adult literacy education in order to boost the acquisition of basic education within their borders. In the 1970s, 80s and the 90s, Angola, Mozambique, Seychelles, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa followed the same path of educational revitalization immediately after their independence. Among them, these countries spent between 13 and 19% of their GNP on basic education up to the end of the 1990s and a substantial increase in enrolment of their populations has equally been recorded at all levels of education (UNESCO 2008a). Beyond the twentieth century, SADC has reported that

Over the last 50 years, enrolment in education has increased at every level for both genders within the SADC region. From 1960 to 2010, enrolment rates in primary education increased at an average annual rate of 1.5%, with female enrolment increasing slightly faster at 1.6%. The region consistently outperforms sub-Saharan Africa as a whole, though it still trails other regions of the world, with tertiary enrolment rates of 6.3% in 2010. Spending on education approaches that of high-income economies and is well above the amount spent by developing countries and regions on average. (SADC 2012a: 1)

However, lifelong learning is a recent development in SADC as a bloc. It first appeared in a SADC policy document *Protocol on Education & Training* (1997) towards the end of the 1990s and it was first implemented in 2000. Apart from encouraging all member states to provide material and human resources to the promotion of lifelong learning, the *Protocol on Education & Training* (1997) called on member states to cooperate among themselves and with other institutions and countries with a view to maximizing the use of resources in their implementation of lifelong learning (SADC 2012b).

LIFELONG LEARNING

Among educational constructs, 'lifelong learning' is one of the newest. The story of lifelong learning actually began as 'lifelong education' at the beginning of the twentieth century (Yeaxlee 1929; Smith 2001) when both the insufficiencies and inefficacies of the school system in helping to cope with ever growing complexities of modern living began to become visible. Lifelong education then implied the deliberate and official extension of the provision of education beyond the school in order to help people cope with challenges that may confront them beyond the period of compulsory education and/or higher education.

We discover more, and not less, need of adult education as we make progress. It will not have a fair chance until better preparation is made for it during the years of adolescence. On the other hand, we are unlikely to achieve a thoroughly sound and complete system of -primary and secondary education until the adult members

of the community, by continuing their own education, realize how mischievous a thing it is to abbreviate or mishandle the school-education of ‘boys and girls. But adult education, rightly interpreted, is as inseparable from normal living as food and physical exercise. (Yeaxlee 1929: 28)

However, if the work of Yeaxlee (1929) emphasized the *education* that should take place beyond the school years, it was the work of Faure et al. (1972) that introduced the concept of *learning* that has started to become indispensable for a successful living after school years. The difference between *education* and *learning* was highlighted through the difference that existed in the modes of providing the two phenomena (education and learning). While education is usually provided by some central authority (government, non-governmental organizations, etc.) individuals and societies use extended structures and environments to devise personal and/or group learning programmes appropriate to their needs as and when it is necessary. For example, Delors et al. (1996) justified the recommendation of Faure et al. with the submission that ‘...in the twenty-first century everyone will need to exercise greater independence and judgment combined with a stronger sense of personal responsibility for the attainment of common goals’ (p. 19). Delors et al. further asserted that in the twenty-first century, all ‘hidden and buried’ human talents such as ‘memory, reasoning power, imagination, physical ability, aesthetic sense, the aptitude to communicate with others and the natural charisma of the group leader’ (p. 21) need to be developed through learning (education and individually/group devised learning programmes) in order for learning societies to be established and for individuals to lead fairly stable lives.

As such, lifelong learning is both a philosophy of education and a strategy for educational advancement in the twenty-first century. By its own nature and as it is implied in its nomenclature, lifelong learning is learning that goes on throughout a lifetime traversing and supporting all ages and cycles of development. According to Delors et al. (1996: 20–22), lifelong learning as a continuous process of knowledge acquisition and adjustments to life demands is supported by four pillars, namely, ‘learning to do, to know, to be and to live together’.

Beyond the UNESCO-sponsored works of Faure et al. and Delors et al., eminent researchers and writers the world over have deepened our understanding of lifelong learning. For example, to the four pillars of Delors et al., Ouane (2008: 7) has added a fifth, namely, ‘learning to change and to take risks’. In the African context, Walters et al. (2014) described lifelong learning as a *multidimensional* learning cycle that embodies six stages of learning activities, namely, learning during childhood or years of dependency, learning for the purpose of sustaining productivity and prosperity, learning for the purpose of remaining active and engaged with life, learning during old age, life-wide learning and life-deep learning. Whereas the first four stages seem self-explanatory as they coincide with the periods of compulsory education, work, retirement and old age, Walters et al. (2014) relate life-wide learning and

life-deep learning to the breadth and depth of learning involved in lifelong learning. In their words, '*Life-wide signifies the breadth of learning across, for example, family, cultural settings, communities, work and leisure; life-deep learning relates to contemplative, meditative, spiritual learning practices*' (p. 25).

As it is to be expected, informal, formal and non-formal systems of education are implicated in the process of lifelong learning and serve as rolling platforms of activities that perpetually move lifelong learning forward and renew it. Finally, it is not the separated and segmented implementation of informal, formal, non-formal education, life-wide and life-deep education but the integrated implementation of all these forms of education that gives lifelong learning its meaning and significance (Delors 2013; Biao 2015).

Through the decades, lifelong learning has been conceived in various ways in accordance with the purposes to which it has been put. Lifelong learning is designed to enable regional workforce to acquire essential life skills, compete regionally and globally to enable participants to be key players in the knowledge economy (Jarvis 2001; Merriam et al. 2007). Consequently, Lifelong learning exists in all societies in different forms and contents. It facilitates the movement of different groups through their life stages. On the one hand, it can promote individual autonomy, social justice and active citizenship and on the other hand, it serves a contradictory role of promoting profiteering in neo-liberal states (Gouthro 2007). It is against this backdrop that Zepka (2009) noted that lifelong learning tended to serve the marketplace at the expense of the poor since it promotes employability skills as a critical aspect of neo-liberal discourse of '*learning for earning*' and facilitates state-controlled social, political and cultural change as opposed to progressive change. Maruatona (2006) observed that lifelong learning providers need to appreciate the fact that poor Africans not only need financial aid but an opportunity to determine factors that account for their demise and use learning to address them. Lifelong learning should help the poor to develop the capacity to deliberate on effective strategies to partake in changing their own lives. This would broaden its agenda beyond the narrow neo-liberal focus to assist the poor to use learning to transform themselves. Elsewhere, this task has been accomplished through lifelong learning programmes being designed to address political inequities and encouraged active citizenship (Gouthro 2007). At the core and spirit of lifelong learning in SADC as elsewhere is the desire to deliver learning opportunities for disadvantaged sections of society such as women, minorities, unemployed, youth and workers (Maruatona 2006). It should be intended to make the lives of recipients more fulfilling and rewarding.

However, these many varied ways in which lifelong learning may be put to use do not exclude a fair agreement among researchers and writers that lifelong learning implies learning from childhood to old age or to the grave. Indeed in traditional Africa, lifelong learning begins from childhood education through community education, education for production up to learning for higher responsibilities (Walters et al. 2014). Although there may be differences between traditional African and modern Eurocentric concepts of childhood and

although the contents of childhood education, formal and non-formal education in traditional Africa and Europe may differ, yet, on the two continents, the concept of lifelong learning does include the notions of child care and development, some amount of formal learning (for productivity, etc.) and non-formal learning.

LIFELONG LEARNING WITHIN THE SADC REGION

SADC Protocol on Education and Training which was signed by all member states in 1997 and whose implementation commenced in 2000 (SADC 2012a) is the most important document that spells out the lifelong learning policy of SADC as one organization. Although as early as 1994, echoes of lifelong learning could be discerned from the National Policy of Education documents of Botswana, Namibia and South Africa (Maruatona 2012), these were lone national efforts whose impact had remained minimal if not unnoticed until the advent of the SADC *Protocol on Education and Training* in 1997. SADC *Protocol on Education and Training* provided a broad framework within which member states may develop their lifelong learning agendas. Consequently, a number of states have since either gone back to rework their earlier policies or have developed a new policy document of lifelong learning. The current examination of lifelong learning within SADC relied primarily on these national policies.

METHODOLOGY

The design for this work was based on a study of SADC documents. The study principally examined the contents of the SADC Protocol on Education and Training, the 15 national lifelong learning policies of SADC member states, the *Review of the Status and Capacities for the Implementation of the Protocol on Education and Training* and the 2010–2012 SADC *Activity Report of the SADC Secretariat*.

The study adopted a 7-criterion approach to the collection of data. This approach sought to find out first the specific processes employed to arrive at the decision to implement lifelong learning both within SADC and individual member states. Second, it collected information on the goals that lifelong learning sought to fulfil within SADC member states. Third, it found out the structure adopted in promoting lifelong learning within SADC. Fourth, the approach sought to determine the learning packages that SADC and member states' lifelong learning policies were made up of and fifth, information on the administrative styles (centralized or decentralized) adopted in running lifelong learning within SADC member states was collected. The sixth criterion sought for data on the resources (funding and human resource) that were made available for the promotion of lifelong learning within the region while the seventh criterion highlighted issues concerning the appropriateness of terminologies, conception and absence of fundamental structures. These seven

criteria were deemed sufficient for the purpose of analysing lifelong learning conception, its challenges and prospects in each SADC member state within the SADC region. However, this documentary process was complemented by interviews conducted with SADC Officials at its Headquarters in Gaborone, Botswana with a view to clarifying such issues as regularity of review of SADC major and minor documents, terminologies and other contents of the SADC documents.

The pieces of information gathered from the documents were first grouped in accordance with the criteria under which they were classified such as (process of decision-making, goal of lifelong learning, structure of its delivery, etc.) and they were subsequently compared across member states with a view to highlighting similarities and differences for the purpose of drawing inferences and conclusions concerning the conception and delivery of lifelong learning in SADC.

OVERVIEW OF LIFELONG LEARNING IN SADC

As stated earlier, a number of SADC countries attempted to draft lifelong learning policies before the endorsement of the 1997 SADC Protocol on Education and Training by SADC member states. The current overview lays emphasis on the post-SADC Protocol on Education and Training state of lifelong learning in each of the SADC member states. Specifically, it discusses the procedure through which states determine the need for and goal of lifelong learning. It equally discusses the educational structure through which lifelong learning is facilitated and learning contents of each member state's lifelong learning project. Finally, the review examines the management style and resources deployed towards running lifelong learning projects in SADC member states.

Table 1 shows that nine (9) of the fifteen (15) member states worked their way to their lifelong learning policies through committees based in the ministries of education. This is the route that SADC Headquarters followed to write up its own lifelong learning policy. For example, the SADC Head Office held a series of meetings with member states' ministries of education before arriving at the decision to roll out a regional lifelong learning policy. The remaining six member states (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Seychelles, South Africa and Zimbabwe) set up national committees/commissions that drew membership from varying sectors of national life to develop their lifelong learning policies.

Table 1 also illustrates that the main goal of lifelong learning in most SADC member states has been initially to deliver traditional literacy (teaching/acquisition of the skills of reading, writing and numeracy) to all citizens that lack these skills in the adopted national languages and/or official languages (English/French/Portuguese) of the country. All the fifteen SADC member states indicated a second goal of lifelong learning to be vocational training (equipping citizens with a skill that may be economically exploited for improving people's livelihood). However, in addition to literacy and vocational

Table 1 Determination of the need for and goal of lifelong learning in SADC countries

<i>Org/Country</i>	<i>Criterion</i>	
	<i>Process for determining need for Lifelong Learning</i>	<i>Goal of Lifelong Learning</i>
SADC	A series of stakeholders' meetings (Ministries of Education from member states).	Main: Traditional literacy. Other: Professional development.
Angola	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^a Traditional literacy & Vocational training
Botswana	National Commission on Education	^b Traditional literacy, Vocational training, Adult basic education & Remedial Secondary education
DR Congo	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^a Traditional literacy & Vocational training
Lesotho	National Committee on Education	^b Traditional literacy Vocational training & Remedial Secondary education
Madagascar	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^a Traditional literacy & ^a Vocational training
Malawi	National Committee on Education	^b Traditional literacy, Vocational training & Remedial Secondary education
Mauritius	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^a Traditional literacy & Vocational training
Mozambique	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^b Traditional literacy, Vocational training & Remedial Secondary education
Namibia	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^b Traditional literacy, Vocational training & Remedial Secondary education
Seychelles	National Committee on Education.	^a Traditional literacy & Vocational education
South Africa	National Committee of Transformation on Education	^b Traditional literacy, Vocational education & Adult basic education
Swaziland	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^b Traditional literacy, Vocational education & Adult basic education
Tanzania	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^a Traditional literacy & Vocational education
Zambia	Ministry of Education-based Committee	^a Traditional literacy & Vocational education
Zimbabwe	Technical Committee of the Education For All (EFA) Campaign in Zimbabwe	^b Traditional literacy Vocational education & Adult basic education

^aList of learning programmes that coincided with the minimum recommended by the SADC Protocol on Education and Training

^bList of learning programmes exhibiting more than the minimum recommended by the SADC Protocol on Education and Training

Sources

1. Biao and Maruatona (2014)
2. Shalefu (2012)
3. UNESCO (2011a, b)
4. UNESCO (2008a, b)
5. SADC (2012a, b, c, d)

training, a few member states run either adult basic education (learning contents equivalent to 9- or 12-year formal school) or remedial secondary education (education aimed at remedying deficiencies accumulated during formal secondary school years).

The educational structure through which lifelong learning is dispensed and the contents of lifelong learning projects in the SADC are discussed in Table 2.

Table 2 Structure and learning contents of lifelong learning projects within SADC

<i>Org/Country</i>	<i>Criterion</i>	
	<i>Structure of lifelong learning</i>	<i>Learning contents of lifelong learning projects</i>
SADC	Non-formal education 1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Angola	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Botswana	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Basic education 3. Development of vocational/professional skills
DR Congo	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Lesotho	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Madagascar	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Malawi	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Mauritius	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Mozambique	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Namibia	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Seychelles	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
South Africa	1. Adult education centres and	1. Reading, writing and numeracy,

(continued)

Table 2 (continued)

<i>Org/Country</i>	<i>Criterion</i>	
	<i>Structure of lifelong learning</i>	<i>Learning contents of lifelong learning projects</i>
	2. Distance Learning centres.	2. Basic education 3. Development of vocational/professional skills
Swaziland	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Basic education 3. Development of vocational/professional skills
Tanzania	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Development of vocational/professional skills
Zambia	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Basic education 3. Development of vocational/professional skills
Zimbabwe	1. Adult education centres and 2. Distance Learning centres.	1. Reading, writing and numeracy, 2. Basic education 3. Development of vocational/professional skills

Sources

1. Biao and Maruatona (2014)
2. Shalefu (2012)
3. UNESCO (2011a, b)
4. UNESCO (2008a, b)
5. SADC (2012a, b, c, d)

Table 2 illustrates that all fifteen states implement lifelong learning policy mainly through a non-formal education structure that utilizes both the adult education centres and distance learning substructures. Adult education centres are usually learning environments that receive learners after formal schooling hours and usually after work. Although a few adult education centres open during school hours, because many formal schools double as adult education centres, the majority of these centres function after school hours (SADC 2012a). The distance learning structure is run through a combination of face-to-face contact and home study practice (Botswana College of Open and Distance Learning [BOCODOL] 2016).

Table 2 equally demonstrates that the learning contents of lifelong learning within SADC have mainly been directed towards the development of reading, writing and numeracy skills on the one hand and the development of vocational/professional skills on the other. Only five SADC countries (Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe) add ‘basic education’ or/and ‘remedial secondary education’ to these two common learning content areas.

Table 3 Management styles and resources deployed in the realm of lifelong learning

<i>Org/Country</i>	<i>Criterion</i>	
	<i>Management style of lifelong learning</i>	<i>Resources</i>
SADC	Decentralized (member state run mgt)	1. SADC Training fund established 2. (i) Grants, (ii) Donations, (iii) Project Funds & (iv) Technical assistance
Angola	Centralized	0.74% of annual education budget
Botswana	Centralized	1% of annual education budget
DR Congo	Centralized	0.56% of annual education budget
Lesotho	Centralized	0.89% of annual education budget
Madagascar	Centralized	0.70% of annual education budget
Malawi	Centralized	0.80% of annual education budget
Mauritius	Decentralized	0.95% of annual education budget
Mozambique	Centralized	0.67% of annual education budget
Namibia	Centralized	1.2% of annual education budget
Seychelles	Centralized	1.1% of annual education budget
South Africa	centralized	0.98% of annual education budget
Swaziland	Decentralized	0.90% of annual education budget
Tanzania	Decentralized	1% of annual education budget
Zambia	Decentralized	1% of annual education budget
Zimbabwe	Centralized	0.78% of annual education budget

Sources

1. Biao and Maruatona (2014)
2. Shalefu (2012)
3. UNESCO (2011a, b)
4. UNESCO (2008a, b)
5. SADC (2012a, b, c, d)
6. Own computations

Table 3 discusses the styles of management and resources available for the implementation of lifelong learning within SADC member states.

Table 3 illustrates that the management of lifelong learning within SADC countries is either centralized or decentralized. On the one hand, 'centralized' means that government is responsible for the near totality of the administration and inputs that go into the functioning of lifelong learning activities within the country. 'Decentralized', on the other hand, denotes the transfer of decision-making authority from high echelons of the state to geographically dispersed central government agents thereby, strengthening local staff to enable them to make decisions on their daily work (SADC 2012a); it is meant that while government is accepted as proprietor of the lifelong learning project, a number of other stakeholders (civil society organizations, non-governmental organizations, religious organizations, private individuals and the private sector) bring substantial input in the delivery of lifelong learning within specific national spaces. The majority of SADC member states run their lifelong learning project in a centralized fashion and only four countries (Mauritius, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zambia) were found to run a decentralized lifelong learning system.

For example, the Mauritius Ministry of Education, while retaining about 90% participation in the promotion of traditional literacy, has encouraged up to 90% private participation in the field of vocational training. Swaziland welcomed private persons and organizations in the promotion of both traditional literacy and vocational education by working out some incentives (tax relief, concessional allocations, etc.) in respect of individuals and organizations that chose to lend a hand in promoting either or both traditional literacy and vocational education. Over the last decade, the Tanzanian Ministry of Education advocated for and supported the participation of civil society organizations, private individuals and organizations in literacy and vocational education programmes. Zambia, like Swaziland instituted a number of incentives to attract private participation in the realm of both literacy and vocational education (SADC 2012b).

Finally, Table 3 depicts percentages of national education budgets that are currently allocated to lifelong learning in SADC countries. Most SADC countries tended to allocate less than 1% of their education budget to lifelong learning. Only five out of the 15 countries (Botswana, Namibia, Seychelles, Tanzania and Zambia) allocated between 1% and 1.20% of their annual national education budgets to lifelong learning. This is a far cry from the 4 to 6% of Gross Domestic Product or at least 15–20% of total public expenditure to education proposed by UNESCO and endorsed at the World Education Forum 2015 held at the Republic of Korea (UNESCO 2011b).

Regarding the terminology and conception of lifelong learning in relation to ‘what is’ and ‘what ought to be’, the phenomenon being discussed was referred to as ‘lifelong education’ during the period 1920–1970 (Yeaxlee 1929) and as ‘lifelong learning’ beginning early 1970 (Faure et al. 1972; Delors 1996). The SADC *Protocol on Education and Training* uses the terminology ‘lifelong education’ (see pages 1 & 16) thereby suggesting that SADC preferred the older terminology which is less comprehensive than the newer.

A holistic conception of lifelong learning (learning from pre-school years till death [UNESCO 2011b; Tuckett 2013]) has largely been promoted in the twenty-first century. While all SADC member states do run formal education systems, all but Mauritius, are yet to supply government support for the promotion of pre-school education (weMfondo 2007) which is nevertheless a critical and fundamental aspect of lifelong learning.

Additionally, the SADC *Protocol on Education (1997)* did not propose a formal definition of lifelong learning/education. Neither did the various national policies of member states. However, reading through the policy documents of member states, a conceptual convergence arises which suggests that in the minds of SADC policy makers, lifelong learning, while literally intended to mean education/learning throughout life, is actually conceived as ‘post-formal education’ or ‘learning beyond the years of compulsory education’. Hence, the adoption of mainly ‘adult education centres’ and ‘distance learning facilities’ as structures for the delivery of lifelong learning and the concentration on vocational training and remedial secondary education as critical components of lifelong learning contents.

In other words, lifelong learning is conceived as two or three types of educational programme or learning (depending on the country) undertaken after the years of schooling or to some extent, it is conceived as learning outside school. Walters et al. (2014) and Preece (2011) had earlier observed that there was a tendency within Southern Africa to equate lifelong learning with the traditional concept of adult education (education provided to people viewed as adult in their respective communities). Indeed Lee (2012) and Aitchinson and Alidou (2009) had proposed a worse scenario. They submitted that in some cases, lifelong learning in Southern Africa had been conceived as adult literacy and/or adult basic education. There exists within SADC even more confusing situations wherein lifelong education is considered as a type of education different and separate from ‘training’ and ‘distance education’ on the one hand yet, including ‘distance education’ as part of lifelong learning on the other hand. One such example is reflected in an attempt to supply a definition of lifelong education within the *Review of the Status and Capacities for the Implementation of the Protocol on Education and Training* (2007). The statement reads:

The protocol covers the area of lifelong education, training and distance education. Lifelong education programmes include adult literacy programmes; further education programmes for adults; and distance education... (weMfondo 2007: 57)

Whereas the world began to move away from the use and operationalisation of the concept ‘lifelong education’ to adopt ‘lifelong learning’ because the global society began to emphasize learning over education as early as the 1970s (Faure et al. 1972; Preece 2011; Bengtsson 2013) SADC seems to have conceptually remained fixated on the use of lifelong education. For SADC documents to be still referring to ‘lifelong education’ (see SADC *Protocol on Education and Training*: 1 & 16) more than one and a half decades into the twenty-first century, suggests a reluctance in embracing the holistic meaning and approach to lifelong learning.

It is acknowledged that globally, owing to a variety of reasons (such as pressing social and/or political concerns, temporary lack of lifelong learning infrastructure, high cost of running lifelong learning, etc.), a few societies have only applied their lifelong learning provision to a narrow area (Matheson and Matheson 1996; Aspin and Chapman 2000; Gouthro 2007). This might also be the case of SADC. Yet, it would have been more beneficial if, within the narrowness of the application of lifelong learning, pre-school children were taken along with a view to instilling in them some amount of lifelong learning skills such that these vulnerable members of society could self-direct their own learning in later years. Additionally, it is imperative that about two decades into the twenty-first century, SADC member states should begin to practically enlarge their scope of lifelong learning. Lifelong learning is not just one educational or learning programme. It is a giant learning process that employs the informal, formal and non-formal structures and contents of learning to advance

itself. For practical purposes, only the formal and non-formal structures and contents are planned and accounted for as quantifiable learning experiences. However, informal learning, when it has taken place, does support and boost the formal and non-formal types of learning and it is, therefore, acknowledged and recognized within lifelong learning through such systems or principles as ‘recognition of prior learning (RPL)’ (learning acquired before enrolling on a new learning programme), ‘un-credited learning (UL)’ (learning not initially acknowledged through award of credits) ‘afore learning (AL)’ (learning recognized as pre-requisite to subsequent learning) and the like. Lifelong learning therefore, as stated earlier, is a system of learning that integrates all forms of learning that there are, creating linkages among them and building bridges across them with a view to creating a mega pool of learning opportunities that would keep each individual learning through life for the purpose of satisfying his/her basic, professional and leisure learning needs. Over and above lifelong learning delivery, SADC faces some challenges.

CHALLENGES IN THE AREA OF LIFELONG LEARNING

The findings laid out in Tables 1–3 have implications for the state of lifelong learning in SADC. They are suggestive of the manner in which lifelong learning is perceived and do suggest some challenges to this system of education being effectively delivered within the region.

A number of challenges, therefore, exist within the realm of lifelong learning in the context of SADC. For example, Tables 1 and 2 illustrate that instead of running as an integrated system of learning involving pre-school learning through the formal to non-formal learning, lifelong learning in SADC is run on a few selected structures of non-formal education. The main challenge arising from these findings includes the fact that SADC is operating a type of lifelong learning for which it would be difficult to secure external collaboration. While it is understood that all education systems run within the constraints of the society that engenders it, the fundamentals (appropriate conception, basics for ensuring minimum success—Early Child Care & Development—and average level of funding) should not be sacrificed. The absence of these fundamentals will tend to suggest the non-existence of the phenomenon (lifelong learning) which nevertheless is so indispensable for the socio-economic development of SADC in this century. The aforementioned constitute the main reason why the challenges of lifelong learning in SADC are further elaborated below before its prospects are discussed.

Narrow Conception of Lifelong Learning

Currently SADC lacks a coherent and seamless lifelong learning policy and framework for action. The framework being implemented was developed in 1997. Though still relevant in some aspects, it is no longer the most suitable instrument or policy framework to guide the effective delivery of lifelong

learning in the context of the region. Member states differ slightly in promoting two or three out-of-school learning programmes which they label as lifelong learning. Yet, SADC member states are first and foremost traditional African societies wherein learning has always been lifelong, progressing from childhood education through community education to life-wide and life-deep learning (Walters et al. 2014). As such, they ought to have taken advantage of this knowledge and adopted a holistic structure of lifelong learning.

As it is, however, most of them show a limited understanding of what lifelong learning entails. This is one obvious challenge because this rather narrow view of lifelong learning has the potential to keep SADC out of touch with other members of the global community. For example, a major conceptual limitation is that the 1997 Protocol still refers to 'lifelong education' and not 'lifelong learning' and does not seem to appreciate that lifelong learning goes beyond educational provisions such as adult literacy, open and distance learning and vocational training to include formal sectors such as early childhood care and development (ECCD), primary, secondary and tertiary education. Lifelong learning is currently reduced to a minor sub-sector section in the protocol. This denies it the opportunity to prominently feature as an overarching conceptual framework driving the education sector in SADC where every sub-sector is to be anchored in it. In addition, the formal and non-formal education sub-sectors are viewed as separate entities and the protocol fails to demonstrate their seamless linkages. For example, some member states' institutions such as BOCODOL and the Swaziland Basic Education and Training (EMLALATINI) provide distance learning for the purpose of remedying secondary education. However, in both countries, there is a notable deficiency in the non-formal strand in terms of helping learners to bridge between an equivalent of Standard Seven to acquiring a junior secondary school equivalent or higher through the non-formal strand (Marope 2010). The literacy education systems in both states have no provision for recuperating primary school or national literacy learners who may have acquired a qualification equivalent to Standard Seven in primary school. This gap exists because of the inability of the existing delivery framework for lifelong learning to establish the much-needed links among various learning programmes. The current situation wherein primary education failures are not recuperated through the existing remedial distance secondary education, leads to wastage of human resources occasioned by internal inefficiencies within the educational system; such wastage aggravates the adult illiteracy situation in these countries as these primary education dropouts could invariably become adult illiterates. Inability to establish proper connections between deserving learning options also presents an obstacle against the establishment of a uniform qualification framework that could serve all members across all education systems in SADC states.

Consequently, there is a need to develop specific policies in other sub-sectors and topical areas that are instrumental in facilitating the development of a cohesive lifelong learning system in Adult Education and Training (ABET), ECCD, HE, HIV/AIDS, ICTs, books development, information management

system and quality assurance for the region. However, some notable progress has been made to develop sub-sector strategies such as the development of the *SADC Strategic Framework and Programme of Action for Technical and Vocational Education and Training and the Open and Distance Learning Strategy* (SADC 2012b) and the *Regional Qualifications Framework (RQF)* (SADC 2012a). The challenge is that a few member states, including Botswana, are still struggling to establish their own National Credit and Qualification Frameworks and it is not yet clear how they will be linked to the Regional Qualification Frameworks.

Absence of a System of Early Childhood Care and Development

Up until the present moment, the delivery of early childhood education has been neglected within the SADC region. ECCD is essential because it minimizes negative impact of growing up in poverty and lays a solid foundation for enhanced readiness to learn at later stages (Maruatona and Newmann 2011). Mauritius is the only country that has almost fully deployed government support to this sector of education (SADC 2012b; weMonfondo 2007). Other countries such as Madagascar, South Africa and to a lesser extent Botswana (where ECCD practice is sourced out to private providers and communities) are making some modest strives to deliver meaningful learning opportunities for children at this level. In each of these cases, the state provides pre-primary structure within primary schools, facilitate the training of early childhood teachers, development and monitoring of the curriculum, which is delivered by NGO, private sector and community providers (weMfondo 2007). Yet, available data reveal that increased investment in earlier years of life evidently bears the best dividend (Marope 2010). The challenge is that failure to provide pro-poor ECCD opportunities for poor children fails these countries to effectively achieve the goals of the *SADC Protocol on Education and Training* (1997), the *African Union Second Decade of Education Plan of Action* (2006–2015), the *Millennium Development Goals* (MDGs) (2000–2015) and the *Post-2015 Development Agenda (Sustainable Development Goals)* (2016–2030). The most eminent challenge is that such children are denied the opportunity to engage in any meaningful future lifelong learning opportunities because they would be both steeped in poverty and would lack the essential foundation for the culture of learning (Marope 2010). This ultimately reduces the chances for the development of a comprehensive human capital/skills agenda in the SADC region which considerably reduces its global competitiveness of the region.

Underfunding of Lifelong Learning

Lifelong learning is grossly underfunded in SADC. Almost all SADC member states spend between 12% and 26% of their annual budgets on education, the same states spend only between 0.56% and 1.20% of this education budget on

lifelong learning (Biao and Maruatona 2014; Moyo 2014; Shalefu 2012; UNESCO 2008a, b, 2011a, b). Whereas it is true that member states receive some assistance from SADC headquarters in order to bolster their lifelong learning resources, the bulk of the resources devoted to the promotion of lifelong learning in each country is sourced by and from individual countries. Indeed the SADC training fund that is held at the SADC Head Office is expected to be made up of the contributions from member states. Given this tenuous situation, the little amount allocated to lifelong learning is a true measure and reflection of the health of the resources devoted to the promotion of lifelong learning in each state and indeed in the whole of the SADC region.

PROSPECTS FOR LIFELONG LEARNING

In a general sense, lifelong learning would witness greater visibility and expanded practice within the SADC region when the challenges discussed earlier are attended to. But how can the challenges highlighted here be resolved when they seem so monumental and insurmountable? The shortage of funds seems real. The uncritical rejection of all that belongs to traditional Africa has been reinforced through past colonization and decades of modern schooling and brain-washing. Research capacity is low throughout the African continent. Yet, a way forward may be found in this matter when the following steps are taken:

1. SADC needs to consult and review the literature on traditional African lifelong learning (Traditional African Education) with a view to discovering how truly lifelong learning it was and still is.
2. The knowledge acquired through this exercise may then assist in promoting modern lifelong learning within the context of Africa in general and SADC in particular through the taking of the following steps:
 - (a) Acknowledging the need to start off a lifelong learning structure that begins with early child care and development learning programme. The contents and structure of this programme would not replicate the existing ones in the formal school system. The structure of the proposed early child care and development will rather supplement the ones currently existing within the formal education system; and the contents of the proposed early child care and development learning programme shall supplement current African early child home education with flexible government inputs in the areas of health education and support, nutritional education and support and critical thinking.
 - (b) Running of community-based literacy projects that shall promote the learning of both the languages of the immediate environment and national official languages.
 - (c) Running of community-based vocational learning projects with plans to mainstream some of the graduates into some suitable formal institutions for further training and

- (d) Establishment of community-based retraining projects to aid in various refreshers' learning programmes to be run on a continuous basis.
- (e) Encouragement of research efforts in the areas of traditional forms of lifelong learning and other forms of education that may enrich SADC lifelong learning project. The research efforts are to be geared towards endowing SADC with realistic and cost-effective lifelong learning formats without reducing anything from its holistic nature, interconnected learning segments and continuity.

The anticipated resistance to some of these suggestions as a result of acquired past attitude that encourages the rejection of all that belongs to traditional Africa recommends that a deliberate public information programme on the importance and need for a lifelong learning that is contextualized to the SADC environment be embarked upon. A number of media and strategies may be employed in the process of actualizing this dream. The media may include the usual media (regional information fora/strategies; national ministries of education and skills development; provincial and local/community organs for information dissemination) through which SADC and SADC member states disseminate information. These media may equally include the generally known ones such as the radio, television, internet and the social media. The strategies are better organized mainly as advocacy activities targeting power zones within the region and within national borders.

While hoping that the understanding and acceptance of the importance of lifelong learning may soon grow among the general public, one way of stimulating this awareness lies within the realm of training. Although the SADC region currently boasts of a modest number of experts in lifelong learning, the expansive and SADC region-wide lifelong learning work that is being advocated here would need not only a greater number of knowledgeable persons but also a greater number of experts. Training then becomes key and indispensable in the effort aimed at popularizing lifelong learning within the region. Specifically, training would be needed in the areas of lifelong learning system designs, development of lifelong learning programmes, development of learning materials for lifelong learning and design of websites appropriate for use within lifelong learning.

Since lifelong learning is an eternal enterprise, there is also a pressing need to train trainers of lifelong learning personnel whose main role shall be to monitor lifelong learning trends within the region and the world with a view to periodically determine new directions and new horizons for lifelong learning enterprise within the SADC region. In this connection and in addition to the role earlier on assigned to research, research remains an activity that is expected to assist in determining new directions, contents and resources for lifelong learning systems and programmes both within the region and elsewhere. Issues abound within the realm of lifelong learning that need research for the purpose of logically and systematically enhancing their understanding or resolving. These issues may range from clarifying the conceptions of lifelong learning to

determining rightful contents of lifelong learning systems and programmes, especially those on how to incorporate principles and contents of traditional African education. These issues may equally include methodological, social and political concerns which research can always help address in the interest of social and economic development.

CONCLUSION

About 2 decades into the twenty-first century, lifelong learning in the SADC region only partially exists. This is because both the theory and practice of lifelong learning within SADC currently lack the fundamentals that ought to constitute fully operational lifelong learning structures. Those fundamentals include the adoption of an integrative conception that views lifelong learning as an integrated learning system that embodies early childhood, formal and non-formal education (or their equivalent as enunciated earlier). These fundamentals equally include the acceptance of the fact that SADC member states need to meet the international community half way in the provision of funds for the delivery of lifelong learning if it is to take root within the region. The gap between the current 1% funding for lifelong learning and the internationally recommended 20% funding threshold is too yawning to suggest that within a foreseeable future SADC can put up a substantial achievement in the delivery of lifelong learning.

However, all is not doom and gloom as the prospects for a vibrant lifelong learning system do exist within the region. A few lifelong learning experts currently exist within the region and the fact that the SADC *Protocol on Education and Training (1997)* carries a discussion of lifelong learning is enough proof that the political will exists among member states to do the right and needful thing in pursuit of promoting lifelong learning where professional and expert assistance is offered to them.

This is why, in addition to the efforts of member states to put lifelong learning on regional and national discussion agendas, researchers are encouraged to carry out more extensive and intensive studies with a view to proffering answers to the questions of appropriate conception of lifelong learning, contents of lifelong learning and its financing within the region. Studies would equally be helpful in determining the extent to which African culture (especially harmful cultural practices) is an inhibitor to the development of early child care and development which has been found elsewhere to be an important component of lifelong learning. The issue of qualification frameworks relevant to the region's lifelong learning system needs equally to be addressed by the studies which are here called for.

REFERENCES

- African Studies Center of Michigan State University. (n.d.). *South Africa: Overcoming apartheid*. Retrieved September 7, 2015, from http://uctscholar.uct.ac.za/PDF/100389_Maaba_B.pdf.
- Aitchinson, J., & Alidou, H. (2009). *The state and development of adult learning and education in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Retrieved September 8, 2015, from http://www.unesco.org/fileadmin/UII/confintea/pdf/africa_synthesis_en.pdf.
- Aspin, D. N., & Chapman, J. D. (2000). Lifelong learning: Concepts and conceptions. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 18(1), 2–19.
- Baldwin-Ragaven, L. A., London, L. E., & De Gruchy, J. E. (1999). *An ambulance of the wrong colour: Health professionals, human rights and ethics in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Juta and Company Limited.
- Bengtsson, J. (2013). National strategies for implementing lifelong learning (LLL)—The gap between policy and reality: An international perspective. *International Review of Education*, 59(3), 343–352.
- Biao, I. (2015). Lifelong learning as an instrument for human capital development in Benin. *International Review of Education*, 61, 631–653.
- Biao, I. D., & Maruatona, T. O. (2014). The state of adult education in Botswana in the twenty-first century. In M. A. Milana & T. O. Nesbit (Eds.), *Global perspectives on adult education and learning policy*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Botswana College of Open and Distance Learning. (2016). *Programme structure*. Viewed March 14, 2016. Retrieved from <https://www.google.co.bw/BOCODOLh8xI9hkk7g>.
- Delors, J. (2013). The treasure within: Learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together and learning to be. What is the value of that treasure 15 years after its publication? *International Review of Education*, 59(3), 319–330.
- Delors, J., Amagi, I., Chung, F., Geremek, B., Gorham, W., Kornhauser, A. et. al. (1996). *Learning: The treasure within*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Du Toit, H. B. G. (2000). *Afrikaner political thought: Analysis and documents*. California: University of California.
- Faure, E., Herrera, F., Kaddoura, A., Lopes, H., Petrovsky, A. V., Rahnema, M., et al. (1972). *Learning to be: The world of education today and tomorrow*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Gouthro, P. (2007). Active and inclusive citizenship for women: Democratic considerations for fostering lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(2), 143–154.
- Jarvis, P. (2001). *Theory and practice of teaching* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Kaplan, I. (1970). *Area handbook for South Africa*. Retrieved October 2, 2015, from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED056947.pdf>.
- Lee, R. (2012). *Youth and adult learning in Southern Africa*. Retrieved September 5, 2015, from <http://www.OSISA.org>.
- Mandela, R. N. (2013). *Long walk to freedom* (50th ed.). London: Abacus.
- Marope, M. (2010). *The education system in Swaziland, training and skills development for shared growth and competitiveness: African human development Series* (Bank Paper no. 188). Washington, DC. Retrieved October 14, 2015, from <http://www.wds.worldbank.org/external/.pdf>.
- Maruatona, T. (2006). *Adult education, deliberative democracy and social re-engagement in Africa*. Retrieved October 10, 2015, from <http://www.sagepublications.com>.

- Maruatona, T. L. (2012). Delivering lifelong learning for sustainable development in Southern Africa: Problems and prospects. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31(4), 377–395.
- Maruatona, T., & Newmann, K. (2011). *Draft report on the diagnosis of basic education in Botswana*. Gaborone: Ministry of Education and Skills Development.
- Matheson, D., & Matheson, C. (1996). Lifelong learning and lifelong education: A critique. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, 1(2), 219–236.
- Merriam, S. B., Caffarella, R. S., & Baumgarthner L. M. (2007). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Moyo, C. (2014). Is Adult Basic Education the answer to rural women's poverty? Retrieved October 5, 2015, from <http://www.-45-0-000-14-Web/JHE-.pdf>. *Journal of Human Ecology*, 45(2), 111–118.
- National Planning Commission of Namibia. (2012). *Namibian National census 2012*. Windhoek: Government of Namibia.
- Nsamenang, A. B. (2006). Human ontogenesis: An indigenous African view on development and intelligence. *International Journal of Psychology*, 41(4), 293–297.
- Ouane, A. (2008). *Lifelong learning today within*. Retrieved September 27, 2015, from <http://www.wcfel.org/frenchbis/pdf/A.Ouane.Anglais.pdf>.
- Preece, J. (2009). *Lifelong learning and development: A southern perspective*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Preece, J. (2011). Research in adult education and lifelong learning in the era of CONFINTEA VI. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 30(1), 99–117.
- Republic of South Africa. (2001). *South African country report: Progress on the implementation of the regional education and training plan: Integrating the Second Decade of Education in Africa and the Protocol on Education and Training*. Retrieved October 10, 2015, from <http://www.saedu.org>.
- Republic of South Africa. (2011). *National Census 2011*. Pretoria: South African Government.
- SADC. (2012a). *Southern African Development Community: Towards a common future*. Retrieved October 8, 2015, from <http://www.sadc.int/about-sadc/overview/history-and-treaty/#SADCC>.
- SADC. (2012b). *Status of education*. Viewed October 8, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.sadc.int/themes/social-human-development/education-skills-development/>.
- SADC. (2012c). *HIV/AIDS within the SADC region*. Viewed October 10, 2015. Retrieved from <http://www.sadc.int/issues/hiv-aids/>.
- SADC. (2012d). *Report of the Executive Secretary: Activity report of the SADC Secretariat 2001–2012*. Pretoria: SADC.
- Shalefu, K. (2012). *Youth and adult learning and education in Namibia*. Windhoek: Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa.
- Smith, M. K. (2001). *Lifelong learning, the encyclopedia of informal education*. Retrieved September 17, 2015, from <http://www.infed.org/lifelonglearning/b-life.htm>.
- Tuckett, A. (2013). Towards a lifelong learning target for 2015. *International Review of Education*, 5(3), 383–397.
- UNDP. (n.d.). *Human Development Reports*. Retrieved October 7, 2015, from [http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/populationlivingbelow\\$1.25pday](http://www.hdr.undp.org/en/populationlivingbelow$1.25pday).
- UNESCO. (2008a). *The education system at the end of the twentieth century: An overview*. Retrieved September 15, 2015, from <http://www.ibe.unesco.org/International/ICE/natrap/Swaziland.pdf>.

- UNESCO. (2008b). *Education and training policy in Tanzania*. Retrieved September 8, 2015, from <http://www.unesco.org/education/edurights/media/docs/.pdf>.
- UNESCO. (2011a). *South African national report on the development and state of the art of adult learning and education*. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from http://www.unesco.org/UII/confintea/pdf/National_Reports/Africa/South_Africa.pdf.
- UNESCO. (2011b). *World education forum*. Retrieved October 14, 2015, from <https://www.google.co.bw/worldeducationforum2015report>.
- Walters, S. H., Yang, J. I., & Roslander, P. E. (2014). *Key issues and policy consideration in promoting lifelong learning in selected African countries: Ethiopia, Kenya, Namibia, Rwanda and Tanzania*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- weMfondo, U. (2007). *Review of the status and capacities for the implementation of the protocol on education and training*. Pretoria: SADC.
- weMfondo, U. (2011). *Activity report of the SADC setariat*. Pretoria: SADC.
- weMfondo, U. (2012). *Activity report of the SADC setariat*. Pretoria: SADC.
- Yeaxlee, B. A. (1929). *Lifelong education*. London: Cassell.
- Zepka, N. (2009). A future for lifelong education in Aotearoa New Zealand: Neoliberal or cosmopolitan. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 28(6), 751–762.

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Idowu Biao is Professor of lifelong learning at the Department of Adult Education, University of Botswana. Previous positions include Deputy and Attorney General. Director, Institute of Extra-Mural Studies, National University of Lesotho and Chair, CollegePortal, University of Calabar, Nigeria. His life interests include the promotion of socio-economic development through community engagement activities and researches. His most recent publication, *The place of ontogeny in the process of socio-economic development*, can be found in *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 3(3), 56–67 (2016).

Tonic Maruatona is Professor and Head of Department of Adult Education at the University of Botswana. He teaches Adult Learning and Foundations of Adult of Education. He has published articles, book chapters and reviews on various aspects of adult education such as social exclusion and adult basic literacy. His latest publications include 'Lifelong learning for social inclusion of ethnic minorities in Botswana' (*Journal of Education, Citizenship and Social Justice* 10(1), 37–54, 2016).

Argentina: The Debate Between Lifelong and Popular Education in Adult Education

Lidia Mercedes Rodríguez

Abstract This chapter explores the tension produced between the concepts of lifelong education and popular education in Argentina when the National Adult Education Department (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto or DINEA in Spanish) was created in 1968, during a period of consecutive coups d'état. The use of these concepts is discussed taking into account that the struggle over signification, that is, the production of signifieds, is one of the forms of struggle for hegemony. At a specific moment in which the Western nations were reconsidering their school systems, Argentina's military government appropriated lifelong education in order to propose a way of modernizing the adult system (In Argentina, the adult system has been a subsystem of the national education system since the beginnings of the twentieth century.) and legitimizing the educational reforms being fostered, without producing any significant transformations of the status quo. Simultaneously, alternative educational practices inspired by Paulo Freire's theoretical framework were being carried out by several social movements, which articulated them to their resistance to the dictatorships in power.

Lidia Mercedes Rodríguez

The English version of this chapter has had the valuable collaboration of Lic. Denisse Garrido (UBA).

L.M. Rodríguez (✉)

Facultad de Filosofía Y Letras, UBA, APPEAL., Dra. Lidia Mercedes Rodríguez,
25 de Mayo 221.5 to. Piso., CABA (Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires),
CP: 1002, Argentina
e-mail: lidiamero@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_27

INTRODUCTION

The concept of lifelong education (*Educación Permanente*, in Spanish) has been used in Argentina to define the Part related to young people and adults' education in its National Law of Education n° 26206 passed in 2006. Most provinces in the country have adopted this concept when adjusting their own legislations to the national law. However, it is important to note that this term was not free from tension or discussion, particularly as regards its relation to popular education, within the field of Adult Education, ever since the founding moment of this subsystem in Argentina. This chapter aims to analyse that very first appropriation and use of the concept of lifelong education, at the moment when it built long-lasting conceptual matrixes for educators. It was assimilated by Argentinean policy makers around the 1960s and 1970s inspired by the proposals of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). These proposals explained that 'there are two postulates that condition its lifelong education conception: democratization of education (education for all) and learning throughout life' (Sabán Vera 2010: 203).

Paradoxically enough, the democratizing principle that the international organization promoted was adopted in our country, as well as in other Latin American countries, by dictatorships. This construction of meaning did not seem to problematize the legitimacy of its own place of utterance.

Contemporary to the dictatorship's construction of this proposal, and coming from the depth of the social fabric, alternative educational experiences were being generated, inspired by Paulo Freire's work and based on the concept of popular education.

The opposition between the official discourse and the work of educators, social and political militants, as well as teachers from the formal education system, throughout those years in Argentina, did not imply that these parallel practices were conceptually opposed to one another. In other words, lifelong education in its multiple versions, particularly UNESCO's, did not oppose to the popular education notions. Let us not forget that, in that regard, Freire was an adviser to that international organization, and his adult literacy plan in Brazil was supported by the Alliance for Progress (ALPRO).¹

SOME METHODOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS

The concept of *discursive configuration*, as conceived of by Laclau and Mouffe (1985), enables us to refer to the field of adult education in Argentina as a construction of meanings made by different social actors. This field is approached as an 'open, incomplete and precarious structure which involves the relational and differential features of its elements, and the possibility to construct signifieds' (Buenfil Burgos 1997: 26). Thus, adult education is built as a *totality*, understanding it not as 'real "wholeness"' but as 'a demand for totalizing what is fragmentary' (Zemelman 1992: 50). In this context, 'totality does not mean all the facts, but it is an epistemological viewpoint from where to establish fields

for observing reality' (1992: 50). That is, totality is understood 'as an epistemological focus, in other words, it is opened to the complexity of what is real and, basically, critical organization of thinking, in order to avoid all kinds of reductionisms' (Zemelman 1987: 11). From the same perspective, it is considered that the relationship between a signifier and its signified is arbitrary, as it is socially constructed. Words do not necessarily refer to their referent. Words are social constructions; they are historically bound, and are charged emotionally and politically, that is to say, their usage is always historically situated. Therefore, the struggle over signifieds is one of the forms that struggles for hegemony take.

This chapter, which is part of a wider project on adult education and recent history, poses, as one of its assumptions, that the historical trace of the use of certain concepts might allow us to account for the struggles for the appropriation of signifiers as made by different social actors. Furthermore, it faces the methodological problems of recent history, which cannot be defined exclusively by a chronological principle given that, from a non-positivist perspective, periodizations do not refer to what has definitely happened but to multiple possible readings of those processes. Thus, recent history constitutes a particular regime of historicity based on certain forms of

Contemporarity between past and present: the survival of actors and those who played a leading role in the past in condition to give testimony to the historians, the existence of a living social memory of that past, the contemporarity between the historians' lived experience and that past they are dealing with. (Franco and Levín 2007: 33)

Another important feature of recent history is the strong presence of topics related to traumatic processes, which links it directly to the problem of memory and oblivion. This locates the work on recent history in a particular dimension: it gives the local, personal narration the same magnitude as the macro-historical problem. Recent history is therefore crossed by testimony and memory issues, and it engages researchers in a particular manner owing to the nearness in time to the actors involved in the historical process being studied.

From this perspective, we will approach how the signifier lifelong education was used for a certain production of meaning within the field of adult education in Argentina's particular sociopolitical context of the 1960s and 1970s.

THE CREATION OF THE NATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION DEPARTMENT

The National Adult Education Department (from now on, DINEA, for its acronym in Spanish) was founded on the concept of lifelong education. It was preceded by the Intensive Adult Education and Literacy Programme, a massive campaign initiated in 1965 and the first significant national action aimed at adult learners. This programme was implemented during Arturo Illía's

presidency (1963–1966), while Peronism was proscribed.² Notwithstanding the political context of restricted democracy, the programme was regarded as an important improvement, given that it started to specify the nature of adult education and thus, it took care of the educational deficit of historically deprived groups. It was based on the educational proposals of Developmentalism and the ALPRO. The latter's main goals had been expressed in its founding charter, signed in 1961 in Punta del Este by all American countries except for Cuba, which in that same year declared the socialist character of its Revolution in power. The United States were thus attempting to lead the dependent Capitalist development of the Latin American nations, by means of extending their historical foreign policy as formulated by former President Monroe in 1823: 'America for the Americans'. The said system considered that modernizing reforms were necessary, which stressed the urgent need of forming 'human resources' in order to guarantee Latin American nations' economic take-off, and the training of technicians for the effective administration of the state and civil society institutions.

Based on the structure of the Literacy Programme mentioned above, the DINEA was created in 1968, according to the international guidelines that fostered the creation of adult education organisms separated from other educational areas. That certainly was an even more restraining political context than that of the Peronism's proscription period. From June 1966, our country was ruled by General Juan Carlos Onganía,³ whose term would be followed by two other military men, Levingston and Lanusse. In 1972, Peronism was back in power, thanks to the triumph of its candidate Héctor Cámpora. His administration gave birth to a completely new process, in the context of a Latin American climate of progress for national and popular projects.

As regards the DINEA, Professor Jorge María Ramallo was in charge of DINEA since its creation until 1973, when Carlos Grosso was appointed, working alongside the recently elected President Cámpora. The latter and his collaborators' way of thinking can be considered part of the group known as 'catholic *normalistas*'⁴ (Van Gelderen 1995), a national invention that links certain elements from the public education hegemonic school tradition and a renewed Catholic Church discourse.

The previous brief contextualization allows us to set the tensions and paradoxes of the field of Adult Education in Argentina at its beginning. This field will be based, for almost five years of dictatorships—from 1968 until 1973—on the principles of lifelong education.

ADULT EDUCATION AND LIFELONG EDUCATION AT DINEA'S FOUNDING MOMENT

Lifelong education, as a concept, was not only used by the DINEA. The 'Olivetti's Education Sessions', held in Buenos Aires from 3 to 8 August 1970, were sponsored by Olivetti and promoted by the National Ministry of Culture

and Education. These Sessions were of great relevance, especially because of the standard of intellectuals and lecturers invited, such as Georges Lapassade and Michel Lobrot,⁵ amongst others. But their importance was mostly due to the fact that they opened up a series of debates restricted to universities at that time within the public sphere. During the 1960s and 1970s, the Public Education model inherited from the twentieth century was beginning to seem insufficient to respond to the new societies' demands. That is the reason why it is not random that the general theme of those Sessions was 'Educational change in the 1970s', which 'attempted to manifest a global tendency towards restructuring education systems' (Suasnábar 2004: 160). By then, doubts started to arise as regards the initial enthusiasm motivated by Developmentalism's proposal, which regarded education as a driving force for progress.

Therefore, according to Suasnábar (2004: 160),

the main issue that arose during those Sessions was undoubtedly the question whether the countries in the region would participate of that future image which condensed that largely announced, though not yet obtained, hope for Development. In this scheme, education seemed to be a key tool of this strategy for change, though the paradox of this situation turned out to be the high expectations set on the so-called 'virtuous' feature of the relations between education and social change, as Aldo Solari (Chairman of the Social Development Programming Division of the Economic Commission for Latin America & the Caribbean) pointed out without having established a real theory of change yet.

In short, at the beginning of the 1970s, development promises of the previous decades were being questioned in Argentina and, moreover, the government needed to reinforce its legitimacy, particularly as regards its educational reforms. In this context, 'lifelong education' was one of the five sub-topics at those Sessions.⁶

It was a moment of profound transformations in the field of adult education as well. That is how the Undersecretary of education expressed it when Professor Ramallo was appointed:

It is the goal of this Secretary to behold the area of non-formal education within the modern concept of 'lifelong education'. Adult Education is no longer exclusively conceived of as literacy or as a supplement to a deficient cultural formation of the adult population who has not had the means to receive basic education. Today, the horizon is much more ambitious. It involves a sociocultural action aimed at increasing and enhancing the community's ways of living. And, most of all, it involves a lifelong education system, aimed at the whole population, which would involve much more than simply complementing the formal education system. (Mignone 1970a: 65)

Within that international theoretical framework, General Onganía's government authorities claimed the need for modernizing adult education. That is

what Mario Sarubbi, the General Coordinator of the DINEA, expressed on the International Literacy Day:

Up until 1969, the official policy in adult education – quantitatively considered – was basically concerned about the ‘correction of the school system’s flaws’ and the current socio-economic situations: its function was restricted to reincorporating those Argentinians rejected or non-integrated in the basic school system..... However, such a goal turns out to be insufficient. It confines and even mutilates the concept of lifelong education, and it is reduced to making up for the common school system’s flaws rather than modifying the system itself. (1971: 7)

The need for modernization was more clearly expressed by the Undersecretary of education of the military government:

Certainly, it is nowadays common ground knowledge that education should be conceived of as the progressive development of man. Educational work does not end with the traditional school system’s cycles; rather, it extends throughout adulthood in a process that covers a man’s whole life. (Mignone 1970b: 47)

Most importantly, Mignone states that the key lies in establishing the basis for a more general transformation:

Although no universal consensus on the reaches of the lifelong education concept exists yet, it is generally accepted that such a concept is intended to ‘give birth to a new educational order’. (Mignone 1970b: 47)

From this perspective, a complete transformation of the system was put forward:

The concept of lifelong education implies a new conception of man, society and politics. Most of all, it involves a complete revision of the existent education systems as regards three aspects: their goals, contents and extension. (Sarubbi 1971: 5)

DINEA produced a variety of texts for public distribution regarding this topic. They were mostly transcriptions or re-writings of other authors, mainly French ones. Few local works resignified these concepts in the context of the national processes taking place at the time. In that regard, one of the most important documents is the final report of the National Seminar on Lifelong Education (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de Argentina 1970), held in Buenos Aires from 20 to 26 June 1970, and promoted by the Organization of American States⁷ and UNESCO. A total of 113 attendants from different levels, modalities and jurisdictions of the Argentinian education system and eight Latin American countries took part in the event. The issues proposed at the Seminar linked lifelong education to development, adult education and the mass media. This document worked as a theoretical framework for DINEA’s policy and, for

that reason, we will now summarize the key points of this proposal: its conceptualization, the problem of development and its considerations on subjects.

Conceptualization

At the Seminar, the difficulties for achieving a conceptualization were pointed out, and, by the end, lifelong education was defined as ‘the integral and *un-interrupted* improvement of human beings from birth till death’ (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 11).

One of the main objectives proposed was to ‘stimulate’ the school system due to the insufficiency of the Public Instruction model in responding to the challenges of the mid-twentieth century. From the attendants to the Seminar’s perspectives, its aims were:

To enable man to comprehend and overcome psychological, social and economic problems in a world which demands constant renewal; and to enable man to exercise the freedom of choice with responsible and creative participation within the community. (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 11)

The national conception of adult education aimed at including elements from the new pedagogical discourse, such as ‘freedom of choice’ and ‘participation’, to overcome the traditional *normalista* discourse, as expressed in its purposes (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 11).

Development

While development was certainly an issue at the time, in Argentina, it was regarded as a challenge for the survival of the elite groups in power. The possibility of replacing Peronism with a more respectful of the status quo political party implied achieving an economical take-off and an improvement in the masses social situation.

The Seminar worked on development from a humanistic perspective. For that reason, though it was understood that it was all about the “integral deployment of human, natural and financial resources so as to accomplish the goals of progress and general welfare on the basis of essential human values, which are the foundation of our society” (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 19), It also warned about the fact that: ‘development is a means at the service of men and not vice versa’ (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 20). That perception was regarded by the attendants to the Seminar as the need to overcome situations of social injustice, which were also denounced even by those non-radical progressive sectors of the Catholic Church:

As regards community development, this Seminar considers that marginalized groups present different problems that ought to be the object of psychosociological research in order to accomplish the transformation of unjust social

structures. The marginalized should be risen to the condition of human beings and given the possibility to overcome the limitations of the structure they are part of. In that way, they were able to pursue social mobility. (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 22–23)

Within the same strand of thinking, the relevance of carrying out an ‘integral planning of the national development’ was suggested (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 20). It was also insisted on the need for training ‘human resources’ so as to achieve the ‘national development’ expected.

The Coordinator of DINEA, Professor Sarubbi, expressed these ideas even more clearly at the Seminar: ‘Adulthood basically represents the active man. It consists of the productive sector of a community in its broader sense: adults are the community’s human resources. Thus, adulthood also has to deal with the impact of the rapid changes of the time’ (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1971: 5).

The Subjects

We claim that one of the contradictions of the authoritarian educational discourse in Argentina, and in other Latin American countries, was that—in official documents—it called for the participation of society, disregarding the dictatorial context of repression in which the country was immersed. For instance, the final report of the National Seminar on Lifelong Education expressed that

Man must be at the same time subject and object of his own and the community’s development through his constant, permanent, active, reflexive and responsible participation within the dynamic process of the local, regional, national and international community. (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 2)

In other words, reforms and theories were developed bearing in mind certain target subjects, their desires, dreams and expectations. In relation to this issue, Zemelman claims that ‘there are too many correct diagnosis without subjects capable of bearing them; too many predictions of possible futures without subjects capable of bearing them either. That is to say, there is too much illustration and little consciousness, too much intelligence and too little will-power’ (El sujeto y su discurso en América Latina: Hugo Zemelman 2010).

The text from the Seminar in question appears to be paradigmatic in that sense. On the one hand, there is a perception of the subjects as if they were rather ‘disabled’. Hence, it refers to an adult as an ‘illiterate and disadvantaged’ person (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 29).

Educators and different militants from popular education experiences had a whole different perception on those popular sectors whose political identities had been prohibited. This issue will be further discussed towards the end of this chapter.

Regarding the opinion on women, the text contained traditional ideas: '(women) should not only achieve self-realisation, but they should also fully develop their female characters' specific features' (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 15). The said features were mostly related to taking care of their homes and families and making these activities compatible with their jobs.

On the other hand, the appeal for dialogue, participation and commitment to the time results curious given the context of a dictatorship. Let us transcribe some paragraphs to illustrate this idea:

Freed from his ignorance, capable of acting collectively, of inspiring others in a dialogic, creative and open task so as to integrate others and himself in an order of values. This personality must as well be characterized by a constant seek and testimony of what he or she thinks, feels and wants. (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 12)

Active participation of man in the creation and enjoyment of goods and culture in the time and place he ought to live in must be attained. (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 15)

Let us now quote a paragraph which reaches outrageous levels, at a moment when popular sectors and social movements' leaders were being violently repressed and imprisoned: 'To respect natural leaders, encourage them and train them at all levels' (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación 1970: 22). All of these thoughts seem to be more inspired by the reading of the work of authors such as Paul Lengrand⁸ or Malcolm Adiseshiah,⁹ amongst others, which circulated in different DINEA's papers and handbooks, rather than in the reality of a country being ruled by dictators. It is worth mentioning that these kinds of constructions of meaning, which paradoxically appeal to liberty and democracy, have been typical of national dictatorships. From a Marxist stance, Paiva (1982) criticized the Brazilian situation at the beginning of the 1980s in a similar way:

Assertions such as 'lifelong education radically transforms the organization of teaching', or 'every teaching, every professional training and knowledge acquisition would be centered in men' (Adiseshiah, M.: 'Perspectivas de la educación permanente', Revista Brasileira de Estudos Pedagógicos, Rio de Janeiro, MEC/INEP, núm. 113, vol. 51, enero-marzo de 1979: 149-153), are uttered in a more or less arbitrary way, insofar as in the text there is no clear concern for the analysis of concrete situations that demand or enable those transformations to necessarily occur. (Paiva 1982: 141)

In short, the DINEA was created in Argentina under a military regime, and it drew on the concept of lifelong education as it was being used within the framework of UNESCO. As we have been asserting, making use of this framework allowed the government to base and legitimize its actions.¹⁰

Less visible but nonetheless powerful, some popular education experiences and debates were simultaneously taking place, and they were related to the resistance to the military governments.

LIFELONG EDUCATION'S PERMANENCE WITHIN THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT

In 1973, Peronism, which had been proscribed for the former 18 years, won the elections with 49% of votes and assumed control of the government, until it was overthrown by the military coup in 1976.

After the modernizing and pro-development speech of the previous decades, DINEA was once again suggesting a reform of the adult education subsystem. These changes were now based on Paulo Freire's theory of education. It incorporated the subject 'people', which had been absent in the previous lifelong education discourse. The 'people' were not only regarded as the target population, but they were also considered to be educators as well. In other words, they were not only consumers of culture but they were also producers of it.

The reform's main goals were expressed as follows: 'to reactivate DINEA's present structure in order to achieve maximum levels of participation from the people; and to re-found DINEA, according to the new political situation' (Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de Argentina 1973). A renewal of adult education's most radical speech was produced. This started up a process of transformation of the subsystem by creating a Department of Non-formal Projects, whose members published a document on Lifelong Education mostly aimed at educators (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1973). Now, it is worth analysing how the concept was appropriated by the new administration, within the democratic framework, possibly due to the continuity of several civil servants in their charges. This work conveys an effort of appropriation from an analysis more based on and situated in the concrete reality and lived experience of those subjects at whom the modality's educational actions were targeted. This discourse substantially modifies the meanings of those components, particularly due to the fact that the place of utterance is legitimized by the popular vote.

Three key points can be highlighted from this proposition. First of all, certain aspects closer to popular education are kept and they achieve more visibility. For instance, the proposal to include some contents or elements from the region's cultural diversity had been traditionally excluded from school systems. Secondly, it draws on some recent principles, in contrast to prior conceptualizations, which are taken from the field of popular education and will be articulated to the concept of lifelong education in a new way. It considers, for instance, that

the formulation of an operational model cannot come from a 'laboratory' where two or three faculties work on. It must come from conceptualizing and systematizing a concrete educational task by those who perform it. (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1973: 1)

Finally, this new administration emphasizes on other aspects of the inherited conceptualization, closer to Freire's perspective, which the previous governments did not quite take into account. This fact becomes evident in, at least, three main issues. First, 'the continuity of education is not only temporary. It is also spatial, methodological, curricular, organizational and vital' (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1973: 20). In other words, 'continuity extends throughout space. It is no longer reduced to school time, nor even to the physical school building' (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1973: 14). For that reason, it emphasizes the possibility of teaching in a variety of environments where the real everyday life of popular sectors takes place: 'cultural and artistic centres, trade unions, sport clubs, parish churches, etc.' (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1973: 14). In relation to this aspect, the idea of 'deschooling' is openly encouraged, re-signifying Ivan Illich's postulations and althusserian reproductivism critiques circulating across Latin America by then. Finally, it gives prior importance to the idea that, 'as a pedagogical-didactical fact, education essentially means LEARNING TO LEARN', because 'continuous progress in knowledge lead us to make a point on how to acquire them' (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1973: 13–14).

Latin American history tends to go through intense periods that can be read in an almost dichotomous way since it is inhabited by both dominant and resistant groups' periods. Such was Argentina's situation during the 1960s and 1970s. Popular struggles, in which even armed conflicts took place, were accompanied by educational actions almost generally framed within different conceptions and debates regarding the signifier Popular Education.

THE 'PARALLEL' POPULAR EDUCATION PROGRESSION

During the late 1960s and 1970s, left-wing political parties, social militants, Liberation Theology's advocates from different Christian churches were performing what was then called 'human promotion works' or 'territorial work', inspired by debates contained within Paulo Freire's and Ivan Illich's works, amongst others. In the neighbourhoods and *villas*,¹¹ home to popular sectors, 'Freire groups'—aimed at reflecting upon reality—were being organized and social and political militants were being formed there. These were inspired by the Brazilian pedagogue's 'cultural circles'. These activities were not at all meaningless, that is to say, quantitatively or institutionally unimportant. For instance, many of them were organized within the framework of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign launched and fostered all around the world by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations.

As a metaphor of this situation, let us remember that it was in the same year that UNESCO established as the International Year of Education that *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* was published. This text, as well as some other Marxist authors' works, passed around popular educators and teachers of the school system,

sometimes in clandestine versions or in certain journals, from hand to hand (Rodríguez 2003).

The 1960s in Argentina were an odd difficult-to-describe time, which we could paradoxically regard as open to clandestine activity. The Peronist party, as was said, was proscribed. The resistance to the dictatorship throughout those years was not equivalent to the civil society—state opposition; rather, it went through the arteries of official systems and traditional power structures. Many teachers, particularly adult schools teachers, were both social and political militants, and state functionaries; most of the laymen or religious ones, followers of diverse types of Christianity, were also strongly committed to popular struggles, without resigning their institutional belonging. Popular education was construed as a political pedagogical field which accompanied those resistance and opposition progresses from different spheres, such as political parties, popular organizations and also from the public school system, the Churches, and some trade unions. Those progressions within the popular field forced traditional powers and their armed forces to call for elections and enabled Peronism to return to the government.

Particularly, the Argentinean Christian Democracy militants, meaningfully powerful in our country back then—especially after Freire's collaboration with Chile's government during his exile there between 1964 and 1969—used to read Paulo Freire's works intensively. Despite being forced into exile by a military coup in his homeland, we can find traces of the Brazilian pedagogue's thinking in DINEA's documents during Argentina's dictatorship. For instance, during the National Seminar of Lifelong Education mentioned above, it was stated that it was of great importance 'to establish a dialogical relationship between educators and educatees, so that these develop a critical awareness of their real conditions of existence and become able to creatively act on them' (Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto 1973: 31).

Finally, while the military government was organizing the adult education system based on the concept of Lifelong Education, Popular Education was expanding in the territories inhabited by those subjects for whom this educational modality had always been intended.

CONCLUSION

In the 1960s, Western and modern school systems were being proven unable to respond to the new realities produced by political, cultural and technological transformations. From the American expansionist policies viewpoint, that historical moment was linked to the concern for avoiding a breakdown in the logic of an Inter-American System under the United States' hegemony, and the Cuban Revolution also marked the necessity for strengthening actions over the whole continent (González Casanova 1988; Puiggrós 2015).

On the other hand, the concept of lifelong education, which had emerged in the field of adult education, was being reviewed in an effort to reroute the necessary transformations of school systems. In Latin America, reproductivists'

theories were spreading, and Freire's ideas were beginning to gain increasing significance. The latter, in particular, and a wide variety of popular education strands of thinking, were producing theoretical proposals much closer to our continent's reality.

Groups of people who had reached power through a coup d'état presented 'Lifelong education' in Argentina as the core of a modernizing and even democratizing policy; for that reason, we claim that it worked as a discursive operation for a government that needed its power to be legitimate. It offered answers to the demands for transforming the education system in opposition to the radicalized proposals that arose within the field of popular education.

The lifelong education discourse on which Adult Education was founded in Argentina does not account for the real situation of the subjects at which the modality was aimed. It drew on internationally spread values and conceptions, overlooking the real context of dictatorships, repression and unjust distribution of wealth. Those propositions, transplanted without their necessary translation to the local reality, enabled to legitimize certain perceptions by ignoring the real subjects and the political processes that were taking place in these particular places.

In that context, the concept of popular education settled a tension in the field of adult education, articulating the signifier 'people' and 'popular' to the modality's discourse. In that regard, lifelong education was articulated to two other concepts of the time: 'change' and 'development', which placed it within the frame of Developmentalism's discursive configuration. For popular education, it is a matter of 'liberation' or, as Freire said, 'transition' processes.

To sum up, at the moment when Western nations began to reassess their school systems, lifelong education was appropriated by Argentina's dictatorship in order to propose a modernization of the system which did not produce major transformations of the status quo and of the traditional ways of distributing wealth. On the other hand, popular education was the answer from the liberationists' theories that arose in our continent.

History is not written in black or white, and it is significant to mention that though two completely opposite tendencies are shown, most of the developmental and modernizing national adult education subsystem's technicians and public functionaries were going to be later on committed participants of the Freirean proposals for the modality since 1973. In this regard, we shall not forget to mention Emilio Mignone, who was an emblematic figure of the human rights movement in Argentina since 1978. He was one of the founders of the Social and Legal Studies Centre, who approached this topic from the very beginning of the last dictatorship (1976–1983), and was one of the members of the Human Rights Permanent Assembly.

During the 1973–1976 period, DINEA proposed a new configuration of meaning for the Adult Education modality, and it included elements taken from the popular education subsystem. As from 1976, the *alfabetizadores* (or literacy teachers) and educators who implemented the transformative plans under the principles of popular education were brutally repressed, imprisoned and some of

them are still missing. Throughout those years, Popular Education was once again, as in the previous decade, part of the resistance movement to the dictatorship, together with other social movements, trade unions and pro-educational justice organizations.

In 1983, democracy was restored, but it was not until much later that a new educational legislation gave adult education the importance it had had before the last dictatorship. In 1993, the neoliberal Federal Law of Education 24.195 was passed, and adult education was practically erased in a section called ‘Special regimes’.

In 2006, a new legislation ultimately prevailed over—at least in normative terms—the market perspective. The National Education Law 26.206 paid special attention to the demands of social movements, popular organizations, teachers’ trade unions and different actors who had struggled against the neoliberal educational model. Regarding adult education, the Law took DINEA’s founding concept of lifelong education, though with a renewed spirit, and articulated it to other principles from the field of popular education, such as participation and attention to diversity, amongst others.

Popular education is still being embraced, especially by pedagogical strategies related to social actions and militant organizations which articulate it to the construction of their own political movements. It is not only appropriated by territorial militancy, but it is also incorporated as part of the State policies in the struggle against poverty. As in the democratic period interrupted by the coup in 1976, the political-pedagogical perspective of popular education –or some of its aspects- was assumed by the State in the first decade of the twenty-first century up until 2015. Emancipatory educational practices occur when the subjects that propose them manage to gain important places within the public sphere. This is what happened in Latin America in the first decade of the twenty-first century when important social transformations were carried out by National States led by people such as Evo Morales, Rafael Correa, Hugo Chávez, Fernando Lugo y Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, Néstor y Cristina Kirchner.

Words do not have univocal meanings. This work—not only this chapter, but the research which it is part of—has attempted to analyse the use of the concept of lifelong education within the particular Argentinean context of the 1960s. It is also in line with Rodriguez Brandao’s statements, when he expresses that ‘for us, *popular education* (and its variants) workers, one essential word should be added to UNESCO’s proposition and this word should be announced: *education to transform life*’ (2016: 3). In this way, we expect this work contributes to the complexation and problematization of the current challenges within the field of adult education.

NOTES

1. In 1961, concerned about the Cuban Revolution influence on Latin America, the US President John F. Kennedy launched the Alliance For Progress, a programme of economical and social aid destined to struggle against poverty and

- improve the south Americans' living conditions. It was expected to last 10 years but, under President Johnson's management, the US strengthened their Imperialist policies and, using the fear of a possible spreading of the Cuban example, fostered totalitarian military experiences throughout the continent.
2. Democratically elected President Juan Domingo Perón was overthrown by the armed forces in 1955. The navy and the army revolted and proclaimed themselves as the *Revolución Libertadora*, 'liberating revolution'. Through violent repression and persecution, they prohibited the Peronist political party for almost two decades.
 3. Argentinean military officers who took power in a coup in 1966 installed General Onganía, former commander in chief of the army, as President. The General hastily took extraordinary repressive measures and, in 1970, he was ousted in a coup. In his first year, the police subdued and drove out faculty members and students of University of Buenos Aires, the Argentinean Congress was dissolved, all political groups were declared illegal, trade unions were restrained, the press and the arts came under censorship, and many students, union leaders and civilian political figures were arrested.
 4. Trans. note: *Normalistas* or *Normalismo* refers to the ideological tradition born at the Normal School of Paraná, Entre Ríos, first model normal school established in Argentina due to the initiative of Domingo F. Sarmiento, in 1869. For such reason, we decided to keep this term in Spanish in this chapter.
 5. Georges Lapassade (1924–2008) was a French philosopher, social psychologist and ethnologist, and one of the founders of Institutional Pedagogy, also known as Pedagogical Self-management. During the 1960s and 1970s, along with psychosociologist and pedagogue Michel Lobrot (France, 1924–) and other educators, they performed several self-managed experiences at schools and social institutions and developed a pedagogical theory aimed at transforming institutional environments (Gadotti 1996).
 6. The other sub-topics were Education and economy, Unconventional forms of education, Education and school systems, Education and social change.
 7. The Organization of American States (OAS) was established in order to achieve amongst its member states—as stipulated in Article 1 of its Charter—'an order of peace and justice, to promote their solidarity, to strengthen their collaboration and to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their independence'. It came into being in 1948 with the signing in Bogotá, Colombia, of the Charter of the OAS.
 8. Paul Lengrand is considered as one of the founders of modern lifelong education theory. He was a former Head of the Division of Adult Education at UNESCO, Director of the UNESCO Institute for Education from 1967 to 1968 and member of the Secretariat of the International Commission on the Development of Education. In his book *An introduction to Lifelong Education*, published by UNESCO during International Education Year (1970), he stressed on the need to develop the questioning and creative function of education.
 9. Malcolm Adiseshiah was an Indian development economist and educator. In the 1950s and 1960s, he became renowned as UNESCO's expositor of education as a decisive contributor to socio-economic development in the Third World. In the 1970s, he was the President of the Indian Adult Education Commission, served as a long-standing Chairman of UNESCO's International jury for Literacy and was the President of the International Council of Adult Education.

He thought that ‘adult education is the necessary condition for the successful attainment and execution of the redistributive development programmes which are aimed at moving towards a more equal and just society [...]’ (cited in Prabhakar 1995).

10. See Note 3.

11. Trans. note: In Argentina, this term generally refers to a deprived urban area, consisting of large numbers of houses, which usually lack the basic services, such as power or sanitation system.

REFERENCES

- Buenfil Burgos, R. N. (1997). *Antagonismo y articulación en el discurso educativo: Iglesia y Gobierno*. Mexico: E. Torres Asociados.
- Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto. (1971). *Fundamentos y alcances de la educación del adulto en la Argentina, Divulgación No. 2*. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación.
- Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto. (1973). *Educación Permanente. Fascículo I*. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación.
- Franco, M., & Levín, F. (2007). El pasado cercano en clave historiográfica. In *Historia reciente*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.
- Gadotti, M. (1996). *Pedagogy of praxis. A dialectical philosophy of education*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- González Casanova, P. (1988). *América Latina: Historia de medio siglo T* (Vols. I–II). México: Siglo XXI Eds.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, Ch. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics*. London: Verso.
- Mignone, E. (1970a). Exposición al poner en posesión de su cargo al Director Nacional de Educación del Adulto, profesor J. M. Ramallo. July 17, 1969. In *Serie Difusión. Política Educativa. Bases*. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación.
- Mignone, E. (1970b). Palabras del Subsecretario de Educación, acto inaugural del Seminario. 1970, June 20. In *Servicio de Difusión. Seminario Nacional sobre educación permanente. Serie: La Reforma Educativa*. No. 4. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación.
- Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de Argentina. (1970). *Servicio de Difusión. Seminario Nacional sobre educación permanente. Serie: La Reforma Educativa*, No. 4. Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación.
- Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de Argentina. (1973). *Bases de la Campaña de Reactivación Educativa de Adultos para la Reconstrucción (Handbook)*. Buenos Aires: Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto.
- Paiva, V. (1982). Educación permanente. I Parte. ¿Ideología educativa o necesidad económico-social? In C. A. Torres (Ed.), *Ensayos sobre la educación de adultos en América Latina*. Mexico: CEE.
- Puiggrós, A. (2015). *Imperialismo y educación en América Latina*. Buenos Aires: Colihue.
- Prabhakar, E. (1995, September). Malcolm Adiseshiah (1910–1994), *Prospects* (Vol. XXV, 3, pp. 535–551). UNESCO, International Bureau of Education. Retrieved May

- 29, 2016, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0010/001052/105291eo.pdf#105390>.
- Rodríguez, L. (2003). Pedagogía de la liberación y educación de adultos. In A. Puiggrós (Dir.), M. Amuchástegui, S. Carli, M. Caruso, G. Fairstein, R. Gagliano, et al., *Historia de la Educación Argentina: Dictaduras y utopías en la historia reciente de la educación argentina (1955–1983)*, (Vol. VIII). Buenos Aires: Galerna.
- Rodríguez Brandao, C. (2016, April 27). Uma educação por toda a vida. Fragmentos de uma leitura visionária. *Conference at CONFITEA BRASIL +6*, Brasília. Retrieved from www.sitiodarosadosventos.com.br.
- Sabán Vera, C. (2010). ‘Educación permanente’ y ‘aprendizaje permanente’: dos modelos teórico-aplicativos diferentes. *Revista Iberoamericana de Educación*, 52, 203–230.
- Sarubbi, M. (1971). Disertación en ocasión del Día Internacional de la Alfabetización y Educación de Adultos. September 8, 1970. In *Fundamentos y alcances de la educación del adulto en la Argentina*, No. 2 (p. 7). Buenos Aires: Ministerio de Cultura y Educación de Argentina, Dirección Nacional de Educación del Adulto.
- Suasnábar, C. (2004). *Universidad e intelectuales: educación y política en la Argentina. (1955–1976)*. Buenos Aires: Manantial.
- Van Gelderen, A. (1995). *Conference at the Seminario de Metodología de la Investigación en Historia Reciente (Puiggrós)*. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras UBA.
- Zemelman, H. (1987). *Conocimiento y sujetos sociales. Contribución al estudio del presente*. Mexico: Colegio de Mexico.
- Zemelman, H. (1992). *Los horizontes de la razón*. Mexico: Antrophos eds.
- Zemelman, H. (2010). El sujeto y su discurso en América Latina. ‘*Mentes del Sur*’ — *Parte I* (video file). Retrieved January 2, 2016, from <https://youtube.com/watch?v=pP5XgHY-ZJQ>.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Lidia Mercedes Rodríguez holds a Doctorate in Education from the University of Paris VIII, France, and a Master degree from the *Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales* (FLACSO), Argentina. She teaches and directs projects for the *Programa Alternativas Pedagógicas y Prospectiva Educativa para América Latina* (APPEAL), Faculty of Arts, University of Buenos Aires, Argentina. She directed and edited *Educación popular en la historia reciente en Argentina y América Latina: Aportes para balance y prospectiva* (APPEAL, 2013) and published *Paulo Freire: An intellectual biography* (Colihue, 2015).

Ghana: The Life and Death of Adult Education and Implications for Current Policy

Michael A. Tagoe

Abstract The relevance of adult education in national development in the twenty-first century cannot be underestimated. Since the 1990s, international conferences on adult education have called the attention of national governments to the critical role that adult education plays in national development and to ensure that citizens have access to lifelong learning opportunities without discrimination based on gender, age, disability and ethnicity. The study discusses the role of the adult education movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the factors that caused the death of the movement and the need for a strong and unified adult education movement in the twenty-first century to advocate and hold governments accountable to provisions enshrined in the 1992 Constitution and from recommendations from International Conferences on Adult Education.

INTRODUCTION

Adult education has always provided the space for transformation both at the individual and societal levels. Since no education and learning is neutral, adult educators have fought on the side of the underprivileged and ‘disadvantaged’ adults to transform their lives and society. The concept of change has driven the provision of adult education in Ghana. Paulo Freire (1972) prompted us as adult educators to question our philosophies in bringing about social change at both the individual and societal levels, given that our personal ideologies necessarily influence the way we perceive social change and the kind of education and learning that we offer to society. From the perspective of radical adult education, social movement learning (SML) empowers ordinary people to

M.A. Tagoe (✉)
School of Continuing and Distance Education, University of Ghana,
P.O. Box 31, Legon, Ghana
e-mail: michltagoe@gmail.com

reshape the contours of power through collective action. At the centre of this social learning are ‘movement intellectuals’. As we push for new social movements (NSMs) and more particularly, a new adult education movement, it is important to re-examine the relevance of adult education in Ghana and the roles of adult educators within the context of national development.

The relevance of adult education in national development in the twenty-first century cannot be underestimated. In Ghana, the last 2 decades have witnessed massive investment in human development through the implementation of several national plans such as the *Ghana Poverty Strategy: An Agenda for Growth and Prosperity (GPRS I, 2003–2005)*; *Growth and Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS II 2006–2009)*; *Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA 2010–2013)*; and *Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA 2014–2017)*. One of the underlying objectives of these national development plans is to develop the full range of human resources in the country for rapid transformation of Ghanaian society. In spite of the government’s attempts to transform Ghanaian society, Ghanaians face socio-economic challenges such as widening inequality between urban and rural areas, and between sexes.

Extreme poverty is still endemic in the North, Upper East and Upper West and parts of the northern Volta Region (Ghana Statistical Service 2015), although poverty has reduced since the 1990s (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a). Apart from poverty, serious adult education challenges still persist. In the education sector, completion rates at the primary (97.5%), Junior High School (69.0%) and Senior High School (31.0%) indicate that children are not staying long enough in school to complete the full cycle of education (Ministry of Education 2015; Ghana Millennium Development Report 2015). Although the youth literacy (15–24-year olds) rate has improved since 2000, this improvement is more concentrated in the urban areas (92.2% are literate) than in the rural areas (77.8%) (Ghana Statistical Service 2013; Government of Ghana 2015). Adult literacy is low in the rural areas (only 41.7% are literate) compared to the urban areas, where 69.6% are literate, and the overall female literacy rate in Ghana (at only 46.9%) is far exceeded by that of males, with 67.3% being literate (Ghana Statistical Service 2014b).

Adult illiteracy continues to be a national issue because of its rural and gender dimensions. Women, especially those in the rural areas continue to be marginalized in decision-making and power sharing because of their lack of education. In the Ghanaian workforce, only 19% of Ghana’s working-age population has completed secondary education or better, while about 48% have completed basic education in Ghana Statistical Service (2014b).

The country faces other challenges such as high infant mortality and maternal mortality, prevalence of malaria, increase in non-communicable diseases such as hypertension and diabetes among young people and adults, and malnutrition among children in the rural areas. Ghana’s water bodies are polluted due to activities of illegal small-scale miners. Environmental degradation is on the increase in rural areas as more people struggle to earn a living through charcoal

burning and destruction of forest. Environmental sanitation remains one of the challenges in urban areas. Population explosion has a 'direct bearing on human health such that basic sanitation and disposal of waste have become major problems in our cities and urban areas. The total economic cost of poor environmental management and sanitation is estimated at over 10% of Ghana's GDP' (Republic of Ghana 2010: 41). Women's participation in decision-making remains very low (Republic of Ghana 2015). Peace and social cohesion are threatened due to religious, chieftaincy and ethnic conflicts and land litigations (Ghana Statistical Service 2014a). Although democracy has deep roots in Ghana, the political landscape is characterized by electoral violence, spoilt ballots and vote buying which could be traced to the absence of adequate adult civic education and voter education programmes.

Whilst most of the socio-economic challenges facing Ghana could be significantly addressed through integrated adult education and lifelong learning programmes, adult education and lifelong learning policies continue to be neglected in national development programmes and national policies (Ghana UNESCO Report 2012; Brand 2012). Also absent in Ghana is a strong adult education movement to influence government policies on adult education. As the world closes the chapter on the Education for All (EFA) and the Millenium Development Goals programmes in 2015 and opens another chapter with the introduction of the Sustainable Development Goals, the questions that need to be addressed are: Can adult education become relevant in the twenty-first century and survive in an environment where there is no strong adult education movement? What are the implications of this for lifelong learning?

The purpose of this chapter is to assess the contribution of People Educational Association as the voluntary association, which spearheaded the adult education vanguard in the 1950s and 1960s, and to identify the learning that took place within and outside the association using a theory of social movement. The chapter discusses the factors that contributed to the demise of the association, while attempting to uncover the relationship between democratization and the rise of NSMs in the 1980s and 1990s. It also explains the absence of an adult education movement in Ghana in the twenty-first century despite the critical role adult education could play in achieving sustainable development according to global adult education conferences (UNESCO 1997, 2009). In the words of Crossley (2005), movements move or change in relation to the environment in which they operate. If they are unable to metamorphose to keep themselves relevant and attractive to current issues, they atrophy. Although recently there has been a flurry of studies on social movements and the emergence of NSMs in Ghana (Atim 1999; Langdon 2009, 2010, 2011; Langdon and Larweh 2015), none of these studies has focused on the evolution and demise of the adult education movement and the relevance of a new adult movement in addressing the needs of adults in contemporary Ghana. This study bridges the gap in research on social movements and the practice of adult education in Ghana and voices the need for a strong new adult education movement reminiscent of the late 1940s and 1950s. In the section

below, I discuss the relationship between adult education and social movements in light of social movement theory, distinguishing between old and NSMs.

ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Adult education has for many years acted as the vanguard for social movement. In various countries, it has rallied people to express their dissatisfaction with socio-economic situations and provided avenues for the transformation of societies and individuals. Although adult education has been associated with social movements, Holford (1995) has argued that the relevance of social movement theory has not been explored extensively within the field of adult education. Holford (1995) postulates that, whilst many adult educators have worked with social movements, their activities have not been theorized. Considering adult education in light of social movement theory requires a definition of the concept of social movement. According to McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1217), a social movement is ‘a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society’. Diani (1992: 13, cited in Lobina et al. 2011) defines social movements as ‘networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups, or associations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity’. Whilst social movements have emerged concurrently with grievances or conflicts in society, these alone are not enough to explain their emergence (Kübler 2001).

Walters (2005) defines social movements as ‘voluntary associations of people’ (Walters 2005: 54) who have a collective purpose to achieve certain goals as a response to ‘particular social, economic, ideological, and political changes’ (p. 54). This is also significant, in that movements arise out of what Crossley (2002: 3) has described as ‘dissatisfaction with a form of life and they seek to establish a new form of life’. Based on Walters’ definition, Welton (cited in Walters 2005), Rucht and Neidhardt (2002) and Saunders (2007) have identified characteristics of social movements: they articulate a collective identity, which means that their members subscribe to a common subject that the movement expresses collectively; they are a network of informal interaction between individuals and organizations that engage in collective action on the basis of a shared identity; and they have a sense of community and solidarity necessary for collection action.

Given the various meanings and the characteristics of social movements, the adult education movement might be seen as simply being ‘all the individuals, institutions and associations concerned with the education of adults portrayed as working towards common professional goals’ (Holford 1995). However, Rootes’ (1999: 3, cited in Saunders 2007) definition of the environmental movement is also useful, characterizing the adult education movement as ‘broad networks of people and organisations engaged in collective action in pursuit of *educational* benefits’, especially if we recognize that the networks and organizations may be formal or informal, and that those involved may use a wide range

of institutional and non-institutional tactics (Rootes 1999 cited in Saunders 2007). In applying these definitions, this study operationalizes adult education movement as ‘individuals and institutions concerned with the education of adults who engage in collective action in pursuit of educational benefits’.

Various theories have been applied to the study of social movements. In this study, two of the theories, resource mobilization theory and political opportunity structures (POS), are adopted to explain the work of social movements. According to McCarthy and Zald (1977), the resource mobilization approach stresses both societal supports and constraints of social movement phenomena. The approach ‘points to the variety of resources that must be mobilized, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements’ (McCarthy and Zald 1977: 1213). Resources can be material, such as financial means, or intangible such as knowledge and power (Dominguez 2007 cited in Lobina et al. 2011). The survival or demise of social movements has recently been found not to depend only on resource mobilization but also on the environment in which they operate.

Indeed, the need to go beyond resource mobilization to explore the relevance of the environment in which social movements operate or are inhibited has brought POS to the forefront of social movement theory. POS focuses on factors exogenous to the social movement in order to explain its behaviour (Meyer and Minkoff 2004; Schnyder 2015). Tarrow (1994: 85) defines POS as ‘consistent—but not necessarily formal or permanent—dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for people to undertake collective action by affecting their expectations for success or failure’. The main variables which converge in POS are: the degree of openness or of closure of the polity; the stability or instability of political alignments; the presence or absence of allies and support group; divisions among the elites or its tolerance for protests; and the policy-making capacity of the government (Tarrow 1988). POS can help to understand variations in the strategies, structures and outcomes of similar movements in adult education that arise in different places. Also, it could help explain the differences in political and cultural contexts in the emergence of adult education movements in Africa and in particular, Ghana, and the changes that have characterized adult education movements. There is no doubt that, in Ghana, the political environment has been instrumental in aiding the survival or demise of old movements as well as the proliferation of NSMs. Where governments have operated in an open and more tolerant way, old social movements (OSMs) have been able to thrive. Where governments have adopted a totalitarian posture and extended their influence across different sectors and social groupings, both OSM and NSMs have found it very difficult to survive or proliferate. Thus, the POS provides an important theoretical perspective for explaining the growth of social movements in Ghana.

Old and New Social Movement Dichotomy

Within the last three decades, there has been the emergence of NSMs replacing OSMs because of transformations within the political economy of the world. Quoting Cohen (1985), Welton (cited in Hill 2002: 181) defines NSMs ‘as adversarial interactions between antagonistic groups with conflicting interpretations and oppositional models of life, for the purpose of creating an autonomous and exuberant civil society—with important consequences for economic restructuring inevitably following’. The emergence of NSMs has attracted the attention of several writers within the theory of social movements. However, they are confronted with the following questions: Do OSMs differ from NSMs or are the latter just a continuum of OSMs? Holst (2011: 119) has argued that social movement research in adult education has been ‘framed by the distinction made between OSMs and NSMs’.

Recently, some writers have tried to tease out the distinction between OSMs and NSMs (Melucci 1985; Touraine 1985, 2002; Offe 1985; Kriesi 1989; Pichardo 1997; Wieviorka 2005; Holst 2011). According to Holst (2011: 119), it is important to capture ‘the distinctive political projects of the two types of movements: OSMs are considered to advance working-class-based, social democratic or socialist political projects, while NSMs are considered to advance non-class-based or cross-class-based political projects oriented towards identity formation or autonomy’. Issues may be organized around women’s rights, peace, environment/ecology and local autonomy (Kriesi 1989; Hannigan 1990).

The two movements are also distinct in their goals and ideologies (Pichardo 1997). Whilst OSMs have focused on economic distribution and security, NSMs have concentrated on quality of life concerns and identity formation (Offe 1985; Pichardo 1997). Pichardo (1997) and Offe (1987) have pointed to the self-reflexive character of NSMs, which means ‘that participants are constantly questioning the meaning of what is being done’ (Pichardo 1997). Buechler (1995: 445–446), quoting Habermas, has argued that ‘the conflict in which NSMs engage are less about material reproduction and more about cultural reproduction, social integration, and socialisation.’ On structure, NSMs are spontaneous, non-bureaucratic, decentralized and non-hierarchical (D’Anieri et al. 1990). Based on the summary of Offe, Pichardo (1997) has pointed out that the NSMs tend to rotate leadership, vote communally on all issues and to have impermanent ad hoc organizations.

On values, Inglehart (1990) has argued that post-material values underlie many of the NSMs. The OSMs focused on economic growth and material rewards (D’Anieri et al. 1990). In contrast, the NSMs put more emphasis on the non-economic quality of life (Inglehart 1990). On tactics, Pichardo (1997) has argued that NSMs mirror their ideological orientation, and in this respect, the belief in the unrepresentative character of modern democracies is consistent with their anti-institutional tactical orientation. NSMs ‘prefer to remain outside of normal political channels, employing disruptive tactics and mobilizing public

opinion to gain political leverage'. They also tend to use highly dramatic and unplanned forms of demonstrations replete with customs and symbolic representations (Tarrow 1994).

In spite of these differences between the OSMs and the NSMs, Olofsson (1988), Tarrow (1991) and Holst (2011) have argued that the NSMs and the OSMs are not significantly different. Rather, they are a continuum because the NSMs are a remake of the OSMs (Olofsson 1988). Quoting Brand (1990), Buechler (1995: 448) has argued that the NSMs are the 'latest manifestation of a cyclical pattern that has been evident for over a century'.

Holst (2011) has also identified four limitations associated with the distinction between OSMs and NSMs which have made their way into adult education literature on SML. Holst (2011: 121) points out that, first, the chronological logic of 'new versus old often does not match actual history of movements'. His argument is that most of the NSMs have their histories in the OSMs. Second, the OSM/NSM framework does not capture the 'tangled reality of new and old social movements' (Holst 2011: 122). For him, there are several actors who are involved in both old and NSMs at the same time. Someone could be an activist for women's rights and could be active in an environmentalist movement. Third, the tangled reality of OSMs and NSMs has a long history (Holst 2011). Holst (2011) argued that the emergence of the 'newness' aspect of NSMs in the 1960s was the cause of the loss of actual ties or the historic memory of these ties between OSMs and NSMs.

Fourth, Holst (2011) makes the point that the duality in the OSM/NSMs framework curtails dialectical thinking, which is crucial in addressing challenges facing developing countries in the twenty-first century. The bifurcation of OSM and NSM does not capture the politics of nationally oppressed peoples. When we think dialectically, we are able to identify the forces of oppression (both externally and internally) and those oppressed and to address the dualism of the OSM/NSM framework (Holst 2011). Significant lessons can be drawn from the typologies of movements and theories of social movement and applied to this study.

One of the significant lessons is the shift towards addressing issues of social justice by NSMs, which has far-reaching implications for developing countries. In Ghana, inadequate access to education and continuing education opportunities, especially for adults who have been bypassed by the formal school system or have dropped out of school, is an issue of social justice which should engage the attention of social movements. The denial of cultural, social and economic equality for many women is an issue of social justice. Within the social justice context, and supporting the position of Cambron-McCabe and McCarthy (2005), we need adult educators who share the aspirations of oppressed people by speaking on their behalf in the 'role of transformative intellectuals or critical intellectuals—that is individuals who engage in critical analysis of conditions that have perpetuated historical inequities' (Cambron-McCabe and McCarthy 2005: 202) in society. This is where Holst's dialectical thinking becomes paramount to NSMs in developing countries. At the core of dialectical thinking

is the need for learning within social movements in the twenty-first century. Transformation of societies requires that learning be continuous and lifelong. From this perspective, I argue below the importance of learning within social movements.

Learning in Social Movements

Various adult educators have noted that learning is critical in social movements (Dykstra and Law 1994; Holford 1995; Kilgore 1999; Hall 2004, 2009; Walter 2005; Langdon 2010, 2009, 2011; Langdon and Larweh 2015). However, learning within social movements is viewed as involving ‘complex and contested social activities’ (Foley 1999: 131, cited in Sandlin and Walter 2009). Aside from the complexity, there is also the renewed search for the purpose of learning, and the matter of whether the learning ought to focus on individual or societal transformation. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) have been acknowledged by Holford (1995) and Walter (2005) as having made significant contributions to understandings of learning in social movements through their ‘cognitive approach’ which sees ‘social movements primarily as knowledge producers’ and ‘social forces [as] opening spaces for the production of new forms of knowledge’ (Eyerman and Jamison 1995: 450).

Eyerman and Jamison (1991, 1995) invented the concept ‘cognitive praxis’ to characterize ‘the knowledge-making that takes place in social movement’ (Jamison 2006: 47), which emphasizes the ‘creative role of consciousness and cognition in all human action, individual and collective’ (Eyerman and Jamison 1995: 450). Holford (1995) has argued that as social movements evolve they formulate new thoughts and ideas. It is through these processes of creation and development that they generate identities for themselves (Holford 1995). Apart from social movements being knowledge producers, they also contain various types of ‘movement intellectuals’ who through their activities articulate the knowledge interest and cognitive identity of social movements (Eyerman and Jamison 1995; Jamison 2006). These individuals may be recognized as ‘intellectuals’, such as university lecturers and professors, outside or within the movement context (Eyerman and Jamison 1995; Jamison 2006; Parker and Camicia 2009). Indeed, these intellectuals carry the vision and play leadership roles within these movements which are critical to the sustainability and growth of the movement. So what types of learning and education happen within the movements?

SML has been described as both learning by people who participate in social movement and learning by people who are outside the social movements (Dykstra and Law 1994; Walters 2005). For Hall (2009), SML could be described as: (a) informal learning occurring by persons who are part of any social movement; (b) intentional learning that is stimulated by organized educational efforts of the social movements themselves; and (c) formal and informal learning that takes place among the broad public, the citizens, as a result of the activity undertaken by a social movement.

Writing on social movements, Tompkins (1995), Kilgore (1999) and Sandlin and Walter (2009) have identified collective learning as some of the benefits that accrue to members of the adult education movement. For those outside the movement, Selman (2009) has noted that the goal of adult education movement is to make education accessible to adults who need it and to improve the quality of citizenship by helping people develop the skills and knowledge required for active, engaged decision-makers. Dykstra and Law (1994), Hill (2002, 2003), Walter (2007) and Hall (2004, 2009) have noted that adult environmental education movements are not only knowledge producers but also create the environment for the acquisition of new skills and new knowledge by members of the movement, as they develop strong collective identities and also promote change in their communities and societies.

Langdon (2010, 2010, 2011) and Langdon and Larweh (2015) in his studies in Ghana on social movements has also described two types of learning that take place: first, the communicative and dialogue-based where there is the recycling of all learning and decision-making back into the wider movement, and second, the 'didactic and strategic, instructing the movement on its goals and further 'educating' the membership on what they need to understand' (Langdon 2009: 94). In the next section, I explore how the social movement theories discussed earlier have influenced the development of the adult education movement in Ghana and the environment that bred the movement as well as the learning that occurred within and outside the organization. Social movement theories will also explain the emergence of NSMs and conclude why it is necessary that we have a strong adult education movement in Ghana in the twenty-first century.

The Early Beginnings of Adult Education and the Adult Education Movement (1949–1966)

Adult education has always flourished through movements (e.g. Mechanic Institutes, Lyceums, the Chautauqua movement, the Folk's High Schools, the Antigonish Movement and the Workers' Educational Association [WEA]). These adult education movements, according to Hall (2009) arose with the major social movements of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to address socio-economic challenges of the times. In Ghana, adult education can be traced to the activities of local people in the then Gold Coast who mobilized themselves into local learning movements to improve upon their literacy skills in towns such as Cape Coast, Sekondi and Accra because of the limited educational opportunities existing in the formal school system at that time (Amedzro 2004). In spite of this significant development in the Gold Coast, it was the introduction of university-based adult education modelled along the lines of what prevailed in Britain that transformed the adult education landscape.

Adult education occupied a vital place in British working-class history, and therefore some influential policy-makers and academics felt that this type of education could be transferred to the African colonies. Kelly (1970) has noted

that in Britain, the demand by working people for adult education in subjects such as politics, economics and industrial history and in the art of statesmanship led to the formation of the WEA which used the medium of evening classes and the existing tradition of University Extension (Oxford, Cambridge and London). According to Selman and Selman (2009), the WEAs provided opportunities for leaders of the labour movement to 'acquire a liberal education, and, to that end, developed cooperative relationships between interested members of the movement and the universities' (p. 16).

Before the British model of adult education was transferred to the Gold Coast, several tutors from the Extra-Mural Delegacy of Oxford University visited the country to ascertain the opportunities prevailing for the provision of adult education similar to that pertained in Britain (Raybould 1956). University-based adult education modelled on the Oxford Delegacy for Extra-Mural Studies of the University of Oxford was introduced into the Gold Coast and Nigeria by the British in the 1940s (Greenstreet 1992). In order to promote adult education among workers and other citizens who needed to further their education, the then Department of Extra-Mural Studies created the ambience for the formation of the first adult education movement in the Gold Coast called the People's Educational Association (PEA) in (1949). Similar to the WEA, the PEA was described as a voluntary non-party, non-sectarian organization mainly concerned with education (Mensah 1992). Created in the hectic period when the Gold Coast was agitating for independence, this adult education movement became a potent force for nation building through its voluntary branches throughout the country 'to work for a system of education which shall provide for everyone opportunities for complete individual development and fit them for the exercise of social rights and responsibilities' (PEA Constitution 1949).

As a rallying point for like-minded Ghanaians of all walks of life, the PEA brought people from all social classes and statuses into its membership. It was truly a national body which created a national forum for learning and discussion, and for dissemination of knowledge. It developed awareness for action which motivated its members to carry out projects like rural surveys, digging of village wells, literacy drives and health education, at a time when little was being done to address the issues in rural development (Opere-Abetia 1979). Thus, it became the avenue for the collective expression of the demands of ordinary workers for more control over their learning (Opere-Abetia 1979). The PEA also brought together ordinary people and the professional educators and other specialists who became the movement's 'intellectuals' in the exciting adventure of pursuing, disseminating and applying knowledge for national and personal well-being, in a voluntary spirit of equality, dedication, vision and action (People's Educational Association Report 1949).

The PEA as a national movement organized liberal studies in subjects such as Philosophy, Government, Economics and International Relations with the aim of improving the quality of the individual to function as a unit in society. It worked with labour unions and cooperatives and provided support to adult

literacy programmes (Jones-Quartey 1974; Greenstreet 1992; Siabi-Mensah 1992). Such programmes were also meant to help the people develop their leadership skills, to be politically responsible and to engage in local self-help (Jones-Quartey 1974; Greenstreet 1992; Siabi-Mensah 1992). In effect, the PEA ‘from the classes, lectures, talks, debates, symposia, one-day schools, weekend conferences and residential courses ‘graduated’ a steady stream of men and women of various ages into higher forms of educational activity, into politics, parliament, ruling party cabinets, holy orders and other forms of advanced citizenship’ (Jones-Quartey 1974: 117). The Association also had adequate financial support from the government for its activities.

The active years of the PEA coincided with the coming of the populist government of Dr. Kwame Nkrumah in 1951, which saw adult education as crucial to national development and rallied the populace around it. By the time independence came to Ghana in 1957, the spirit of voluntarism and activism had become entrenched in the country. Much of this work was done through the PEA. However, activities of Dr. Nkrumah’s government in the early 1960s changed the University-based adult education in Ghana. According to Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, ‘Adult Education, to serve any useful role in a developing nation such as Ghana must be geared to the aims and aspirations of the Government and the socialist needs of Ghana and Africa’ (cited in Agbodeka 1998: 172).

In line with the socialist development agenda of the government and the need to develop fully the human resources of the nation through adult education, the CPP government hijacked the PEA as it transformed the then Institute of Extra-Mural Studies into the Institute of Public Education (IPE) in 1962 to provide education to the Trade Unions, Farmers’ Organisation and Cooperatives and other popular movements in the country. The activities of the PEA were also placed under the IPE whose leaders—mostly sympathizers of the government—were appointed directly by President of the Republic of Ghana (Agbodeka 1998). Agbodeka (1998) noted that eventually the Institute of Extra-Mural Studies was formally abolished and its staff dismissed, including the academic staff, who were transferred to the IPE. Indeed, the hijacking of the PEA by the government had a deleterious effect on the association. Although after the overthrow of the Dr. Nkrumah’s government in 1966, the University changed the name from IPE to the Institute of Adult Education, the PEA gained its independence; its recovery was very slow and difficult.

The PEA in the Second and Third Republics (1967–1981)

In the post-Nkrumah era, the association’s recovery was further hampered by the establishment of the Centre for Civic Education in 1967 by the military junta to provide civic education (Jones-Quartey 1974). The Centre for Civic Education enjoyed government support in the form of massive grants, with which the PEA could not compete (Jones-Quartey 1974; Greenstreet 1992; Siabi-Mensah 1992). The 1970s and the 1980s were even more difficult.

First, the PEA as an adult education movement declined in its activism due to activities of cognate local non-governmental organizations such as the Ghana Literacy and Bible Translators (GILBITT), Adventist Development and Relief Agency, Catholic Relief Services (CRS), World Vision and churches which focused on adult literacy and poverty reduction, especially in the rural areas. These NGOs took over some of the work of the Institute of Adult Education and that of the PEA in the rural areas because of support from international non-governmental organizations who were interested fostering skills to address the bread and butter issues of rural people rather than in providing a liberal education that seemed divorced from the day-to-day living of the people.

Second, the Institute of Adult Education had used the PEA as the vanguard for its liberal studies. By 1970s, the type of education which the PEA had provided to keep its core members together had lost its steam and was no longer relevant to the needs of workers. The majority of these workers wanted certificated courses. The third reason for the reduced activism of the PEA was the inability of the Association to mobilize resources outside the Institute of Adult Education to run its programmes. The PEA had support from the German Adult Education Association (DVV) for many years. However, by the 1980s, the support for the PEAs had dwindled as activities of the German Association shifted from West Africa towards Southern Africa.

In order to resurrect the PEA and to strengthen adult education activism in the 1970s, the Ghana National Council of Adult Education (GNCAE) was formed in 1979 under the initiative of the Institute of Adult Education to bring together governmental and non-governmental organizations working in the field of adult education (Greenstreet 1992). It became the umbrella and attracted members who were mostly drawn from the field of adult education. The GNCAE became affiliated with international and African adult education movements such as the International Council on Adult Education (ICAE) in Canada, DVV in Germany and African Association for Literacy for Adult Education (AALEA).

The Revolutionary Era (1981–1990)

The 1980s were interesting years in the history of Ghana's socio-economic development. The harsh economic conditions prevailing in the country led to the overthrow of the Third Republic in 1981 by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC), a socialist revolutionary military government under the leadership of Flt J.J. Rawlings (Baffour-Arthur 2007 cited in Langdon 2011). To address the economic challenges, the PNDC turned to the International Monetary Bank and the World Bank for assistance. Under an Economic Recovery Programme, the PNDC introduced both stabilization and structural adjustment policies to restore the economy of Ghana to sustainable growth. Major reforms were initiated in all the sectors to revamp the ailing economy.

Apart from economy, various movements associated with the government emerged to defend the objectives of the revolution. One such NSM which emerged to replace conservative women's organizations was the 31st December Women's Movement (Viterna and Fallon 2008). Seen as the Janus face of the Revolutionary Junta, the 31st December was able to mobilize women across the length and breadth of Ghana targeting legislations which were inimical to the interests of women and spearheading the promulgation of new laws to protect the interest of Ghanaian women. Other quasi-political movements and socialist movements included the June 4th Movement, the Kwame Nkrumah Revolutionary Guards, the New Democratic Movement, the Socialist Movement and the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution. These NSMs became the vanguard for the propagation of the ideals of the revolution.

Apart from the economic and political developments in the country, one area which witnessed significant reforms under the ERP was the education sector. Major reforms were initiated in the education sector to address the perennial challenges confronting basic education and to develop fully the human resources of the country as a key 'element in ensuring the fullest and most productive development of the country' (Republic of Ghana 1990: 11). To achieve this objective, the PNDC government adopted a two pronged approach: improve formal basic education and promote non-formal education for adult illiterates and out of school youth (Republic of Ghana 1990). In 1987, the government established the Non-Formal Division of the Ministry of Education (NFED) to coordinate all adult education activities in the country. What this meant was that the newly created division took over the work of the GNCAE. This situation contributed to the weakening of GNCAE. Whilst the new Division had unfettered access to government support, the GNCAE had to rely on the Institute of Adult Education for support. The inability of the GNCAE to mobilize resources in the face of dwindling international and local support further contributed to its demise. During this era, there was more emphasis on adult literacy which was implemented by the NFED.

Constitutional Rule and Demands for New Movements (1990s Until Now)

Global demands for good governance and in particular as conditionality for loans to African governments paved the way to constitutionalism and constitutional government (Gyima-Boadi 2001). Most authoritarian governments in Africa, in order to make their regimes more presentable in the eyes of the West, began the process of multiparty democracy in the 1990s (Gyima-Boadi 2001). Indeed, the 1990s provided new hope and a renewal of social action as ordinary people and political elites in Ghana demanded constitutional rule through a unified democracy movement named the Movement for Freedom and Justice (MFJ) (Gyimah-Boadi 1994; Langdon 2011). A series of consultations and a government roadmap towards constitutional rule with the appointment of a Constitutional Advisory Committee to draft proposals for a new constitution

led to multiparty elections in 1992, and the ushering in of the Fourth Republic and the promulgation of the Constitution in 1993.

The 1992 Constitution is significant in many respects. It guaranteed the right to association and the space for the emergence of a strong civil society in Ghana. It guaranteed all persons the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities. The Constitution directs governments to make the effort, subject to availability, to provide free adult literacy programmes and lifelong education (Republic of Ghana 1992). Although there was no mention of adult education, the provision of free adult literacy and lifelong education at least guarantees Ghanaians the opportunities to develop themselves through continuous learning and self-development.

Since the 1990s, Ghana's democratic landscape has been populated with NSMs that are issue-based. These NSMs include democratic movements, various student movements, the anti-privatization of water movement, the anti-mining movement, the education movement, the environmental protection movement, disability rights movements, gas and oil movements, local anti-neoliberal natural resource defence movements and the anti-corruption movement (Langdon 2009, 2010). In 1999, the Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC) was formed, made up of a network of civil society organizations engaged in community mobilization, research and advocacy to ensure that government would fulfil its commitments on EFA goals. Currently, GNECC brings together nearly 300 Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), Community-based Organizations (CBOs), Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) and individuals in education across the country. Yet what is interesting is that although adult literacy is one of the EFA goals, the Coalition has never advocated on adult literacy and for that matter adult education (personal communication with research officer, GNECC, East Legon, Accra). The focus of the Coalition has been more on basic education and the achievement of universal basic education.

What is missing in the list of NSMs is an adult education movement. Interestingly, two international conferences on adult education were held in 1997 and 2009, which reiterated the need for strong collaboration and coordination among adult education providers (UNESCO 1997, 2009). These conferences also called for the development of adult education policies that should be comprehensive, addressing development in all its aspects (economic, sustainable, community and personal) (UNESCO 2009). Unfortunately, as I have indicated earlier, Ghana has no adult education policy and its national definition is restricted to adult literacy (Ghana UNESCO Report 2012). Although the 1992 Constitution mentions the provision of lifelong education, very little of lifelong education appears in national development plans and the narrative of politicians.

There is no doubt that challenges facing Ghana are issue-based. These issues are multidimensional and therefore require a more holistic approach to education if we are to address them. The misconception that many Ghanaians have when we mention adult education is that it is synonymous with adult literacy or

non-formal education. Adult education is more encompassing than adult literacy and non-formal education. As a field of practice, adult education denotes

the entire body of learning processes, formal, non-formal and informal, whereby those regarded as adults by the society in which they live, develop and enrich their capabilities for living and working, both in their own interests and those of their communities, organisations and societies. (UNESCO 2015a, b: Annex, p. 2)

The Way Forward and Implications for Lifelong Learning

Fundamental changes occurred in the political economy of Ghana when a vibrant adult education movement set the pace for development. If education is a public good, then adult education is also a public good and a fundamental right of all. Although Ghana may not need an OSM like the PEA, because of its ideology and structure, in the twenty-first century, the country still needs a national umbrella body to advocate on adult education. The GNECC cannot do this because of its narrow focus on basic education (personal communication with research officer of the GNECC).

We need a NSM that would stir the imaginations of Ghanaians and create a mass desire to learn. We need a movement that would act as ‘knowledge producers’ and as a ‘social force opening spaces for the production of new forms of knowledge’ (Eyerman and Jamison 1995: 450), that would deal with the myriad educational challenges confronting Ghanaians. Three main functions should be the agenda of this NSM. These have been identified by McCarthy and Wolfson (1996) as: (1) public education which involves attempts to bring social conditions to wide audiences; (2) direct service to the victims of the social conditions that movement leaders and adherents define as unacceptable; and (3) structural change, which involves attempting to change laws, authorities and/or regimes.

Although there are several stakeholders, such as governmental, quasi-governmental organizations, university-based adult education institutions (i.e. the Institute of Continuing and Distance Education of University of Ghana) and civil society organizations, the field of adult education remains disjointed. Most of these organizations work in silos, making collaboration and coordination of adult education activities in Ghana very difficult. UNESCO (2009) has confirmed that when ‘advocacy efforts are dissipated across a number of fronts’, it inhibits coordination and collaboration, affecting the level of influence advocacy has on policy formulation and social change. Nigeria has a vibrant National Council for Adult Education which was instrumental in the formulation of the National Education Policy and in making sure that adult education is mainstreamed into all levels of the education system (Fasokun and Pwol 2008). Such an organization would be beneficial for Ghana.

At the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education held in Hamburg, whilst the Conference recognized adult education as vital for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice,

gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture of peace based on justice (UNESCO 1997), it also called for new approaches to adult education within the concept of lifelong learning (UNESCO 1997). To show how committed the participants were, they noted that ‘We are determined to ensure that lifelong learning will become a more significant reality in the early twenty-first century’ (UNESCO 1997: 8). The conference also intimated the need for coalitions and networking to mobilize resources to make the objective of lifelong learning realizable.

Twelve years later, the Sixth International Conference on Adult Education (UNESCO 2009) held in Belem, Brazil, the Conference unequivocally reiterated the critical role of lifelong learning in dealing with global challenges and identified adult education and learning as important components of the lifelong learning process which embraces a continuum from non-formal to informal learning (UNESCO 2009). The conference noted that:

The role of lifelong learning is critical in addressing global educational issues and challenges. Lifelong learning is a philosophy, a conceptual framework and an organising principle of all forms of education, based on inclusive, emancipatory, humanistic and democratic values; it is all-encompassing and integral to the vision of a knowledge-based society. (UNESCO 2009: 1)

The conference reiterated the need for the development of comprehensive, inclusive and integrated lifelong learning and life-wide learning policies for all young people and adults, based on sector-wide and inter-sectoral approaches (UNESCO 2009).

CONCLUSION

We note that social movement theory, which has been absent in understanding the birth and demise of adult education movements, must be considered in the emergence of NSMs in Ghana. Social movements introduce new values, which may affect the entire society (Holst 2011; Hill 2003). However, they are needed to create new knowledge and new meaning. Social movements are sites of learning and must remain relevant to society through their activism. As we move towards a new global development agenda, there is the need for a strong and effective adult education movement. Adult education in Ghana has been marginalized and will continue to be marginalized as more attention and more resources, both local and international, are channelled into the basic education sector. As social movements, adult education movements in Ghana and in other countries have focused on social change through educating the underprivileged and those who are voiceless. Environmental degradation, migration, climate change, youth unemployment, illiteracy, high maternal and child mortality, low agricultural production and environmental sanitation issues, all need a social movement to demand accountability from government.

I have indicated that the NSMs have all abandoned adult education and therefore would not be effective in advocating for the educational needs of adults. Indeed, they do not function as social movements that have ‘movement intellectuals’ or ‘transformative intellectuals’ to provide the space for cognitive praxis for social learning within and outside the movement. This chapter reiterates the need for a vibrant adult education movement in Ghana that will promote lifelong learning which would lead to social change. In terms of contribution to knowledge, this study should open the door to more research by young and new adult educators in our universities to study NSMs in Ghana and to examine how far they are serving as social learning spaces. More studies need to be done to understand environmental and organizational factors that contribute to change and the demise of social movements in Ghana.

REFERENCES

- Agbodeka, F. (1998). *A history of University of Ghana: Half a century of higher education (1948–1998)*. Accra, Ghana: Woeli Publishing Services.
- Amedzro, A. (2004). University-based adult education in Ghana 1948–2000. In K. Asiedu, K. Adoo-Adeku, & A. Amedzro (Eds.), *The practice of adult education in Ghana*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Atim, C. (1999). Social movements and health insurance: A critical evaluation of voluntary, non-profit insurance schemes with case studies from Ghana and Cameroon. *Social Science and Medicine*, 48, 881–896.
- Buechler, S. (1995). New social movement theories. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36(3), 441–464.
- Brand, K. (1990). Cyclical aspects of new social movements: Waves of cultural criticism and mobilisation cycles of new middle-class radicalism. In R. Dalton & M. Kuechler (Eds.), *Challenging the political order: New social and political movements in western democracies* (pp. 24–42). Oxford, England: Oxford University Press.
- Brand, U. (2012). Contradictions and crises of neoliberal–imperial globalisation and the political opportunity structures for the Global Justice Movement. *Innovation: The European Journal of Social Science Research*, 25(3), 283–298.
- Cambron-McCabe, N., & McCarthy, M. (2005). Educating schools leavers for social justice. *Educational Policy*, 19(1): 201–222
- Cohen, J. (1985). Strategy or identity: New theoretical paradigms and contemporary social movements. *Social Research*, 52(4): 663–716.
- Crossley, N. (2002). *Making sense of social movement*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.
- Crossley, N. (2005). How social movements move: From first to second wave developments in the UK field of psychiatric contention. *Social Movement Studies*, 4(1), 21–48.
- D’Anieri, P., Ernst, C., & Kier, E. (1990). New social movements in historical perspective. *Comparative Politics*, 22(4): 445–458.
- Dykstra, C., & Law, M. (1994). Popular social movements as educative forces: Towards a theoretical framework. In M. Hymans, J. Armstrong, & E. Anderson (Eds.), *35th Annual Adult Education Research Conference (AERC) Proceedings*, May 20–22. Knoxville, US.: University of Tennessee.

- Eyerman, R., & Jamison, A. (1991). *Social movements: A cognitive approach*. Cambridge, England: Polity Press.
- Eyerman, R., & Jamison, A. (1995). Social movements and cultural transformation: Popular music in the 1960s. *Media, Culture and Society*, 17, 449–468.
- Fasokun, T., & Pwol, C. (2008). *Global monitoring report on problem of illiteracy in Nigeria*. Ife-Ife, Osun State, Nigeria: Department of Continuing Education, Obafemi Awolowo University.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Seabury.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2013). *2010 Population and Housing Report*. Accra, Ghana.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2014a). *Poverty profile in Ghana (2005–2013). Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS)*. Accra, Ghana.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2014b). *Ghana Living Standards Survey Round 6 (GLSS 6) main report*. Accra, Ghana.
- Ghana Statistical Service. (2015). *Ghana Demographic and Health Survey Report*. Accra, Ghana.
- Ghana UNESCO Report. (2012). Follow-up of CONFINTEA VI: Reporting template for national progress report. In *Preparation of the global report on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE)*. Accra: Ghana.
- Government of Ghana. (2015). *Ghana Millennium Development Goals 2015 Report*. Accra: National Development Planning Commission.
- Greenstreet, M. (1992). University-based adult education at the crossroads: The case of Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Literacy and Adult Education*, 1(2), 131–147.
- Gyimah-Boadi, E. (1994). Ghana's uncertain political opening. *Journal of Democracy*, 5(2): 75–86.
- Hall, B. (2004). Towards transformative environmental adult education: Lessons from global social movement contexts. *Counterpoints*, 230, 169–191.
- Hall, B. (2009). Learning and environmental social movements. *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements*, 1(1), 46–78.
- Hannigan, J. (1990). Apples and oranges or varieties of the same fruit? The new religious movements and the new social movements compared. *Review of Religious Research*, 31(3): 246–258.
- Hill, R. (2002). Pulling up grassroots: A study of the right-wing 'popular' adult environment education movement in the United States. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 24(2), 181–203.
- Hill, R. (2003). Environmental justice: Environmental adult education at the confluence of oppressions. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 99, 27–38.
- Holford, J. (1995). Why social movements matter: Adult education theory, cognitive praxis, and the creation of knowledge. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 45(2), 95–111.
- Holst, J. (2011). Frameworks for understanding the politics of social movements. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 43(2), 117–127.
- Inglehart, R. (1990). Values, ideology, and cognitive mobilisation in new social movements. In R. Dalton & M. Kuchler (Eds.), *Challenging the political order: New social and political movements in western democracies* (pp. 43–66). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jamison, A. (2006). Social movements and science: Cultural appropriations of cognitive praxis. *Science as Culture*, 15(1), 45–59.
- Jones-Quartey, R. (1974). *Twenty-five of university-based adult education in Ghana: A review*. Legon: Institute of Adult Education Monograph No. 1, University of Ghana.
- Kelly, T. (1970). *A history of adult education in Great Britain*. Liverpool, England: Liverpool University Press.

- Kilgore, D. (1999). Understanding learning in social movements: A theory of collective learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 18(3), 191–202.
- Kriesi, H. (1989). New social movements and the new class in the Netherlands. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94(5), 1078–1116.
- Kübler, D. (2001). Understanding policy change with the advocacy coalition framework: An application to Swiss drug policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 8(4), 623–641.
- Langdon, J. (2009). Learning to sleep without perching: Reflections by activist-educators on learning in social action in Ghanaian social movements. *McGill Journal of Education*, 44(1), 79–101.
- Langdon, J. (2010). Contesting globalisation in Ghana: Communal resource defense and social movement learning. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 2(1), 309–339. Special Issue.
- Langdon, J. (2011). Democracy re-examined: Ghanaian social movement learning and the re-articulation of learning in struggle. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 43(2), 147–163.
- Langdon, J., & Larweh, K. (2015). Moving with the movement: Collaboratively building a participatory action research study of social movement learning in Ghana. *Action Research*, 13(3), 281–297.
- Lobina, E., Terhorst, P., & Popov, V. (2011). ‘Policy networks and social resistance to water privatization in Latin America’, 4th & 5th UK Social Networks Conference. *Procedia Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 10, 19–25.
- McCarthy, J., & Wolfson, M. (1996). Resource mobilisation by local social movement organisations: Agency, strategy, and organisation in the movement against drinking and driving. *American Sociological Review*, 61(6), 1070–1088.
- McCarthy, J., & Zald, M. (1977). Resource mobilisation and social movements: A partial theory. *American Journal of Sociology*, 82(6), 1212–1241.
- Melucci, A. (1985). The symbolic challenge of contemporary movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 789–816.
- Mensah, E. (1992). Adapting the People’s Educational Association to environmental change in Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Literacy and Adult Education*, 1(2), 105–130.
- Meyer, D., & Minkoff, D. (2004). Conceptualising political opportunity. *Social Forces*, 82(4), 1457–1492.
- Ministry of Education. (2015). *Ghana. Education for All 2015 National Review*. Paris, France.
- Offe, C. (1985). New social movements: Challenging the boundaries of institutional politics. *Social Research*, 52(4), 817–868.
- Olofsson, G. (1988). After the working-class movement? An essay on what’s ‘new’ and what’s ‘social’ in the new social movements. *Acta Sociologica*, 31(1), 15–34.
- Opare-Abetia, K. (1979). *A history of the people’s educational association*. Legon: Institute of Adult Education (IAE), University of Ghana.
- Parker, W., & Camicia, S. (2009). Cognitive praxis in today’s ‘International Education’ movement: A case study of intents and affinities. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 37(1), 42–74.
- People’s Educational Association. (1949). *Constitution of the PEA*. Department of Extra-Mural Studies. Legon: University of Ghana.
- Pichardo, N. (1997). New social movements: A critical review. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 23, 411–430.
- Raybould, S. (1956). Adult education in Nigeria. *International Review of Education*, 2, 250–253.

- Republic of Ghana. (1992). *The Constitution of Ghana*. Accra, Ghana.
- Republic of Ghana. (2010). *Ghana Shared Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA 1 2010–2013)*. Accra, Ghana: National Development Planning Commission (NDPC).
- Republic of Ghana. (2015). *Ghana Millennium Development Goals 2015 Report*. Accra, Ghana: National Development Planning Commission (NDPC).
- Rucht, D., & Neidhardt, F. (2002). Towards a 'Movement Society'? On the possibilities of institutionalising social movement. *Social Movement Studies*, 1(1), 7–30.
- Sandlin, J., & Walter, C. (2009). Complicated simplicity: Moral identity formation and social movement learning in the voluntary simplicity movement. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 59(4), 298–317.
- Saunders, C. (2007). Using social network analysis to explore social movements: A relational approach. *Social Movement Studies*, 6(3), 227–243.
- Schnyder, M. (2015). The domestic issue-specific political opportunity structure and migrant inclusion organisation activity in Europe. *Social Movement Studies*, 14, 692–712. doi:10.1080/14742837.2014.995078.
- Selman, G., & Selman, M. (2009). The life and death of the Canadian adult education movement. *Canadian Journal of University Continuing Education*, 35(2), 13–28.
- Siabi-Mensah, K. (1992). University-based adult education in Ghana: Origins, policies and programmes 1946–1962. *Ghana Journal of Literacy and Adult Education*, 1(2), 131–147.
- Tarrow, S. (1988). National politics and collective action: Recent theory and research in Western Europe and the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 14, 421–440.
- Tarrow, S. (1994). *Power in movement: Social movements and contentious politics*. Cambridge, England: University Press.
- Touraine, A. (1985). An introduction to the study of social movements. *Social Research*, 52(4), 749–787.
- Touraine, A. (2002). Importance of social movements. *Social Movement Studies*, 1(1): 89–95.
- UNESCO. (1997, July 14–18). The Hamburg Declaration: The agenda for the future. In *Fifth International Conference on Adult Education*. Hamburg: Germany.
- UNESCO. (2009, December 4). *Harnessing the power and potential of adult learning and education for a viable future* (Belém Framework of Action. CONFINTEA VI. Belém). Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- UNESCO. (2015a). Proposal for the revision of the 1976 Recommendation on the development of Adult Education. In *General Conference, 38th Session*. Paris, France.
- UNESCO. (2015b). *Education for All 2000–2015: Achievements and challenges*. Paris: Education for All Global Monitoring Report.
- Viterna, J., & Fallon, K. (2008). Democratisation, women's movements, and gender-equitable states: A framework for comparison. *American Sociological Review*, 73, 668–689.
- Walter, P. (2007). Adult learning in new social movements: Environmental protest and the struggle for the Clayoquot Sound Rainforest. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 57(3): 248–263.
- Walters, S. (2005). Social movements, class, and adult education. *New Directions For Adult and Continuing Education* 106, 53–62.
- Wieviorka, M. (2005). After new social movements. *Social Movement Studies*, 4(1), 1–19.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Michael A. Tagoe is Associate Professor at the School of Continuing and Distance Education, University of Ghana. His research areas include e-learning, adult education policy, non-formal education and poverty reduction, literacy and lifelong learning. He has published articles in peer-reviewed journals such as the *International Journal of Lifelong Learning* (Taylor & Francis) and the *Journal of Asian and African Studies* (SAGE) and he has contributed chapters to book published by Palgrave Macmillan and Springer.

Palestine: Philosophical and Methodological Dilemmas for Adult Education

Rabab Tamish

Abstract This chapter discusses philosophical and methodological dilemmas related to the process of contextualising the field of adult education in the Arab–Palestinian context which are embodied in three interrelated elements: (a) the cultural meanings that underpin concepts in adult education, (b) the purpose of adult education and (c) the application process. I argue that understanding the interrelation between these elements within a specific social political context will help us as researchers and academics learn about the factors that formulated what I perceive to be the most widely ‘accepted’ image of adult education, as well as in dictating the types of interactions deemed to take place between learners and educators. I argue that any engagement in the field of adult education, whether for research or development purposes, is necessarily a political act that unconsciously influences the expected results of adult education programmes in their respective contexts.

Sharing my views on the field of adult education is a challenging task for me, especially when writing in an international context. This may be related to my difficulty in simply accepting concepts of and approaches to ‘adult education’ as they are portrayed in much international literature without first relating them locally, to my Arab–Palestinian context which has witnessed unique historical, social and political changes. In other words, I cannot ignore the crucial role that social and political factors play in shaping our understanding of adult education

R. Tamish (✉)

Bethlehem University, Rue des Freres 9, Bethlehem, Palestine
e-mail: rababt@bethlehem.edu; rababtamish@gmail.com

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_29

571

and whether anyone should really be using the slogan ‘think globally but act locally’ in an attempt to show respect for cultural differences without first reflecting critically on the implications of such an approach in practice.

A second difficulty lies in my belief that despite common concerns among academics and researchers elsewhere in the world about the challenges of investigating adult education, in reality we cannot detach ourselves from the social, political and historical factors that influence our philosophy of adult education. I argue that such influences have the potential to shape our understandings of adult education and even to formulate the way we research the context (and the globe) and ‘act’ accordingly.

Finally, because of my belief that studying adult education is context oriented and that its challenges vary from one culture to another, I feel slightly hesitant about whether my contribution in this chapter will be of value to readers and researchers who work in different realities. However, I strongly believe that contributing to critical dialogues and sharing experiences are regarded as fundamental professional responsibilities in adult education, therefore I hope that this chapter will provide some insights for researchers and educators who work in similarly challenging contexts as Palestine so that they learn to *consider* very carefully the particular historical, social and political backgrounds of the context, as well as grasping the indigenous philosophy that underlies the culture of the context.

This chapter discusses these assumptions about the field of adult education by focusing on two issues in turn. Firstly, I will discuss philosophical and methodological dilemmas related to the process of contextualising the field of adult education which I argue are embodied in three interrelated elements: (a) the cultural meanings that underpin concepts in adult education, (b) the purpose of adult education and (c) the application process. I will argue that understanding the interrelation between these elements within a specific social political context will help us as researchers and academics learn about the factors that formulated what I perceive to be the most widely ‘accepted’ image of adult education, as well as in dictating the types of interactions deemed to take place between learners and educators. I will argue that any engagement in the field of adult education, whether for research or development purposes, is necessarily a political act that unconsciously influences the expected results of adult education programmes in their respective contexts.

In the second part of the chapter, I link this discussion to the Palestinian context in order to help the reader understand the historical background that has influenced the way that adult education has been portrayed in Palestine and the approaches that academics and researchers have adopted in response to the emerging needs of Palestinian society. I will use this brief illustration to highlight the intellectual gap between ‘thinking globally’ and ‘acting locally’ where I assume that what has been developed internationally would still be perceived as a challenge at specific contexts if not as an obstacle for development. I will conclude the chapter by discussing the implications of initiating progressive adult education programmes in contexts similar to the Palestinian one.

APPROACHING ADULT EDUCATION

There has been much debate about the field of adult education and the extent in which adults learn and develop their capacities as active human beings within their societies (Usher et al. 2005). This debate has revealed crucial concerns related to the field on philosophical and methodological levels that have in turn influenced formal and informal perceptions of adult education both locally and internationally (Jarvis 2004).

Global and Indigenous Terminology

Let me begin with challenges that relate to the terminologies in the field of adult education. It is notable that in the last three decades the literature in the field has generated philosophical discussions about the distinction between terms such as ‘adult learning’, ‘the education of adults’, ‘adult education’ and ‘lifelong learning’ and whether these terms reflect the true nature of adult education. Jarvis (2004), for instance, discussed the limitations of using the term ‘education’, which is often linked to organised settings where learning experiences are limited to receiving content and which end after specific periods of time. On the other hand, Jarvis was hesitant about the usefulness of the term ‘lifelong learning’ because it might reflect the political agenda in which education is linked to the expectations of the labour market. In such debates, the discussion has reached a point where the term ‘adult education’ can never represent a coherent and unified field (Finger and Asun 2001). Therefore, the term ‘adult education’ is still interpreted as a field that encompasses adults who engaged in different forms of learning at all levels (Merriam and Brockett 2007).

This debate raises crucial questions about the influence of cultural factors in the way that terminologies related to adult education become officially formulated. Although United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) sheds light on the role of cultural meanings in understanding adult education (UNESCO 2009a), in reality, these terms have mostly been coined in developed Western settings and on some occasions at official levels (Maddox 2014; Lucio-Villegas 2015). In my view, there has been little investment in discovering how a lack of awareness of cultural differences might limit the scope and impact of adult education in specific societies. To illustrate and support this view, I reflect on how these terms are used in Arabic language and culture. For instance, in Arabic, the word ‘education’ is associated with ‘raising children’ where educators (parents and teachers) develop young learners’ ethics and social values. Therefore, describing someone as ‘uneducated’ infers that they are ‘impolite’ or ‘uncouth’ and unable to demonstrate appropriate values or behaviours in a social situation. So one can see how a phrase that links ‘educated-ness’ with ‘adulthood’ implies that it must be for adults who have not acquired basic social or cultural values and who therefore must need someone to school or even ‘civilise’ them accordingly. For this reason, the literal translation of the phrase ‘adult education’ is not used in

Arabic-speaking countries where instead terms like ‘Adult Teaching’ mostly commonly to refer to this topic.

As for ‘learning’, it is interesting to note that in Arabic dictionaries there is no clear distinction between the terms ‘ta’lom’ (learning) and ‘ta’lim’ (teaching). Their respective definitions are limited to ‘acquiring knowledge’ or ‘becoming familiar with things’. Thus, when ‘teaching’ and ‘learning’ are used in academia or Arabic literature, the definitions do not go beyond the literal translation of the work of writers in the field, such as Skinner, Piaget, Vygotsky, Dewey and Freire with little debate about the philosophical differences between these views or how these terms relate to the structure and characteristics of Arab society. As a result, the discussion on ‘learning’ in most of the Arabic literature seems artificial and does not truly reflect the philosophy that lies behind it. In my view, this is one of the reasons why impact on practice can be poor, where a lack of deep discussion about terminological meanings has the potential to lead to poor achievement at the level of practice. This could explain why for instance many strategic leaders would agree about theories, but in practice use different methods that do not necessarily reflect the theory that is supposed to lie behind it. There have been a few initiatives to contextualise progressive principles into all forms of Arab education, but most of these initiatives have been limited to the school education. As for adults, the ‘Ecumenical Popular Education Program’ in Lebanon is one of the few organisations that has contextualised the work of Paolo Freire in its training programmes using the term ‘popular adult pedagogy’ to describe the progressive approach to learning. Despite the success of this programme and others at enriching educators’ knowledge on the philosophy of education for emancipation, their efforts did not exceed the individual and institutional levels and had little impact at the policy level, as I will explain in the second section of this chapter.

Investigating how indigenous meanings can affect the way universally developed terminology is understood or acted upon is an important task for strategic leaders and researchers of adult education for three reasons. Firstly, it can indicate potential gaps between meanings (and thus understandings) likely to be derived from particular terms at a local level compared with those understood at more formal or international levels. This can help adult education leaders bridge the gap by developing strategies that are conscious of both sets of meanings and which accordingly can minimise the risk of adult education being perceived through a linear view. Secondly, ignoring these differences runs the risk of reinforcing the ‘orientalist’ perception (Said 2003) towards non-Western communities, where indigenous knowledge is valued less when it does not correspond with the international discourse leading to ‘misrepresentation and misinterpretation’ of local knowledge and culture. This, in my view, creates an ethical and political dilemma for the field in terms of the active representation of the international community in the process of knowledge production.

Finally, understanding cultural meanings behind terminologies helps us learn about the purpose of adult education and the philosophical and methodological elements that emerge when contextualising it. For instance, the concept of

‘social justice’ is frequently presented both locally and internationally from a narrow viewpoint in which it is linked to poverty, discrimination and direct political-social oppression, without expanding this view to include wider forms of oppression that societies can experience, such as exploitation, marginalisation and cultural imperialism (Young 1990). When adhering to a linear view of ‘injustice’, adult education programmes can end up targeting specific types of marginalised communities that live with direct oppression, without questioning whether all groups may experience different forms of injustice. This might lead to the depriving of specific groups from receiving specific services merely because they do not ‘fit’ a definition or category that has been defined by strategic leaders or academics in the field.

Purpose and Scope of Adult Education

UNESCO (through the CONFINTA VI) perceives that the field of adult education or adult learning covers a wide range of domains, from basic literacy to political development or to leisure. This holistic and comprehensive view does not consign adult education to specific areas of learning; rather, it reflects a desire to integrate adult education into all aspects of lifelong learning. Just a quick Google search of the term ‘adult education programs’ shows 52 million search results, covering a range of subjects, and both formal and informal opportunities for learning. Such a degree of flexibility in the field leads one to question: What there is that is common to adult education? If it includes all forms of learning and subjects that are held mostly in informal and formal settings, then what common characteristics distinguish adult education from any other form of education? Are they grouped under the same umbrella just because they serve ‘adults’? If so, then to what extent is the notion of ‘adult’ common? Could we assume, for instance, that ‘adults’ in rural areas attending literacy programmes have needs and concerns that are ‘in common’ with those of retired professors who attend foreign language courses in cities? Probably not. So how helpful is it that the field covers such a range of topics? What is the useful purpose of such a broad span of meaning?

Access to education and learning for adults is a fundamental aspect of the right to education and facilitates the exercise of the right to participate in political, economic, cultural, artistic and scientific life. The Hamburg Declaration on Adult Learning looks at adult education as “a powerful concept for fostering ecologically sustainable development, for promoting democracy, justice, gender equity, and scientific, social and economic development, and for building a world in which violent conflict is replaced by dialogue and a culture of peace based on justice. Adult learning can shape identity and give meaning to life”. (UNESCO 2009b)

Regardless of the level of agreement with UNESCO’s view of the purpose of adult education (and the inevitable diversity in meanings and connotations around the terminologies it uses), there is no doubt that it reflects a strong

belief in adults' need for or right to personal development. It also presents learning as a tool to help adults who are struggling for justice, freedom, democracy and equity within their societies. The main questions here are how this purpose can be achieved in practice, and how we can know (whatever the type of learning activities adults are engaged in) that they are shaping their identities and giving meaning to life?

This question leads to different approaches to adult education that have been robustly debated in the literature where the purpose of adult education either refers to adults' basic rights to learning, or to the assumption that education is a tool for critical awareness and that such critical awareness cannot be achieved without involving all social groups in the process (Usher et al. 2005; Oxendine et al. 2007). Finger and Asun (2001) argue that there are three approaches to adult education. The first is the *pragmatic* approach that perceives experience as the main element in enriching adults' abilities to learn; the second is the *humanistic* approach focusing on providing learning opportunities that aim at enriching adults' self-esteem and development. Finger and Asun criticise both of these approaches assuming that they increase individualism and self-interest and pay little attention to the development of political agency or social activism. These two qualities are strong components of their third *Marxist* approach, where the focus is on providing learning opportunities that engage learners in a critical dialogue about their realities in order to help them uncover the obstacles that control the means of obtaining justice and equity.

This distinction between the *pragmatic* and *Marxist/emancipatory* approaches to adult education is embodied in economic changes that have led to the emergence of the term 'labour market'. Labour markets view adult education (formal and informal) as a means of equipping learners with the skills, attitudes and knowledge required to serve its needs. Thus, UNESCO's description of the purpose of adult education (as cited above) could, in practice, be interpreted differently by both approaches. While the pragmatic approach argues that the enhancement of learners' skills extends their agency and seeks the economic sustainability that will in the end develop their societies, the emancipatory approach views such assumptions as a risk to social change. It assumes instead that if adults learn to live with the idea that their economic sustainability is a condition necessary to secure their 'existence' in the world, they will become immersed in obtaining this goal and will thus become less concerned about the common interests of people. This leads to what Freire (1974) called 'the culture of silence' where people's self-esteem and even their values are determined by the demands of the labour market and the political powers that control them. As a consequence of this, they lose faith in their abilities to judge their own worth. They simply learn to be assessed by others and cannot therefore develop, in any real sense, a critical awareness of their own reality or power. In summary, they become objects and not subjects in the world, and live in silent acceptance of injustice and oppression (Freire 1998; Apple 2000).

The debate between these two approaches has shaped the structure of adult education programmes and the role of different partners in the process: learner,

educator and content. Programmes based on the pragmatic approach act in ways similar to the school system, taking into consideration physiological or social theories about adult learning and development (Blanchard-Fields and Kalinauskas 2009). Here, researchers and academics focus on tracking improvements in adults' knowledge and skills, as well as the factors that influence their learning at different stages of their lives, such as religion, motivation and sexual identity. In contrast, emancipatory approaches pay attention to the quality of interaction between adults and educators, where content is perceived as a means for stimulating adults' critical awareness of social and political issues. In this regard, concepts such as dialogue, participation, collaboration, experience, diversity and emancipation have become the main principles that guide the process (Lucio-Villegas 2015). Even if the content is technical (literacy, numeracy or computer skills), progressive academics nevertheless argue that this does not limit the potential for engaging adults in critical dialogue that leads to activism.

This debate leads to another philosophical dilemma that is related to the extent that these views are reflected at the implementation level and whether it provides some basis for enriching the literature with evidence that adult education has made a difference to the quality of adults' lives and/or the achievement of community awareness on social and political aspects. In other words, how are programmes or policies designed and on what evidence is it decided that the field is developing and making a difference to the quality of adults' lives and social sustainability?

To help answer these questions, I will examine some limitations in the field of adult education research in which I argue that researching the field is still in its pragmatic level and somehow is limited to serving political agenda that puts at risk the possibilities to learn and extend our deep understanding of the field and its implications.

Researching and Evaluating Adult Education

It is still not clear to me whether defining the scope of adult education has been based on scientific studies or has mostly emerged from official and international gatherings in which activists and policymakers in the field engage in designing the objectives and intervention plans for adult education. It has been argued that the use of research as a tool to support the development of the field is still in its early stage due to assumptions made among academics that the field is purely practical and therefore has no theoretical framework. Furthermore, the lack of peer-reviewed academic journals in the field does not encourage academics to investigate it. Paradoxically, practitioners seem often to assume that research is an *academic* act and thus that their critical engagement in the field does not qualify them to contribute to the research literature (Duke 1999; Mauch 1999).

However, an observation that I have made is that quantitative research methodologies seem to dominate official documents about adult education, such as rates of illiteracy in different parts of the world and among different

social and age groups (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning 2013). I have no doubt how crucial these figures are when it comes to prioritising interventions in specific contexts, but I argue that they can also have major limitations, especially in terms of accuracy. There are considerable differences between illiteracy rates reported by UNESCO in some Arab countries, such as for example Egypt, compared with those rates reported by official bodies in Egypt (see UNESCO 2003; General Institute for Literacy and Adult Education 2014). It is argued that the reasons for this could be related to the lack of clear criteria for assessing literacy in some countries and as a result of this UNESCO (2013) established the Learning Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP), materials to bridge the gap between local, regional and international reporting of literacy levels (UNESCO Institute of Statistics 2004).

These discrepancies may arise for a number of reasons. Firstly, they may be related to my earlier argument about differing cultural connotations of key words such as 'literacy' and 'adult education' which can lead all those involved at any level to arrive at different interpretations of what counts as progress in literacy or adult education. A second problem can be related to methodologies, such as whether governments have used methods incorporating the full range of UNESCO literacy levels or have merely referred to level one (which is limited to familiarity with the letters and basic written words). Thirdly, I argue that political factors are also crucial here. Governments and official bodies are always under pressure to report *improvements* in order to demonstrate that they are spending public money effectively. This pressure can be exacerbated when funding comes externally and with conditions attached such as to report progress using internationally recognised measures such as UNESCO's with no international moderation in place. It is perhaps not surprising to see discrepancies appear in the UNESCO's reports: discrepancies which may say more about the ways that the international standards are interpreted in different local contexts and which added distortions of external funding requirements than about the actual rates of literacy themselves.

On the other hand, the purpose of adult education such as whether it is intended for emancipatory or for liberal ends can pose a dilemma for researchers, especially in terms of validity. Let us consider for a moment what methodologies might provide the best evidence of success in adult education that has been designed as a means for emancipation and activism for social justice. To have validity of both *construct* and *consequence* (Sadler 1998), the research methodology should focus on either emancipatory or liberal objectives and measure the benefits their outcomes create for adult learners. Obviously, purely quantitative or descriptive qualitative research methods fall short due to the difficulty such paradigms create for researchers to learn about what counts as improvement or progress or even to be able to apply the implicit assumptions within emancipatory views about the role of learners in the process of learning. Some researchers have sought to resolve this dilemma by designing approaches in which learners themselves become active agents in the research process and act as equal partners in collecting and analysing data and interpreting results.

One example is participatory action research in the school system in the UK which was developed by Elliott (1999) and commonly known as ‘teachers as researchers’ (Lanckshear and Knobel 2004).

This type of research expects that adult educator researchers are critically aware of the political, social and historical factors that influence the implementation of progressive adult education in practice. The challenge here then is why this type of research has not yet become part of the ‘culture’ of adult education and why despite calls for innovative research methods by people involved in the field, descriptive methodologies are still dominant? I am not claiming that there is no place for quantitative methodologies. On the contrary, I am convinced that they have provided crucial evidence that has led to interventions at local, national and international levels. For instance, recent reports on the increased number of illiterate adults in the Arab world show that more than 60 million are illiterate, of whom two-thirds are women (UNESCO 2003). Such a finding has been a wake-up call for countries such as Egypt to develop plans to overcome this phenomenon (General Institute for Literacy and Adult Education 2014; Sywelem 2015). However, the methodological challenge here is that most of the analysis of the reasons for limited learning opportunities in for example literacy relies on simplistic, technical analyses that tend to identify surface factors such as limited financial support, poor equipment and a lack of suitably qualified human resources rather going into a deeper investigation of the social, political and cultural factors that might have led to the increases in illiteracy and in political instability in the third world, despite the huge efforts that been made to counter these to date.

To exemplify some of the methodological and philosophical challenges in researching adult education that I have presented so far and their interrelationship with political, social and historical factors in a particular context, I would like to take the example of Palestine to illustrate how adult education has been perceived and practised in a context that has witnessed decades of political oppression. My purpose in doing this is to demonstrate that in any emancipatory process, there can be no opportunity for real change if academics or researchers engaged in adult education cannot also play their active roles as agents of change.

THE HISTORY OF ADULT EDUCATION IN PALESTINE

Unlike most of the nations in the world who witnessed independence after the Second World War, Palestine is one of the few (if not the only) nations that has been struggling for self-determination since 1948. This year is etched in Palestinian history and collective memory as the *Nakba* (Arabic for catastrophe) when Palestinians experienced ethnic cleansing by Israeli forces, and the international community was accused of being complicit in that act (Pappi 2006). It was argued that this drastic transition in Palestinians’ social, political, economic and cultural lives was critical because it forcibly shifted them, as a collective, from a nation which possessed a land and culture to a marginalised

and unrecognised nation (Peteet 2005). Their national identity was simply 'removed' from the world's map (Sa'di 2002), their country was replaced by 'Israel', their villages and homes were destroyed and they become geographically dispersed throughout the world (Khalidi 2006). Such a reality led Palestinians to invest in their education (with the support of different agencies such as United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East—UNRWA) as a means of resistance and of preparing for the moment when they gain their right to return to their lands and rebuild their state. Education became a tool, a weapon even, for emancipation.

However, despite the investment by Arab countries and the dedicated UN agency UNRWA in the education of Palestinian people, the quality of their education (apart from those worldwide in the diaspora) has been characterised by a considerable deficiency in teaching skills (Saleh 1982; Sfeir and Bertoni 2003; Nicolai 2007). In the West Bank and Gaza, there were no institutions for higher education, apart from community colleges that offered 2-year diploma certificates—mainly in teaching. Obtaining a university degree was only possible abroad, particularly in the Arab countries and establishing local universities was not a priority because there was free accessibility to established universities in Arab countries, especially Egypt and Syria. Only in the 1970s, universities were established as a response to the restrictions put in place by the Israeli military regime on Palestinians' mobility (Baramki 2010).

In relation to informal education, civil society organisations took the lead of what is known as 'adult education' by offering different types of learning experiences that were all characterised by their overtly political and patriotic nature, such as increasing the youth's sense of voluntary work and political awareness. This sense of patriotic identity and political activism was especially remarkable in the West Bank and Gaza in view of the Israeli military occupation that controlled people's daily lives. Thus, civil society leaders, as well as academics became characterised as political activists within their communities and their aim was to end the occupation and to regain their freedom and right to return thousands of refugees to their homelands (Assaf 2004).

All these civil society organisations received funds from local donations, charitable organisations and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation. Thus, their community engagement emanated directly from local needs without any restrictions being placed on them as is often the case with external foreign donors (Dalia Association 2007). The Israeli security apparatus attempted to subjugate and domesticate Palestinians by denying them access to opportunities to develop these independent critical perspectives which could risk promoting demands for independence and freedom (Palestinian Ministry of Planning 2004). They used a number of different means to control the educational system and Palestinian civil society life, such as imposing taxes on imported books and resources, limiting mobility among academics, as well as arresting youth and academics who were active in resistance movements (Alzaroo and Hunt 2003). Furthermore, most of the community engagement programmes were perceived by the Palestinians themselves as the means of enhancing their

community's critical thinking and activism in order to prepare the youth for playing an active role in the resistance movement and as leaders in the enhancement of Palestinian civic society. Such a progressive community activism model became distinct in the late 1980s when the first *intifada* (the Arabic term for uprising) started, during which Palestinians organised themselves into a civil resistance movement aimed at ending the Israeli military occupation.

During this period (1987–1993), the formal education system was described as having been severely damaged by extensive closure of schools and universities, strikes and the arrests of hundreds of teachers and students (Mahshi and Bush 1989). According to Sfeir and Bertoni (2003), in the first 4 years of the *intifada*, Palestinian children and university students were deprived of between a third and half of their study days. This fact resulted in only the absolute minimum of required skills and knowledge being taught (RCHRS 2008). Accordingly, tens of organisations and centres organised what was called the 'popular education movement' in which different groups of academics and activists decided to break the siege on university education and started teaching within their own areas, meeting their students informally, often clandestinely, or through 'home study' (Alzaroo 1989). This movement was suppressed in several areas by the Israeli occupation regime and hundreds of teachers, community activists and students were arrested (Mahshi and Bush 1989). However, this period was characterised by (a) the internalisation of resistance and community activism in Palestinian identity, (b) active involvement of women in all sorts of community activism and (c) the influence of different social justice views (e.g. Marxism, socialism and/or liberalism) on the learning settings.

A drastic change occurred after the establishment of the Palestinian Authority in 1994 where the latter took the responsibility for providing all services to Palestinian people apart from informal adult education which was left to civil society organisations. However, since international funds have prioritised supporting the Palestinian authority, the civil society has suffered from the lack of funds to support their work. To overcome these financial burdens, many of them started to adopt imported programmes and to accept strict conditions from donors without carrying out any deep analysis of the long-term consequences that accepting these conditions might have on Palestinian education outcomes at a national level. As a result and in order to meet the demands of donors, these civil societies have become less and less engaged with social political movements. United States Agency for International Development (USAID), for instance, requires civil society organisations to sign an official document in which they and their staff agree neither to engage in political activity nor use their funds or personal salaries to support political activism (USAID 2013). Although there was a call by the civil societies to boycott USAID funds, a remarkable number of organisations nevertheless accepted these strict conditions.

Furthermore, in order to secure funds, civil society organisations had to compromise by adopting programmes that are not necessarily within their expertise or do not meet society's most pressing needs. The civil societies have

even started to use donor's terminology themselves, terminology that in many cases has only been understood at a superficial level. Examples include terms such as 'labour market', 'conflict resolution' and 'gender equity' that are used by donors who do not have the necessary local cultural knowledge to contextualise them in the wider picture of Palestinian education nor analyse whether they are likely to result in the desired change. As a result, the early vision of Palestinian education as a tool for emancipation has been gradually replaced by one in which civil organisations merely provide work opportunities and financial stability for the younger generation. Gaining these opportunities has even begun to be viewed as equivalent to achieving freedom and independence. Even the Palestinian Authority itself has been accused of being complicit in destroying the civil society movement through supervision of its functions and in many cases by taking the role of the occupier by itself imposing restrictive conditions on the work of civil societies such as by sending representatives to 'supervise' the board election procedures of any civil society organisation.

The lack of political sustainability in Palestine created as a result of contentious military operations in the area, as well as the changes in the Arab world following the Arab Spring, has influenced people's sense of security, the quality of their social and economic lives, as well as their passion for change and resistance. These factors are creating new challenges for the future of adult education in a Palestine that cannot be detached from the world. I will expand upon some of them as follows:

Lack of Local Discourse

The massive changes in the role of civil societies described above gradually have led to an acceptance of 'ready recipe' solutions imposed by donors that are often irrelevant to the daily lives of Palestinian people and the terminologies developed and used by social movements and the civil society organisations themselves. This has created alienation of programmes from people and also led to the almost 'reflex' use of donor terminology consequently limiting any initiation of deeper local discourses about their values.

Adherence to Pragmatic Training Approaches

The history of the Palestinian educational system as described above has influenced the image of the educator in both formal and informal settings. On the one hand, educators in Palestinian culture are well respected and their involvement in political activism has increased their social status within their communities. On the other, the instability and limitations on mobility and travel have restricted their opportunities for professional development and thus practice development. Furthermore, the experience of working in a volatile, unstable political context has led them to develop a focus on covering the learning materials and to decrease the emphasis on engaging learners in the learning process (Tamish 2010). These factors created a self-image of adult

educators as content oriented rather than outcome oriented. Thus, when civil society organisations were expected to run funded projects, they employed training methods that were similar to those used in school teaching. Adult education became limited as a concept to the number of sessions assigned by the donor's fund with little follow up on the impact of these sessions on the quality of knowledge and subsequent practice among the adult learners. In a report conducted by the Palestinian ministry of education on the quality of training opportunities for teachers on different topics (such as drama, health awareness and teaching methods) in which teachers were asked before and after the training about the usefulness of these topics in their professional and personal lives, it was notable that the negative attitudes towards these topics increased after the training (Palestinian Ministry of Education 2003). What is disappointing about this report is that the ministry ignores these results and calls instead for an increase in the amount of training for teachers without first questioning why the training was eliciting these apparently negative responses.

Resistance to Change

The involvement of the formal international donor community in supporting Palestinians has been considerable and has helped establish a huge number of opportunities for Palestinians to uphold their rights to all kinds of education. At the same time, taking a neutral role towards the Israeli violation of international laws has created a high sense of suspicion among Palestinians towards the genuine intention of donors to support Palestinians' human rights and has led them to being perceived as a colonial entity (Nakhleh 2005). As a result, some political groups believe that in order to counter this colonialism, there is a need to resist even its civilisation (Najjar 2005). Such dilemmas between how to react to external intervention (especially when there is no trust in local regimes) and how to reach a state of progress and development have created what Rida (1993) describes as the fear of *ghazo' thakafi* (Arabic for cultural invasion) rather than an openness to *tabadol thakafi* (cultural exchange). This historical experience of colonisation and political oppression has led people to adopt two different stances. One of them is to reject all forms of engagement with the international community and to focus on internal and local efforts. Despite the genuine intentions behind this as a view for responding to local needs, I argue that it is not possible to improve without being open to different approaches used elsewhere in the world. The second stance is to follow the set practices introduced by such colonial powers (Said 1989) and to perceive them as the criteria for showing progress and improvement. This stance is widely used by official educational bodies and some authors who analyse educational progress from a cosmetic perspective using terminology usually found in international discourse and without critical consideration of the lack of resonance or relevance of such discourse in Palestine. Recently, some donor agencies have started to become aware of these difficulties and to support initiatives that might lead to a more critical stance in which adult education organisations are supported to

develop local programmes that respond to local needs, language and culture, but which do not compromise the main objectives of adult education, which is to provide opportunities for all society's groups to play an active role in the process of resisting all forms of oppression both locally and internationally.

CONCLUSION

The need to consider the political, social and historical factors that shape adult education in any context is fundamental for any intervention plans in the field. There is still a lot to learn from sharing and understanding experiences and practices between adult educators and strategic planners in different contexts in different parts of the world. This surely helps create an enriched, shared, common knowledge and terminology about adult education.

In order to achieve this, there is a need therefore to enrich the literature with studies of a wider diversity of practice, as well as to increase the debate about values and dilemmas that emerge locally when adult education activists attempt to improve the quality of adult education in their own contexts by their own means. To do this, there is a need to conduct participatory research projects that are alive to current academic debate in terms of adult learning theory and development and that investigate some of the key obstacles in the field that I have highlighted in this chapter: the divergence in terminology and discourse; quality and impact of adult learning in relation to its local purpose not just global reference points; and the methods and approaches that will help local and international adult learning communities bridge these divides.

To think globally and act locally means that the international community has its commitment to social justice and in order to practice this role, thinking globally should not be limited to specific groups. I assume that in many cases there is a need to 'think locally and act globally' in order to guarantee that local communities have the power to lead for activism at the global level.

REFERENCES

- Alzaroo, S. (1989). *Higher education in the occupied territories* [in Arabic]. Hebron: University Graduates Union.
- Alzaroo, S., & Hunt, G. L. (2003). Education in the context of conflict and instability: The Palestinian case. *Social Policy and Administration*, 37(2), 165–180.
- Apple, M. W. (2000). *Official knowledge: Democratic education in a conservative age* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Assaf, S. (2004). *The Palestinian public teachers' movement in the West Bank* [in Arabic]. Ramallah: Muwatin (Palestinian Institute for the Study of Democracy).
- Baramki, G. (2010). *Peaceful resistance: Building a Palestinian university under occupation*. London: Pluto Press.
- Blanchard-Fields, F., & Kalinauskas, A. (2009). Challenges for the current status of adult developmental theories: A new century of progress. In C. Smith (Ed.), *Handbook of research on adult learning and development*. New York: Routledge.

- Dalia Association. (2007) *The need to limit the dependency on external funds*. Ramallah: Dalia Association (in Arabic).
- Duke, C. (1999). *Research in adult education: World trends and future agenda*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.
- Finger, M., & Asun, J. M. (2001). *Adult education at the crossroads: Learning our way out*. London: ZED Books.
- Freire, P. (1974). *Education for critical consciousness*. London: Sheed and Ward.
- Freire, P. (1998) *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (new ed.). London: Penguin Books.
- Jarvis, P. (2004). *Adult education and lifelong learning: Theory and practice* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge Falmer.
- General Institute for Literacy and Adult Education. (2014). *Strategic plan for illiteracy and adult education: 2014–2030*. Cairo: General Institute for Literacy and Adult Education (in Arabic).
- Khalidi, W. (2006). *All that remains: The Palestinian villages occupied and depopulated by Israel in 1948*. Beirut: Institute for Palestine Studies.
- Lanckshear, C., & Knobel, M. (2004). *A handbook for teacher research: From design to implementation*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Lucio-Villegas, E. (2015). *Adult education in communities: Approaches from a participatory perspective*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Maddox, B. (2014). Globalising assessment: An ethnography of literacy assessment, camels and fast food in the Mongolian gobi. *Comparative Education*, 50(4), 474–489.
- Mahshi, K., & Bush, K. (1989). The Palestinian uprising and education for the future. *Harvard Educational Review*, 59(4), 470–483.
- Mauch, W. (1999). Introduction. In W. Mauch (Ed.), *World trends in adult education research*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Education.
- Merriam, B., & Brockett, R. (2007). *The profession and practice of adult education: An introduction*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Najjar, F. (2005). The Arabs, Islam and globalization. *Middle East Policy*, 12(3), 91.
- Nakhleh, K. (2005). *The strategic plan for enhancing higher education in Palestine*. Ramallah (in Arabic).
- Nicolai, S. (2007). *Fragmented foundations: Education and chronic crisis in the occupied Palestinian territory*. Paris: IIEP-UNESCO.
- Oxendine, A., Sullivan, J., Borgida, E., Riedel, E., Jackson, M., & Dial, J. (2007). The importance of political context for understanding civic engagement: A longitudinal analysis. *Political Behavior*, 29(1), 31–67.
- Palestinian Ministry of Education. (2003). *The influence of training on teachers' attitudes*. Ramallah: Ministry of Education (in Arabic).
- Palestinian Ministry of Planning. (2004). *A National Plan of Action for Palestinian Children 2004–2010*. Ramallah, Palestinian Territories: Palestinian Ministry of Planning.
- Pappi, I. (2006). *The ethnic cleansing of Palestine*. Oxford: Oneworld Publications.
- Peteet, J. (2005). Words as interventions: Naming in the Palestine-Israel conflict. *Third World Quarterly*, 26(1), 153–172.
- Ramallah Center for Human Rights Studies (RCHRS). (2008). *Educational rights and academic freedoms in the Palestinian authority territories*. Ramallah: RCHRS.
- Rida, M. J. (1993). *Arab, education and culture: The hard choice*. Beirut: Centre for Arab Unity Studies (in Arabic).
- Sa'di, A. H. (2002). Catastrophe, memory and identity. *Israel Studies*, 7, 175–198.

- Said, E. (1989). Representing the colonized: Anthropology's interlocutors. *Critical Inquiry*, 15(2), 205–225.
- Said, E. (2003). *Orientalism*. New Delhi: Penguin.
- Saleh, A. J. (1982). *Indigenous problems of institutions of higher education in the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip*. Jerusalem: Alquds Center for Research (in Arabic).
- Sadler, R. (1998). Formative assessment: Revisiting the territory. *Assessment in Education*, 5, 77–84.
- Sfeir, J., & Bertoni, S. (2003). *The challenge of education in Palestine: The second intifada*. Bethlehem: Faculty of Education, BU.
- Sywelem, M. (2015). Literacy and adult education in Egypt: Achievements and challenges. *American Journal of educational Research*, 3(7), 793–799.
- Tamish, R. (2010). *A qualitative study of teachers' professional knowledge and practices in Bethlehem District—The West Bank*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge, Cambridge.
- UNESCO. (2003, September). Literacy and adult education in the Arab world: Regional report for the CONFINTEA V. *Mid-term Review Conference*, Bangkok.
- UNESCO. (2009a). *Investing in cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2009b). *Adult education: What is adult education*. Retrieved September 25, 2015, from www.unesco.org/ui/en/themareas/adeduc.htm.
- UNESCO Institute for Statistics. (2004) *LAMP-Literacy assessment and monitoring programme*. Retrieved December 12, 2015, from <http://www.uis.unesco.org/literacy/Pages/lamp-literacy-assessment.aspx>.
- UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. (2013). *Global report on adult learning and education: Rethinking literacy*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- USAID. (2013). *Standard provisions for U.S. nongovernmental organizations*. Retrieved October 17, 2015, from <https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1864/303maa.pdf>.
- Usher, R., Pryant, I., & Johnston, R. (2005). *Adult education and the postmodern challenge: Learning beyond the limits*. London: Routledge.
- Young, I. (1990). *Justice and the politics of difference*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Rabab Tamish is an Assistant Professor at Bethlehem University in the West Bank. In the last 10 years, she has been involved in different community programmes with the objective of enhancing the quality of adult learning in the Arab context. She was the first director of the Centre for Excellence in Teaching and Learning at BU in which she provided faculty members with diverse opportunities to enhance their teaching and research skills, as well as their pedagogic capacities.

China: Adult Education and Learning from Mao to Now

Roger Boshier

Abstract This chapter focuses on people who developed imaginative forms of adult education in early and late communist eras in China. It traces contours of the 2001 learning initiative and analyses impediments to its success. The chief impediments to learning and education in China arise from four critical issues—contradictions, campaign scepticism and fatigue, limits on intellectual freedom and a psychology of converging on ‘correct’ answers. By 2016, there were nationwide calls to give up the notion China is the ‘workshop of the world’ and build a culture of innovation. The author is a good friend of China but has reservations about the top-down, authoritarian, non-participatory and flaccid nature of ‘teaching’ in China’s leading universities. Moreover, dumping a black bag over Ai Weiwei’s head sends a stern message to citizens whose notions of learning and innovation deviate from the Party line. At the same time, Chinese are avid learners and there is an active group seeking to convince 82 million communists to build a ‘learning Party’. In many places—but particularly Shanghai—learning is a code for a democratic (Communist) Party. It is encouraging to know this initiative is coming from within the Party—and is endorsed by high officials.

LEARNING FOR REVOLUTION

Despite Party preoccupations with its history, few Chinese people know about creative adult education methods and techniques that helped bring communists to power. Instead of learning about Republican-era innovations or participatory Communist Party methodologies of earlier periods, too many contemporary

R. Boshier (✉)
University of British Columbia, 3205 West 30th Avenue,
B.C. V6L 1Z5 Vancouver, Canada
e-mail: roger.boshier@ubc.ca

© The Author(s) 2018
M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_30

advocates of adult education are rendered docile and silenced by slideshow snoozefests.

There were plenty of innovative attempts to foster learning in the Republican era. After 1949, China deployed massive adult education and literacy programmes but, regrettably, was isolated behind a bamboo curtain. Hence, when Lengrand (1968) was promoting lifelong education, Ivan Illich (1971) advocating deschooling and Edgar Faure and Majid Rahnema travelling the world gathering material for *Learning to be* (Faure 1972), they avoided China. Mao's alleged 'thoughts' provided the mandatory map for the road ahead, there was a compelling inevitability concerning the superiority of 'socialism with Chinese characteristics' and the theatrical cult-of-Mao was in full swing. So why listen to Lengrand, Gelpi, Rahnema, Hutchins, Cropley, Kidd, Thomas, Faure or other foreign advocates of lifelong education? In China, foreigners have always been part of the problem, not the solution.

Despite the bamboo curtain of the Mao era, by 2001, when China joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and President Jiang Zemin launched a learning initiative, there was no organised resistance to Party plans. In China, even a marginalised street-sleeper or cave dweller will do anything to get a book, magazine or newspaper because, after so much deprivation, learners are highly motivated. Nearly everybody likes learning and our favourite informants are formally uneducated, illiterate rural women who, despite a lack of schooling, know about climate change, agriculture, animals, official malfeasance, dodgy politics and the fragility of food production.

After 2001, policy analysts at the Central Party School (the university of the Communist Party) worked on theory about lifelong learning and municipal leaders were expected to apply the ideas in a manner congruent with their local context. Work arising from these partnerships rarely transcends the Party line. Hence, a lot of education research is crippled by self-censorship and focussed on government pronouncements. Human beings are mostly invisible. To help redress this situation, this chapter deliberately focuses on human actors in the fascinating drama of Chinese politics, adult education and lifelong learning enacted against the backdrop of ancient traditions.

After he unified China, the first emperor (Qin) banned private schooling and permitted only tutorials conducted by imperial officials. Later, there were Taixue schools to teach Confucianism and groom civil servants for imperial service (Yang 2012). There were lectures and self-study but not much discussion and no argument. Even now, 2000 years after Taixue, there is a preoccupation with innovation but no official appetite for open discussion. 'Serving the emperor' is an enduring tradition and, in recent years, it has become unlawful to criticise the Communist Party. However, the situation is not all bad. During early republican and communist eras, theatre troupes, puppet shows and drama presentations drew on ancient Chinese traditions. After 1949, the Chinese adult education system became the biggest in the world and, before being eroded by Human Resource Development (HRD), involved high levels of humour, improvisation, creativity and learner participation.

LEARNING FOR NATION-BUILDING

On 31 January 1949, units of the People's Army marched into what was then called Beijing. The civil war was finishing more quickly than either side had imagined. On 1 October 1949, Mao appeared above the 'Gate of Heavenly Peace' (at Tiananmen) and, in his thick Hunan accent, announced formation of the People's Republic. 'China has stood up', he said. Regrettably, China then opted for isolation. Foreigners had to leave, there were no family visits and few tourists. Having relatives abroad was dangerous and ordinary Chinese could not travel. The Party was not ready to run a town or city, let alone a vast country of regions enfeebled by war. Authorities needed capable people but illiterate Red Army soldiers did not have (and, in too many cases, still do not have) public administration skills. Nationalist officials had fled to Taiwan, were incarcerated or in hiding. The solution was adult education.

After 30 years of war, there was an urgent need to rebuild a battered nation and leaders launched mass literacy programmes. Because he was an army officer, modest, politically safe and an experienced adult educator, Yao Zhongda was invited into the Zhongnanhai leadership compound (at the Forbidden City). In 1953, 28-year-old Yao became Chief of the Bureau of Workers' and Peasants Education in the Ministry of Education (Boshier 2013). Zhongnanhai is adjacent to the Forbidden City and ordinary citizens cannot go there. Few people (Chinese or foreign) have seen inside. Farms throughout China produce food for those living there. To avert poisoning, tasters screened what Mao ate.

Despite being at the apex of politics in 'new' China, Yao Zhongda's family did not live like emperors. Assigned only one room of less than 12 m², there was no space for daughter Yao Lili so she lived with a nanny in another section. Yao lived (and worked) near Premier Zhou Enlai and others involved in the huge task of persuading exhausted citizens to get a notebook and go to a class to learn Chinese characters. There were teacher shortages, authoritarianism, anti-rightist campaigns and much controversy concerning remedies for illiteracy. From the start, literacy campaigns were derailed by logistical difficulties and shortages. Book production was inhibited by paper scarcity and central government takeover of publishers and printing plants. Most Chinese people were illiterate and lived in the countryside. Chinese publishers were used to producing reading material for urbanites but knew little about rural life. From 1949 onwards, there were bottlenecks in the publishing industry. Because of their higher production value and content relevant to daily life, only about one-third of available books were suitable for poorly educated rural people. By 1954, of 950 million books printed, two-thirds of them were mostly useless. Despite squabbles involving publishers and party officials, whether they liked it or not, peasants were required to learn 500 and workers 2000 Chinese characters. All regions needed literacy organisations and Yao spent a lot of time travelling but was usually happy to be in the countryside.

Peasants did not like being cajoled into literacy programmes only loosely linked to farm life. Many older people considered themselves incapable of

learning. This ‘would make the teacher angry’, said Yao with a chuckle (Z.D. Yao, personal communication with the author, December 10, 2009). As a former farm boy from Tangxian County near the Wutai mountains, Yao (1981, 1994) understood peasants, knew how to interact with animals and cheerfully encouraged reluctant learners. But despite the efforts of Yao and others, peasants got shunted into the background. Then, as now, urbanites were the priority.

There were bitter disputes about literacy theory. One group (inside the Party) was infatuated with Soviet literacy models; another wanted to retain the revolutionary zeal of 1930s and 1940s Yan’an. For them, the task was to continue the struggle for political mobilisation. But opponents described Yan’an yearnings as romantic ‘guerrilla education’ not suitable for nation-building. A third faction wanted to develop decentralised (local) minban village schools without the authoritarianism and uniform curricula of formal (Ministry of Education) schools.

In 1953, China embraced a Stalinist model of industrialisation and Premier Zhou Enlai stunned peasants by saying no more money would be spent in the countryside because it was needed for heavy industry in urban areas. This announcement was a clear warning of what lay ahead and continues to this day. Urbanites would get richer while rural people endured a ‘country hick’ social stigma and languished in poverty. From 1949 to 1955, rural literacy was ‘repeatedly forced to take a back seat’ to more urgent ‘mass education’ in urban areas (Petersen 1997).

The most concerted literacy campaigns occurred from March 1956 to 1960. This coincided with Mao’s catastrophic Great Leap Forward wherein citizens were forced into communes, ordered to run backyard steel foundries and, as experienced by Yao Zhongda’s brother, endure punishment for non-compliance. Officials needed to curry official favour by producing positive food production or literacy results so they cooked up false data or resorted to extreme, ‘all-out’, military methods such as ‘storming’. Great Leap food production statistics were fabricated and there is no reason to think literacy ‘achievements’ were any better (Petersen 1997).

About 40 million Chinese people died in the Great Leap famine of 1958–1960 and, to this day, an ominous shadow hangs over Mao-era grain harvests and literacy campaigns tarnished by lies and inept governance (Dikötter 2010). Fakery and fibs still obscure many aspects of life in China (Hessler 2006) and on 18 December 2015, in the middle of a ‘red alert’ triggered by Beijing smog, *China Daily* reported ‘10 executives suspected of faking pollution data’.

Despite the trauma of 1950s famine, for adult education, it was not all bad news. Knowing it was impossible to meet all learners in face-to-face settings, correspondence education started in the 1950s. The Shanghai radio and television university started in 1960 but, like everything else, was disrupted by the Cultural Revolution. However, after Mao died in 1976, radio and T.V. universities restarted in 1978.

Despite difficulties, respected adult educators launched careers in radio or television universities and, particularly in Shanghai, did interesting research and craved contact with foreigners. In 1984, when Ingrid Pipke and the author visited a T.V. university in a Shanghai tobacco factory, Roger Boshier was invited to question a large class. Pointing at a worker in the front row, the author asked ‘What have you learned today?’ After a gruelling hour watching text (about hydraulics) scrolling across a small screen, there was considerable laughter but, for the hapless victim, grave doubts about the ‘correct’ answer to this question.

After 40 million people died in famine triggered by the (1958–1960) Great Leap Forward (Dikötter 2010) and Mao purged Minister of Defence Peng Dehuai on Mount Lu (Lushan), the Communist Party was in turmoil. However, in 1960, Yao Zhongda was transferred to the Office of Culture and Education in the State Council (equivalent to the cabinet in a Westminster-style parliamentary democracy). Chastened by challenges to his authority, Mao decided to eliminate threats to his leadership and the so-called ‘cultural revolution’ would soon begin. Nobody could escape its madness and even the State Council was ‘rectified’. There is an old tradition in China where regime enemies (real or imagined) are banished to border regions. Emperors in the Qin dynasty did it and so did Mao Zedong (Lary 2007). Despite being a loyal communist and hard-worker, Yao the adult educator would get his turn.

Ningxia is a remote border region north of Gansu. From late 1957 to early 1958, more than 300,000 rightists and right-opportunists were hauled off to border regions. In his autobiography *Grass Soup*, Zhang (1994) vividly described life in Ningxia labour camps. In December 1968, Yao Zhongda and other State Council employees were dropped into a former prison farm on Helan Mountain in Ningxia. Yao’s wife was sent to a cadres school in Henan province. Their son (Yao Xiaojun) was left with his big sister in Beijing. Yao Lili, their daughter, was sent for re-education in Neimeng (Inner Mongolia), described in the extraordinary autobiography by Ma (1995). Like most others, the Yao family was fractured and, for Zhongda, it would be years before he would see the city again.

In the mid-1970s, Mao Zedong had motor neuron (Lou Gehrig’s) disease. On 9 September 1976, Yao was in Shijiazhuang when news of the Chairman’s death arrived and ‘unlike others, I did not cry’, he said. After being harassed for 30 years, intellectuals could now assume their ‘proper place’ in Chinese society (Fewsmith 2001) and there would be huge audiences for adult education. Yao died just before this book was published but in 2016 (when this was written), was 91 years old and showed the author and Xu Minghui five albums of photographs taken at adult education events. He did not have a computer but had no need to worry about Facebook, Twitter or Google. All are banned in China.

Madame Li Li

In Jiangsu province, January 1949 was a defining moment in the Chinese civil war. On 25 January, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) captured the Grand

Canal and by the 31st, most land north of the Yangtse was in communist hands. From November 1948 to January 1949, the ‘vicious and brutal’ Huaihai campaign decimated Jiangsu (Lary 2015: 143). However, by the time PLA soldiers reached Shanghai, nationalist troops knew the situation was hopeless. Marshall Chen Yi became the mayor of Shanghai and had to create a government.

Li Li was born into a large family in Huai’an, Zhou En Lai’s home town in Jiangsu. She joined the Communist Party in 1940 and, at age 14, became a soldier in the New 4th army fighting Japan. During the civil war, along with the rest of the New 4th Army, Li Li crossed the Yangtse River. On 20 April, she got involved in a Monty Python-like drama involving the British Royal Navy sloop *Amethyst* which, in an attempted rescue of Nanjing nationalists, had grounded on a sandbank separating Kuomintang and communist armies (Murfett 1991; Boshier and Huang 2009a).

Li Li later headed the Shanghai Bureau of Adult Education. From 1958 to her retirement, she built programmes for the education of workers and peasants. Along with Yao Zhongda and Fang Jing, Li Li was a key participant in negotiations which led to the 1984 Shanghai symposium on adult education (Boshier and Huang 2009a).

Foreign Devils

In March 1974, 25 Canadians visited China under auspices of the Canadian Association for Adult Education but minders controlled them. Four years later, Americans arrived. After Mao died, many curious foreigners were keen to see China. Imperialist lackeys were now waiting in Yao Zhongda’s outer office in Beijing! Foreign delegations would typically call on the Minister, be taken to Yao and then to farms, factories, a T.V. university or community centre. In 1978, Yao was working as Deputy Chief of the Department of Adult Education in the Ministry of Education and was Secretary-General of the Chinese Adult Education Association.

In 1977, the Cultural Revolution was still vivid when Deng Xiaoping told educational leaders to ‘speak-up ... you are over-cautious and afraid of making mistakes ... you should work freely and boldly, and think independently instead of always looking over your shoulder’ (Deng 1977: 82). It was good advice but citizens had heard this before and, just like now, there were good reasons for caution.

Those denied education because of the Cultural Revolution are known as the ‘lost-generation’. After Deng took power, damaged citizens hoped for a better life and there was an enormous demand for adult education. When adult education centres reopened after the Cultural Revolution, there were millions of eager learners. Hence, when Boshier et al. (2005) surveyed senior citizen learners in Shanghai about why they engaged in adult education, significant numbers said it was to ‘make-up’ for earlier disruptions in their lives.

1984 SHANGHAI SYMPOSIUM ON ADULT EDUCATION

Despite displays of exaggerated grief, there were enormous sighs of relief when Mao died in 1976. Soon after the Chairman's death, Deng Xiaoping's 1978 'reform-and-opening' was underway and during 1980s 'cultural fever' (Wang 1996; Barmé 1999), the International Council of Adult Education orchestrated a successful meeting of Chinese and foreign adult educators (Boshier and Huang 2005; Boshier and Huang 2009b).

The International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) was founded in 1972 but, despite effort, unable to penetrate the Middle Kingdom. But with Deng Xiaoping calling for reform-and-opening, Roby Kidd sensed an opportunity. He and Tanzanian Paul Mhaiki went to Beijing in May 1978 where they found Yao Zhongda. Both sides realised new opportunities lay on the road ahead.

Yao had to be careful and 5 years passed before China joined the ICAE in 1983. These arrangements took time because Yao needed permission from numerous officials above him in the Beijing hierarchy. In 1983, a Deng faction in Beijing favoured reform but, like now, others worried about Marxism being eroded by Western values. In 1983–1984, Beijing politics involved 'swerves, retreats and sudden jumps' (Spence 1990). Fortunately for the ICAE, Yao had the right class background, was a respected civil servant and skilled negotiator.

The International Council handed Chris Duke the 'China file' and he worked with Charles Wong of Hong Kong. They needed to turn small talk and time-consuming banquets into commitments (C. Duke, personal communication with the author, November 3, 2005). The ICAE wanted an international meeting of Chinese and Western adult educators. Why certain people were invited and others told to stay home is a continuing mystery. But, considering language, cultural and other barriers, the symposium was a landmark event. Charles Wong (personal communication with the author, November 3, 2005) felt putting it in Shanghai was significant. 'Yao was opened-minded. In Shanghai there was more freedom from prevailing protocol and ideological restrictions. Yao took it very seriously'. There were capable participants on both sides of the discussion and 'the right people were in charge'.

Organisers insisted presenters provide only a brief overview of papers after which a 'reaction panel' made comments and raised questions. Then, in plenary or full symposium sessions, there was more discussion. The Shanghai symposium would consider adult education theories, applications and systems. The indefatigable Chris Duke (1987) turned notebook scrawlings into *Proceedings*. As well, he edited 'lead' and 'tabled' papers and summarised group discussions. In Shanghai, editors of the *Adult Education Journal* produced a parallel *Proceedings* in Chinese (Chinese Adult Education Association 1985).

Papers by Chinese presenters contained little (or no) theory and all sat on a Party line midway between the end of the Cultural Revolution and Deng's not yet fully opened door. Learners were not in the foreground of Chinese presentations which spoke of the need to formalise non-formal settings! Yet, there was a strong desire to find communalities. 'Especially for participants from the

West, themselves of widely differing ideological persuasions and forced to be on their best behaviour in front of strangers, the experience doubtless stirred in many an unusual level of critical self-awareness There was a lot of thought-provoking disorientation' (Duke 1987: 233–234).

In 1984, there were 92 institutions offering adult/higher education in Shanghai and Madame Li Li (Boshier and Huang 2009a) felt the 1984 symposium had important consequences:

- It was a 'big eye-opener'. Chinese had a chance to learn about adult education theory and processes from other countries. 'After having little access to the West, this was a revelation'. It was a 'grand event' which led to a general mobilisation of Shanghai adult educators. 'We had to do a good job and be open to international influences'.
- 'It stimulated Shanghai adult educators to do more and different kinds of research'.
- 'It tested the abilities of Shanghai people to organise a big international event. Delegates visited 26 sites. It was a formidable challenge'.
- 'It fostered continuing collaboration with overseas adult educators'. After the symposium, the No. 2 Institute of Education stayed in touch with Westerners (some of whom came in the wake of the symposium). The Hongkou Sparetime University set up multimedia classrooms with help from Australia.
- It stimulated a national imperative in Chinese adult education research and practice.

Meetings were held at the historic Jin Jiang hotel and delegates tumbled out of bed when an earthquake disturbed their slumbers. After the symposium, exuberant Fang Jing wrote a history of Shanghai adult education (Wang et al. 1991; Fang 1999) and helped create a Jossey-Bass collection of Chinese material (Wang et al. 1988). Yan Huang and the author visited Fang Jing at home in Ganyu where his 1984 photograph album showed Chinese and Westerners laughing and dancing. In a burst of excitement, Wang Wen Lin had said, 'we are unifying the contradictions' (Duke 1987). This was unquestionably the Shanghai, not Sydney, Stuttgart or San Paulo symposium on adult education.

CHINESE LEARNING INITIATIVE

The 1989 Tiananmen massacre poured cold water on goodwill generated by the 1984 Shanghai symposium. Joint projects were abandoned within minutes of gunfire ricocheting down Chang'an Avenue, blood appearing on T.V. screens or troops massing in Fengtai. By the end of the twentieth century, there had been no apology for state-sanctioned violence but memories of Tiananmen atrocities had subsided.

In 2001, 12 years after the Tiananmen tragedy, China joined the WTO and President Jiang Zemin said the government wanted a ‘lifelong learning system leading to a learning society’. Jiang had probably not read the Faure (1972) Report but, at Beijing Normal University, Professor Gu Mingyuan was familiar with it (Gu 2001). In addition, Shanghai professors and advisers at the Central Party School were excited by Senge’s (1990) work on learning organisations. Hence, in October 2002, the 16th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party confirmed a proposal ‘to promote lifelong learning so as to ensure the all-round development of citizens’ (Jiang 2002; Report of the 16th Congress 2002).

At first, the focus was on learning organisations. Later, it switched to learning cities, districts, villages (Boshier and Huang 2006b, 2007), hospitals (Boshier and Qi 2008; Huang and Boshier 2008; Boshier 2011) police stations, streets and learning mountains (Boshier and Huang 2006a). By 2015, learning cities had been linked to the quest for innovation (Department of Vocational & Adult Education 2015).

In Beijing, Tsinghua University launched ‘TusPark’ in a major effort to marketise university knowledge. The Tsinghua University Science Park is supposed to produce social and economic benefits for China (Rhoads et al. 2014). In Yangpu district, Shanghai, there have been energetic attempts to build a learning district by fostering collaborative relationships between 14 universities, businesses and the ‘community’ (which, in China, means Party created and supervised social organisations (Boshier 2015)). At the same time, Chinese government researchers openly acknowledge the fact many utopian ideas about learning cities are not compatible with economic development (see Department of Vocational & Adult Education 2015: 29). The most revolutionary proposal—still waiting for action—is the plan to build a learning (Communist) Party.

Out in the countryside, Shuang Yu learning village is a triumph of imagination at the intersection of tradition and modernity and contains a dazzling array of learning activities for poor and formally uneducated Chinese (Boshier and Huang 2007). Just like people in Shuang Yu, Y.F. Wang of the Shanghai Ming De Centre for Learning Organisations stressed the need for holistic perspectives and claimed accidents (such as the Wenzhou railway crash) and environmental catastrophes (such as the Three Gorges Dam) arise from atomistic thinking. As well as dismantling borders between learning and life, the learning initiative ought to foster ecological thinking. Teaching and learning processes should be flexible, participatory and informed by local conditions (Y.F. Wang, personal communication with the author, April 21, 2005).

By 2016, there was still plenty initiative of enthusiasm for Jiang Zemin’s learning initiative and more than 400 companies had settled into Tsinghua’s science park. Official enthusiasm for the learning initiative was also demonstrated when the Chinese Ministry of Education and Beijing municipal authorities co-hosted the 2013 UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning conference on learning cities (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation 2014).

As a clear sign of importance Beijing attaches to the learning initiative, the central government sent Vice-Premier Liu Yandong to present a keynote speech. Madame Liu, a jovial chemical engineer, became Vice-Premier after the fall of Bo Xilai. Official speeches in China often focus on money. Instead, Vice-Premier Liu cheerfully spoke about human needs and desire to build a more open, humane, learning-oriented society. After her speech, Roger Boshier (2014b) and Peking University student Jade Zhao interviewed the Vice-Premier about transforming Beijing into a learning city. What are the biggest barriers to getting the job done? ‘The biggest barrier? That would be my colleagues’, she said with a chuckle. ‘How come?’ said Boshier. ‘They think it’s all about money’, she said. The Vice-Premier considered the learning city a human, not just an economic problem! She is a graduate of Tsinghua University and only woman in the current Politburo.

The seriousness of the Beijing commitment to learning cities was also signalled by the energetic Chinese delegation to the second UNESCO conference on learning cities held in Mexico City, 27–29 September 2015 where Beijing won a UNESCO learning city award. According to China’s Ministry of Education (2014), 100 Chinese cities have embraced learning as a fundamental pillar of development. The seriousness of the Beijing commitment to learning is in no doubt but continuously derailed by hard-to-ignore critical questions.

CRITICAL ISSUES

Despite Vice-Premier Liu’s good manners, what happens inside the Chinese learning initiative occurs against the backdrop of tense discussions about whether China should adopt universal values (like democracy or human rights) or stick with the relativism of ‘Chinese characteristics’ involving political authoritarianism and grave doubts concerning the rule of law (Kelly 2013) in a Leninist state. Learners are not the problem. Instead, impediments to the Chinese learning initiative tend to be political, not personal.

Each impediment points to the need to better theorise lifelong learning and deploy critical (maybe even Marxist) perspectives in twenty-first-century China. The chief impediments to the learning initiative concern contradictions, campaign fatigue, limits on intellectual freedom and the prevalence of a psychology of convergence.

Contradictions

Beijing says they are committed to open forms of learning and ‘innovation-driven development’ (New engine for development, *China Daily*, 25 October, 2013: 8). In late 2015, innovation became a central pillar of the 13th 5-year plan. But do high officials realise there is more to innovation than pouring concrete or ordering underpaid rural migrants to build dams, airports or roads?

Columbia University's economist Edmund Phelps (2015)—who won a Nobel Prize in 2006—has hard questions for Chinese capitalists and Beijing notions of innovation. In his view, capitalism should not be unduly focussed on making money. Nor should it spawn top-heavy organisations headed by bullying, egocentric, devious, corrupt and over-paid Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) incapable of fostering grassroots innovation.

Phelps claims modern capitalism requires creativity, innovation, democratic forms of organisation, a culture of consultation, an absence of fear, respect for human rights and willingness to tolerate (and learn from) mistakes. Along with struggling corporations in the United States and Japan, rapacious Chinese capitalism (or 'socialism with Chinese characteristics') is not headed in the desired direction (Phelps 2015). In China, top-down governance, self-censorship, bullying, distrust, a culture of fear and unwillingness to consider new ideas are the antitheses of innovation.

China is a low-trust society and human rights are constrained. Nobel prize winner Liu Xiaobo is 7 years into a long prison sentence and Professor Ilham Tohti (44-year-old former economics professor of Minzu University—see Rhoads et al. 2014) got life in jail for running a Uyghur-focussed website. Uyghur are the indigenous people of Xinjiang Autonomous Region. Locking up the Minzu professor and his graduate students caused worldwide consternation (Ilham Tohti should get a Nobel Prize, not prison, *The Guardian*, 24 September, 2014); hence, Amnesty International and others continue to agitate for his release. At the University of British Columbia (UBC) in Canada, questions have been raised about the viability of nurturing academic projects with China while Tohti (and others) are incarcerated.

Corruption, surveillance, stringent media controls and disregard for the law amongst local Party officials are all part of everyday life in China. In Guizhou, educational authorities installed cameras in classrooms to 'build an all-round oversight system for teaching quality control' (Guizhou province orders its universities to install cameras in classrooms, *Caixin*, 12 March, 2014). The Ministry of Education cited 'making remarks or performing deeds that are against the Party's principles and policies in teaching' as one of seven behaviours 'strictly forbidden for university instructors' (Ministry issues stern warning, *China Daily*, 10 November, 2014: 1).

None of this is congruent with open, democratic and dynamic forms of learning in formal, non-formal or informal settings. Although key concepts in the Faure Report (e.g. learning society) are in Beijing discourse, the social democratic politics of *Learning to Be* were ditched long ago. In too many Chinese settings, lifelong learning is a narrow, techno-rational, applied and pragmatic matter rife with contradictions.

Mediocre Teaching

In 1997, 400,000 students graduated from four-year university programmes. By 2015, Chinese universities were producing more than three million graduates a year. But are they innovative and seriously engaged with their studies? As

a university field of study, higher education struggles to establish a foothold. Because Chinese higher education lacks an empirical basis (Yang 2016a; Yang 2016b), policy is instead cooked up in Ministry of Education or Party offices.

Chinese researchers rarely look at what occurs in university classrooms. Part of this chapter was written while the author was at top Beijing universities (e.g. Peking University, Beijing Normal, Renmin, Tianjin Normal, Tsinghua) and others in the Shanghai or Yangtze delta region. The author visited classes in ‘teaching blocks’ and saw numerous students fiddling with phones and snoozing through media presentations crammed with text. Several multi-storied teaching blocks have recently been built and are used for lecturing at sullen, silent and disempowered undergraduates. On successive days, the author visited lower, middle and upper floors of teaching blocks at elite universities but need not have bothered because the teaching ‘style’ was the same in every room.

The author’s modus operandi was to enter at the back of the room (or look through the glass panel of a door) and watch classes already in progress. Sometimes, an instructor stood on their own feet but, more often than not, sat in the ‘teaching station’ up front and talked to a computer screen. If of small stature, the instructor was barely (or not) visible from the back of the room.

Even at Peking (PKU) and Tsinghua—the top universities in China—so-called ‘teaching’ involved little (if any) learner participation and no hints of innovation. All over the world (but particularly in China), media projectors silence learners, kill dialogue and shield lazy teachers by ensuring there are no opportunities for learners to challenge (or even clarify) orthodox—often out-of-date—‘wisdom’.

The architecture in Chinese university teaching blocks is strongly tilted towards boredom, docility and reinforcing the authority of the emperor (and Communist Party). Because seats are fixed to the floor, it is difficult for the instructor to do anything other than show slides and talk. Walk into a teaching block and it is abundantly clear who is in charge. Dreary (and out-of-date) media presentations put learners to sleep or ensure their silence. There is almost no chance anything innovative will arise from this kind of teaching and learning. However, teaching blocks accurately reflect the political economy of power relations nested in twenty-first-century Chinese higher education. If power corrupts, Powerpoint corrupts absolutely!

In social surveys, Chinese university students repeatedly recall ‘favourite’ teachers as being kind and warm-hearted (Boshier 2014a; Boshier and Ogawa 2015). Reading text from a screen is not an attribute of good teaching. By early 2016, Tsinghua and Beijing Normal universities were experimenting with chairs on wheels that could be pulled around to form discussion groups for graduate students. But there were no signs of relief for undergraduates sentenced to the silencing technologies of slideshow tedium.

During interviews conducted with students at Peking University, Renmin, Tsinghua and other places, the author confirmed the fact slideshow tedium was the norm. Although leading universities compete for high places on Times, Jiaotong and other rankings, Chinese university ‘teaching’ needs radical reform.

High officials are familiar with the problem. Three cheerful and well-educated Chinese ambassadors (to Canada) appeared at a 12 November 2015 UBC event to celebrate the 45th anniversary of Canadian engagement with China. During wide-open question-and-answer sessions, the ambassadors (Lu Shumin, Zhang, H.E. and Lan Lijun) all acknowledged the lack of teacher–student interaction in Chinese universities and expressed doubts about the chances of anything innovative coming out of teaching blocks filled with undergraduates.

Punishing Innovation

By 2016, Beijing wanted to ditch the idea China is the workshop of the world. From now on, innovation would be the leit motif—the organising principle—of Chinese economic activity, education, culture and science. It is a worthy goal but citizens will be hard-pressed to reconcile this idea with treatment meted out to China’s most innovative citizens.

Sculptor and public intellectual Ai Weiwei is an intelligent, patriotic and innovative Chinese and co-designer of the National stadium (the Birds Nest) used for the 2008 Olympic Games. On 3 April 2011, plain-clothes Beijing police hauled Ai out of Capital Airport (at Beijing) and hustled him into a van where they dropped a thick black bag over his head (Martin 2013: 81). After an hour-and-a-half in the van, Ai was carried to an interrogation room where the bag was removed but he was handcuffed and forced to sit in prolonged silence. Having two police or soldiers guard a manacled prisoner by sitting very close, staring and saying nothing is intended to confuse and immobilise Chinese prisoners. The black bag was not as terrible as United States of America’s (USA) torture methodologies (such as water-boarding, mock executions, attack by dogs, forced medication, sleep deprivation and assault by loud music) but, along with an 81-day incarceration, profoundly damaged Ai Weiwei.

The problem for China’s best-known contemporary sculptor is having a head filled with ideas about innovation that do not fit the Party paradigm. Ai Weiwei’s jailers could not understand why someone would make 2 million sunflower seeds (and display them at the Tate Modern gallery in London) but, after noting international outrage, and realising Ai was no ordinary criminal, released him on 22 June 2011. No charges were laid and, to this day, the sunflower seeds are a puzzle. However, if Ai Weiwei could endure torture by silence and have a black bag dumped over his head, Chinese learners and academic staff have good reasons to eschew innovation. Stay safe and stick with orthodox wisdom. The Ai Weiwei situation was a clear example of the ancient Chinese idiom ‘kill the chicken to scare the monkey’ (make an example of someone to scare others).

Campaign Fatigue

In China, complex issues are reduced to slogans extolling the virtues of the learning society, innovation and the Communist Party. Political slogans on billboards are a tradition stretching back to 1930s Shanghai, Jiangxi, the Long

March and Yan'an. Yet, without exception, every grandmother and taxi driver we have asked (since 1984) was sceptical of billboards and slogans erected by the Party state. Scepticism arises from fatigue created by campaigns causing widespread social harm.

The Great Leap Forward and Cultural Revolution created permanent consternation concerning Party campaigns. Even when displayed on beautiful buildings like Shanghai's Jin Mao tower, twenty-first-century slogans about innovation or lifelong learning are waved off as 'rubbish' or 'more-of-the-same'. Like old pro-smoking billboards featuring respected leaders, citizens know today's slogans will soon disappear; others will be erected in their place. Because of campaign fatigue, lifelong learning activists trying to recruit learners too often meet resistance, apathy, even hatred.

Limits on Intellectual Freedom

Once citizens commit to lifelong learning, there is a chance they'll grow critical of one-dimensional exhortations and demand freedom to follow their interests. Genuine learning requires intellectual space. But Chinese history is choked with situations where citizens were urged to learn and then punished for doing so. For example, older Chinese remember Mao's 1957 100-flowers campaign where criticism (of the Party) was encouraged and then ruthlessly punished. This is only one of the numerous examples of why prudent Chinese keep quiet (and do not raise or answer questions in class). It is why educators did not have much confidence when President Deng Xiaoping told them to stop 'looking over your shoulder'.

In April 2013, President Xi climbed on a hackneyed but familiar bandwagon when he attacked Western values such as constitutional democracy; universal values (like human rights); media independence; civic participation; and nihilist criticisms of the party's past. After this official assault on Western values, universities were warned to get tough on professors (Yeung 2015) and the Ministry of Education launched a nationwide investigation of textbooks (Probe starts into textbooks with western values, *MarketWatch*, 20 March, 2015, Issue No. 359). Textbook inspectors should be careful because Western (enlightenment) values were in China before the West existed and, in 1993, Chinese university planners opted for Western (American and European) models. President Xi will need an impressive magic show to imitate prestigious Western universities but make their values disappear.

Academic freedom and university autonomy are controversial issues and influential Chinese university presidents are fed up with dancing around forbidden topics. Tsinghua colleagues insist that, 'after doing a few projects supporting the party, they leave you alone'. Academic freedom has to be earned. But, in their analysis of what makes a world-class university, Altbach and Salmi (2011) were not so sanguine. First, there is the problem of a Party secretary telling the university President what to do. Second, the lack of academic freedom, 'certainly hinders the ability of social science scholars to conduct scientific

inquiries on issues that are politically sensitive’ (2011: 339). After interviewing faculty members and senior administrators at Peking University, Tsinghua, Renmin and Minzu Rhoads et al. (2014) exposed deep concern about the lack of academic freedom—even at research-intensive institutions committed to improving their position in the Shanghai Jiaotong list of world-class universities.

A salient plank in campus culture at Beida (Peking University) is the pursuit of knowledge ‘with scepticism’ (Rhoads et al. 2014); yet, graduates writing theses and dissertations about the politics of the South China Sea are told to conform to the Party line (e.g. on the Spratly Islands) or expect to fail their degree (J. Li, pseudonym for a PKU student, personal communication with the author, December 17, 2015).

Along with corruption, influence peddling, plagiarism and falsification of scientific data, the lack of academic freedom creates what Yang (2016a) labelled a ‘toxic academic culture’. If Ai Weiwei’s sunflower seeds are a puzzle, by 2016, university autonomy and academic freedom were an even bigger challenge for high-party officials. In university classrooms, ‘remarks’ contradicting Party principles are strictly forbidden. Party critics are accused of “historical nihilism.”

The Party has a long-standing tradition of vilifying foreigners and, when Beijing is insecure, anti-foreigner rhetoric increases and a week will be devoted to denouncing Japan. In 2014, the *People’s Daily* published more than 42 articles blaming China’s domestic problems on the ‘black hand’ of foreign forces (China turns up rhetoric against the west, *The New York Times*, 12 November, 2014). For example, just like for 4 June 1989, Beijing claimed the September 2014, ‘Hong Kong umbrella movement was orchestrated by foreigners’.

Psychology of Convergence

China’s entry into the WTO stimulated the 2001 learning initiative and, since then, *Study Times*, the *People’s Daily* and other media have stressed the need for open and creative thinking capable of nurturing innovation. However, silence, docility, conformity and relentless searches for the one-right-answer will not get the job done. Nor does conformity erode toxic culture or build world-class universities (Zhao 2014).

The habit of converging on ‘correct’ ideas will not change in a hurry. For at least 2000 years, rote memorisation and good test scores provided government jobs and professional esteem in China. Today, rote memorisation is aided by plagiarism, sophisticated cheating devices and expensive cram schools preparing people for tests. Zhao (2014) felt China has the worst education system in the world because test scores ‘are purchased by sacrificing creativity, divergent thinking, originality and individualism. The imposition of standardised tests ... is a victory for authoritarianism’. On the positive side, although many adult education activities occur in traditional (child-oriented) classrooms with give-‘em-hell teachers or instructors reading notes from a screen, there are plenty of cheerful and open-minded educators in libraries, seniors centres, community facilities and other nooks and crannies of the learning initiative. For example, in

imaginary Shuang Yu village, residents happily teach each other (Boshier and Huang 2007).

The ability of China to become an innovative, technologically sophisticated and modern nation will partly depend on ditching convergence in favour of a psychology of divergence. Instead of insisting on ‘correct’ answers, how about producing divergent alternatives? But already there is a problem. The Party secretary does not like divergence that could be headed for the same black hole as civil society and other Western values. Here is where isolated rural learning activists have an advantage. For example, in Shuang Yu learning village, problem-posing outstrips problem-solving and there are few ‘correct’ answers. In echoes of the Yan’an era, even the chain-smoking Party secretary gets into buzz groups, draws on flip charts, sings and participates in role-plays. Shuang Yu wisely ‘lost’ their two media projectors in a local river. For them, cards, felt pens and sticky tape are the high-technology of twenty-first-century learning. Beijing could learn lots from Shuang Yu but the villagers do not want to become a curiosity, tourist venue or “model” for others. Older villagers have vivid memories of Mao-era “learn from Dazhai” fakery and foolishness. Besides, as an act of imagination, Shuang Yu can be elusive.

BARREN RESEARCH

Chinese citizens are rarely asked to explain their lives and, despite millions of willing (and interested) respondents, university researchers are reluctant to talk with ordinary people. This is because China is a low-trust society characterised by high levels of suspicion and superstition. Citizens are wary because Chinese researchers might be doing surveillance—like nosy neighbourhood committees of the Mao era.

Because Chinese university-based researchers typically show little interest in old comrades, other residents took note when Roger Boshier and Xu Minghui turned up for a 10-day talk with Yao Zhongda on the 9th floor of retired cadres’ accommodation in Fengtai (Boshier 2013). After Liberation, Yao directed one of the biggest adult education programmes in history. But, for twenty-first-century scholars, tales of rural hardship, ill-fitting army uniforms, book shortages or exuberant adult education theatre troupes or poster campaigns are an embarrassing reminder of a tortured past.

As an academic field of study, Chinese adult education is in steep decline. The small number of professors who once taught it at universities have retired, defected to HRD or opted for lifelong learning. The number of doctoral students studying adult education has shrunk to almost none. There are numerous relevant academic journals—such as *Open Education Research* (published in Shanghai) and *Lifelong Education* (published in Fujian). Almost every province has an adult education journal. But too much research has weak empirical foundations, no theory and nothing resembling a critical perspective.

‘Research’ is too often a regurgitation of prescriptions in government policy papers, choked with flawed statistics or involves an atheoretical descriptive ‘case

study'. In Chinese higher education, the gross enrolment rate jumped from 9.8% in 1998 to 24.2% in 2009. However, the massification of Chinese higher education has not produced better research. Instead, the focus is on producing a large numbers of articles. 'A culture of junk research and academic corruption has resulted' and, as in many Western universities, the education of students 'has become a secondary concern' (Minzer 2013). University teaching staff are under immense pressure to publish in journals with high scores on the Chinese *Social Science Citation Index*. A well-placed department head at Tsinghua university (Zhou 2016) estimates 20% of articles published in 'good' journals involve an exchange of cash (e.g. in gifts or bribes) or goods (e.g. a flash dinner for the editor).

Research-for-its-own-sake is an alien concept. The pragmatic vocationalism of Chinese learners flows from the collapse of danwei (work units), disdain for 'useless' theory and anxiety about job prospects. Nagging parents urging children into 'useful' subjects like computers and engineering are part of this theory/practice problem. In addition, too many students are not in high-trust relationships. Women and girls have a double burden. Conversation with parents turns into exhortations about studying something useful, finding a husband and producing a son. But, in the marriage game, women with a Ph.D. risk being leftover or dismissed as inferior 'yellow pearls' (Zhou and Fang 2014).

Chinese research is inhibited by dislike of theory and a strong preference for quantitative methodology. This is because subjective ontology was discredited by Maoism and replaced by fondness for so-called objectivist science and number-crunching. Everywhere, there is a pronounced aversion to qualitative enquiry because of the 'statisticalisation' of Chinese life (Liu 2009). Statistics are a mode of discipline and governance. Hard data are considered less hot to handle than the messy politics of human subjectivity. Even if the researcher cannot explain what the numbers mean, they look more 'academic' than other forms of data. Official statistics are not trustworthy and many citizens assume somebody makes up numbers for the purpose of concealing problems (like air pollution or water purity). Just about every taxi driver (with whom we have discussed it) is certain there is an office for making up numbers. Some even claim to know where the 'making-up-numbers' office is located—over there, next to the noodle shop!

Research lacking statistics is deemed not scientific, will attract lack-lustre (or no) funding and few publication opportunities. Human subjectivity and qualitative methodologies reek of bourgeois self-indulgence and recall the Mao era when evidence was trounced by ideology. Hence, there is a well-developed affection for statistics but profound lack of sound theorising.

ROAD AHEAD

China is a large and fascinating place of 1.3 billion people keen on learning. Because of the collapse of educational institutions and cruelties of the Cultural Revolution and a large motivated population, China has the biggest adult

education system in the world. As a field of practice, Chinese adult education will endure. But, as a field of university study, adult education has been knocked off its perch by HRD, the struggle for innovation and notion technology can solve all problems. Much like in the West, space vacated by the decline of adult education as a field of university study in China is now filled by techno-utopian ravings involving the word 'digital'.

Some of the Chinese learning initiatives exude enthusiasm and creativity. Yet, other parts are rife with contradiction, deeply utilitarian and wander far from what foreign architects of lifelong learning have been talking about. In most countries, lifelong learning is a loose, deliberately uncoordinated master concept for educational reform. Majid Rahnema (1989), a Faure (1972) Report author, clearly opposed coordination. For him, lifelong education was an unsystem. In China, there is a long-standing focus on control and coordination (Ministry of Education 2014). Fortunately, China is a vast country and it will be a formidable challenge to coordinate all the multifarious nooks and crannies of lifelong learning. Moreover, as always, many of the most innovative and best places in China are a long way from Beijing!

In the meantime, regional differences should be celebrated and it is exhilarating to stumble across rural people singing in a choir, learning to fix a tractor, fussing over a sick pig, learning to operate a gadget to harvest corn, get water, excavate a cave or stop snow crushing greenhouses filled with tomatoes. It is also good to see senior citizens at elder universities in Shanghai (Zhang and Xu 2015), youngsters learning about ecology on Lushan (Mount Lu in eastern Jiangxi) (Boshier and Huang 2006a) or Lo Ping cave dwellers (Shaanxi) coaxing tomatoes from snow-covered greenhouses, making art or listening to Grannie Wu describe her childhood.

Despite positive energy poured into China's learning initiative, it is a worrying contradiction to urge citizens to learn new things and harass (or jail) them for doing so. Yet, as Chairman Mao was apt to say, and Ai Weiwei demonstrates on a daily basis, within contradictions lies potential for change. Despite the history of arduous struggle and serious threat of an environmental catastrophe involving millions of casualties, Chinese people have always been avid learners and this is not likely to change.

REFERENCES

- Altbach, P., & Salmi, J. (2011). *The road to academic excellence: The making of world-class research universities*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.
- Barmé, G. (1999). *In the red: On contemporary Chinese culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Boshier, R. W. (2011, October 28). *When does a teaching hospital become a learning hospital: Harsh lessons from China*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Stanford University.
- Boshier, R. W. (2013). Mao was my neighbour: Yao Zhongda and the 'opening' of Chinese adult education. *Brock Education*, 22(2), 11–27.

- Boshier, R. W. (2014a, September 27–28). *Ni hao Yu Hua: Chinese university students in seven questions*. Paper Presented at the Fifth Worldwide Forum on Comparative Education, Beijing Normal University.
- Boshier, R. W. (2014b, November 22–28). *If you want the straight goods, ask a woman: Learning from inside the Chinese Politburo*. The Learning Edge (la Fine Pointe). Newsletter of the Canadian Society for the Study of Adult Education.
- Boshier, R. W. (2015). From Marx to market: Limitations of university-led ‘collaboration’ in the Yangpu (Shanghai) innovation zone. In J. Yang, C. Scheller, & S. Roche (Eds.), *The role of universities in promoting lifelong learning*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- Boshier, R. W., & Huang, Y. (2005). The Shanghai-seven: Reflections 21 years after the ICAE meeting in Shanghai. *Convergence*, 38(2), 5–27.
- Boshier, R. W., & Huang, Y. (2006a). Building for the future by expatiating the past: High drama from the summit of China’s learning mountain. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 25(5&6), 351–367.
- Boshier, R. W., & Huang, Y. (2006b). Is the Chinese learning initiative the long-awaited 5th modernization? *Planning and Changing: An Educational Policy and Leadership Journal*, 37(1&2), 56–70.
- Boshier, R. W., & Huang, Y. (2007). Vertical and horizontal dimensions of China’s Shuang Yu learning village. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 29(1), 51–70.
- Boshier, R. W., & Huang, Y. (2009a). Madame Li Li: Communist soldier and revolutionary Chinese woman adult educator. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 31(1), 45–59.
- Boshier, R. W., & Huang, Y. (2009b). Focus on the power of adult learning—The history of the 1984 international conference on adult education. *Lifelong Education*, 7(2), 70–78. [in Chinese].
- Boshier, R. W., Huang, Y., Song, Q., & Song, L. (2005). Market socialism meets the lost generation: Motivational orientations of adult learners in Shanghai. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 56(3), 201–222.
- Boshier, R. W., & Ogawa, S. (2015, October 21–23). *Measure quality by asking customers! A comparative study of student perspectives on university reform in China and Japan*. Paper presented at the 12th International Workshop on Higher Education Reform, Tianjin Normal University.
- Boshier, R. W., & Qi, C. (2008). Barriers to building learning hospitals in China. *Theoretical Investigation (Journal of the Heilongjiang Party School of the Chinese Communist Party)*, 6, 176–178. [in Chinese].
- Chinese Adult Education Association. (1985). *Collected papers from the 1984 International Council for Adult Education Shanghai Symposium*. Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press. [in Chinese].
- Deng, X. P. (1977). Setting things right in education: A talk to the leading comrades of the Ministry of Education, September 19th, 1977. In *Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping*. Beijing: Foreign Languages Publishing House.
- Department of Vocational and Adult Education. (2015). *2015 Report of China’s learning city development*. Beijing: Ministry of Education.
- Dikötter, F. (2010). *Mao’s great famine: The history of China’s most devastating catastrophe, 1958–1962*. New York: Walker Publishing Company.
- Duke, C. (Ed.). (1987). *Adult education: International perspectives from China*. London: Croom Helm.

- Fang, J. (1999). *History of adult education in Shanghai*. Hong Kong: Wahha Culture Publisher. [in Chinese].
- Faure, E. (1972). *Learning to be*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Fewsmith, J. (2001). *China since Tiananmen: The politics of transition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gu, M. Y. (2001). *Education in China and abroad: Perspectives from a lifetime in comparative education*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Hessler, P. (2006). *Oracle bones*. New York: HarperCollins.
- Huang, Y., & Boshier, R. W. (2008, March 17–22). *Barriers on the road to Chinese learning hospitals*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Illich, I. (1971). *Deschooling society*. New York: Harper & Row.
- Jiang, Z. M. (2002). *Build a well-off society in an all-round way to create socialism with Chinese characteristics*. Report delivered at the 16th Congress of the Communist Party of China, Beijing.
- Kelly, D. (2013). Approaching Chinese freedom: A study in absolute and relative values. *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs*, 42(2), 141–165.
- Lary, D. (Ed.). (2007). *The Chinese state at the borders*. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Lary, D. (2015). *China's civil war: A social history, 1945–1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lengrand, P. (1968). *Introduction to lifelong education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Liu, X. (2009). *The mirage of China: Anti-humanism, narcissism and corporeality of the contemporary world*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Ma, B. (1995). *Blood red sunset: A memoir of the Chinese cultural revolution*. New York: Viking.
- Martin, B. (2013). *Hanging man: The arrest of Ai Weiwei*. New York: Faber & Faber.
- Ministry of Education. (2014). *Opinions on building learning cities by the Ministry of Education and six other ministries of the People's Republic of China*. Ministry of Education (and six other ministries), Beijing, August 11.
- Minzer, C. (2013, August 5). China's higher education bubble. *Caixin Online*. Retrieved from <http://english.caixin.com/2013-08-05/100565271.html>
- Murfett, M. H. (1991). *Hostage on the Yangtze: Britain, China and the Amethyst crisis of 1949*. Annapolis: Naval Institute Press.
- Petersen, G. (1997). *The power of words: Literacy and revolution in South China, 1949–1995*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.
- Phelps, E. (2015). *Mass flourishing: How grassroots innovation created jobs, challenge and change*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Rahnama, M. (1989). *The Faure report. Television interview with Roger Boshier*. Vancouver: UBC Access Television.
- Report of the 16th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party*. (2002, November 8). Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Beijing.
- Rhoads, R. A., Wang, X. Y., Shi, X. G., & Chang, Y. C. (2014). *China's rising research universities*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Senge, P. (1990). *The fifth discipline: The art and practice of the learning organization*. New York: Doubleday.
- Spence, J. D. (1990). *The search for modern China*. New York: WW Norton.

- UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. (2014). *Conference report: International conference on learning cities, October 21–23, 2013*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- Wang, J. (1996). *High culture fever: Politics, aesthetics, and ideology in Deng's China*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wang, M. R., Lin, W. H., Sun, S. L., & Fang, J. (Eds.). (1988). *China: Lessons from practice*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Wang, Y. X., Li, L., & Fang, J. (1991). *History of Shanghai adult education, 1949–1989*. Shanghai: Shanghai Social Sciences Academic Publishing House.
- Yang, R. (2012). Cultural perspectives on higher education reforms in China since 1978. In B. Adamson, J. Nixon, & S. Feng (Eds.), *The reorientation of higher education: Challenging the east-west dichotomy*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, University of Hong Kong.
- Yang, R. (2016a). Toxic academic culture in East Asia. *International Higher Education*, 15, 84.
- Yang, R. (2016b, March 6–10). *Reassessing East Asian higher education: A cultural assessment*. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Comparative and International Education Society, Vancouver.
- Yao, Z. D. (1981). *Sparetime education in Shenyang people's commune*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Yao, Z. D. (1994). *Adult education in China: Some historical and modern aspects*. Paper presented at the Ming-Ai (London) Institute, London, England.
- Yeung, L. (2015, February 7). Campus crackdown on western values. *University World News*, Issue 353.
- Zhang, M. X., & Xu, J. J. (2015). The role of universities in elder education: Experience of Shanghai and Shanghai Normal University. In J. Yang, C. Schneller, & S. Roche (Eds.), *The role of higher education in promoting lifelong learning*. Hamburg: UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.
- Zhang, X. L. (1994). *Grass soup*. London: Secker & Warburg.
- Zhao, Y. (2014). *Who's afraid of the big bad dragon? Why China has the best (and worst) education system in the world*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Zhou, T. (2016, March 10) (pseudonym). *Roger Boshier Interview with Professor Zhou*.
- Zhou, A., & Fang, P. J. (2014, October 18). The yellow pearls of China: Women with a Ph.D. *Caixin*.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Roger Boshier is Professor of Adult Education at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. His current research concerns the Chinese learning initiative, comparative education, learning cities and New Zealand Maori painter Selwyn Murupaenga. An example of a recent publication is 'Lifelong learning as a flag of convenience' in Aspin, D., Chapman, J., Evans, K. and Bagnall, R. (Eds.), *Second International Handbook of Lifelong Learning* (Springer, 2012).

Singapore: Trends and Directions in Lifelong Learning

Prem Kumar

Abstract Lifelong learning in Singapore offers opportunities to realise a person's full potential while at the same time it functions as a strategic driver for achieving competitive advantage. The chapter reviews the notions on the bifurcation of lifelong learning and lifelong education and in the process we will consider fundamental issues that impact lifelong learning, in particular how globalising policy ideas have been developed and localised in the Singapore context. It will highlight the case of Singapore's national 'SkillsFuture' initiative that is currently evolving, and how government policy and practice has shifted from a strong human capital definition of lifelong learning to a broader view that appears to support individual personal growth across the lifespan and the continuing education of an increasingly diverse population.

INTRODUCTION

More than 10 years ago, I wrote a paper on '*Lifelong learning in Singapore: where are we now?*' (Kumar 2004). I discussed the challenges and issues from the perspective of the government, organisations and individuals, and highlighted among other things the government Manpower 21 plan—a policy document that focused on creating an ecosystem for lifelong learning that leads to lifelong employability. Some of the key recommendations were to establish a school of lifelong learning to address the needs of the workforce at all levels and introduce a national skills recognition system, incentives for employers and individuals to stimulate lifelong learning. The Singapore Workforce Development Agency was set up in September 2003 to drive workforce development and build a leading

P. Kumar (✉)
National Community Leadership Institute,
70 South Buona Vista Road, Singapore 118176, Singapore
e-mail: dpreem2506@gmail.com

lifelong education and training system for workers. A total of international dollars \$1.5 billion was set aside for a Lifelong Learning Endowment Fund to help achieve the objective. Much has evolved since then. As Singapore celebrated her 50th Anniversary of independence in 2015, it may be timely to revisit the changes that have taken place and appraise the directions that lifelong learning and education might be heading towards.

This chapter commences with an analysis on the way lifelong learning and lifelong education are defined and debated; and how these terms guide policy and practice in the context of Singapore. I will reflect on and analyse a case of a state-sponsored ‘SkillsFuture’ movement that was launched recently and is being unfolded as I write—identifying briefly the key elements of the initiative in particular the ‘why’, ‘what’ and ‘how’, and discuss the implications this has on different interest groups. In the process, I will draw on the works by Jacobs and Hawley (2009) highlighting the appearance of workforce development in lifelong learning discourse; Coffield (1999) suggesting the imperfections of focusing solely on human capital theory that is driving policy; Brown et al. (2008) arguing that the high-skills, high-wage model could well be a fallacy; and Matheson and Matheson (1996) on why they view lifelong learning or lifelong education as emanating from the same strand. It then proceeds with a discussion on the challenges for different interest groups, illustrating the cross-cultural complexity of workforce development including the generational transitions that we are experiencing across our lifespan. It ends with the suggestion that to better understand and respond to lifelong learning dilemmas, there is a need to learn from best practice and from each other drawing on research to guide our practice as well.

‘LIFELONG LEARNING’ AS WELL AS ‘LIFELONG EDUCATION’?

Should lifelong education be subsumed under the rubric of lifelong learning? By seeking answers to this critical question, one is opening up for discussion the very purpose of lifelong learning—should one acquire education in pursuit of interest or because it leads to a high-paying job or career? Are skills more important than a degree? Who has more influence on what should be learnt—the individual, parent, employer or the state?

There are no straightforward answers to these questions. I find in the literature on lifelong learning a complex interplay of functions and intended outcomes that focus on the understanding and application of democratic principles, social justice and inclusiveness, of individual development and fulfilment, empowerment, inequalities of educational opportunities, citizenship education, gender equality, skills acquisition, accreditation, certification and qualifications, among others (Gouthro 2002; Biesta 2006; Jarvis 2009; Hefler and Markowitsch 2012). The term lifelong learning is inherently vague as it depends very much on who is using it and for what purpose. Aspin and Chapman (2000) reveal that there is a heightened awareness throughout the world of the notion that ‘lifelong learning’ not only should be promoted as being part of education

policies, but also serve as a strong foundation for education and training. Countries have their own national lifelong learning policies and strategies based on their unique socio-economic, cultural, political and historical contexts. They are therefore products of the type of regimes that created such policies, from the liberal to conservative to the sociodemocratic and developmental capitalist. Some of these as Riddell and Weedon (2012) contend, reinforce economic inequalities and can affect social cohesion. Citing the European Union, they observe that harmonising lifelong learning where countries have differing systems of social welfare and lifelong learning models has been challenging. Singapore's model is unique in the sense that it is not endowed with natural resources and has to rely on talent, skills and intellectual capital to 'trade'. Over time, lifelong learning has emerged as the *raison d'être* for Singapore.

The term 'workforce development' has also found its way into the lexicon of lifelong learning along with 'vocational', 'competency' and 'skills' training. Jacobs and Hawley (2009) suggest that 'workforce development' can be used to describe a range of learning-for-work activities and programmes involving the interconnectedness of five historical streams that converge and form part of the workforce development thread. These are: globalisation, technology, the new economy, political change and demographic shifts. Hence, at times, lifelong learning, adult education, adult learning, human resource development, continuing education and training are frequently subsumed under the rubric of workforce development. The term workforce development represents a range of international, national and local policies and programmes that are focused on learning for work and economy as well. Jacobs (2006) indicates that 'programmes of adult education and human resource development have been placed together for the sake of administrative convenience' (p. 28). However, he is of the view that workforce development ultimately 'represents a greater awareness about the connectedness of systems' relying on major institutions to acquire human competence (p. 24). This could be confusing given that at times the term workforce development is also subsumed under the umbrella of lifelong learning.

On the other hand, Brown et al. (2008) argue that policy discourse (in the context of the European Union) with 'high-skills, high-wage' economy that drives economic transformation is misguided. The assumption that the value of knowledge will rise is a myth, since there is an increased divergence on the type of value accorded in the market for qualifications, knowledge and occupations. Their research contends the notion that the new competition is based on 'quality and price' challenging the view that it will take 'decades for developing economics to compete in the global market for high-skilled jobs has grossly underestimated the speed of educational reform and business innovation in emerging economies including China and India' (p. 136). They expound that what holds the key is 'how the capabilities of the workforce are combined in innovative and productive ways' and that 'human capital theory does not offer a universal theory of relationship between education, job and rewards...' (Brown et al. 2008: 142). Investments in education they assert are based on a

‘political equation of high skills = high wages’ (p. 132). In addition to this, the way organisations view skills development and learning can be quite different from the lens of the policymakers when ‘national governments in the developed economies may see the knowledge economy as a way of increasing prosperity, and while there is a tendency in the policy literature to understand competitiveness and productivity as a question of competing for knowledge and skills rather than profits, it is far removed from the way companies understand the new competition, which involves getting smart things done at a lower price’ (Brown et al. 2008: 135). Moving up the quality and pricing ladder would require more than just ‘lifelong learning’ initiatives per se. It is the quality of the people—their skills and capabilities and the type of jobs combined with innovation and productivity—that will spur and sustain economic growth.

Singapore has been using the terms lifelong ‘learning’ and ‘education’ as a product for sustainable employment and economic security. Herein lies the conundrum for lifelong learning and lifelong education. Matheson and Matheson (1996) highlight that various scholars have accepted that both of these terms form part of the same coin where lifelong education itself is ‘instrumental’ and ‘humanistic’ in nature. If it is lifelong education, it should have a purpose or goal to achieve with the help of the state. Inherent in the lifelong education debate is the political and ideological dimension of education. Barros (2012) explains that ‘the main differences between *lifelong education* and *lifelong learning* comes down to the role and mission that is assigned to adult education itself’ (p. 130). To this end, there is also the belief that lifelong learning has been consumed by ‘market’ forces and in the process sacrificed aspects of empowerment, happiness, well-being and critical thinking. There is a concern that societies are abandoning such values in preference for economic development at all cost. Guothro (2010) cautions of the ‘danger that lifelong learning will be even further co-opted by a neoliberal discourse of choice that privileges the learner as a consumer’ (p. 473).

Given that there is no clear agreement on lifelong learning as being synonymous with lifelong education, I believe these terms will continue to elude and nudge us to consider ways of enabling a more balanced outcome.

PREAMBLE: THE CASE OF SINGAPORE

Singapore’s story is very much a struggle for survival and creating for itself a place where it can be relevant in the global market. Without any natural resource to trade, Singapore is highly dependent on having an open economy and in developing ‘quality’ manpower that is capable of competing with nations large and small. Its focus on human capital development therefore is driven by economic imperatives, and the needs of the state and the market largely precede that of individual needs. Since gaining independence in 1965, it has continuously found ways to sustain itself and compete globally. The following offers an overview of Singapore’s changing population profile and trends.

Singapore has a total population (as at June 2015) of about 5.5 million, with citizens and permanent residents making up approximately 3.9 million (Department of Statistics 2015a). The rest are non-residents (floating population) at 1.6 million. The non-resident population comprises foreigners who are working, studying or living in Singapore. It is a dense city with a land area of around 720 km². The unemployment rate as a percentage of the labour force hovers at 2%. Of the 3.9 million citizen population, the main ethnic groups are Chinese at 74%, Malays 13%, Indians 9% and ‘others’ 3% (rounded to the nearest decimal). Singapore appears in the top 10 rankings in the world in terms of purchasing power parity at international dollars \$80,270 (World Bank 2015). As of June 2015, those who are 65 and older form 13.1% of its citizen population and this is expected to increase with each passing year. The baby boomers are retiring from the workforce and transitioning into the third age. Currently, there are about 6.33 citizens in the working ages of 20–64 years and by 2030 there will only be 2.1 working-age citizens for each citizen aged 65 and above (National Population and Talent Division 2012). On the often-used Gini coefficient to assess income inequality, it stands currently at 0.43; and if tax breaks and transfers (to lower and middle-income groups) were taken into account, it would fall to 0.37 which is less than in most of the OECD countries (Ministry of Finance 2015). For productivity growth, it was in the range of 2–3% (between 2009 and 2014) and is seen as having a mediocre performance (Goh 2014).

Lifelong learning and education in Singapore has been skewed towards an instrumental–utilitarian model. Although Jarvis (2009: 10) maintains that lifelong learning should be seen as ‘an intrinsic part of the process of living’, Kumar (2016) shows that in the case of Singapore, lifelong learning and education (from cradle to grave) has very much been shaped by the policies of the state and strong market forces. A recent editorial in *The Straits Times* (19 March 2016: A50), for instance, highlighted that only 4 in 10 Singaporeans had read a literary book in the past year and only a quarter of those 60 years and above could be considered literary readers. If one uses reading as one of the indicators of being a learning nation, we have quite a way to go compared to reading habits in the United States and Britain, where three-quarters take pleasure in reading. This also points to a utilitarian bias towards learning and education not so much for *the intrinsic value of learning* but as a means for securing high paid jobs and in getting into top ranked schools and colleges. Hence, we find that the number of students taking literature at upper secondary schools in Singapore has been diminishing over the years, since it is perceived as a difficult subject to achieve high scores (Kumar 2016).

Lifelong learning is therefore used as a policy instrument to enhance Singapore’s competitiveness and an antidote against unemployment (Kumar 2004) granted this will not offer complete immunity or solve the complex issues surrounding employment and job displacements. These are largely due to the speed of endless technological disruptions, globalisation and policy limitations.

Singapore has naturally been affected by technological disruptions and globalisation, recently for example, by ‘Uber’ and ‘Grab’ transport companies that enable consumers to use their mobile applications to book their travels, disrupting the traditional taxi industry. Internally, Singapore has been facing a lag in labour productivity growth; a shrinking and ageing population and workforce, coupled with low birth rates and longer life expectancies; a digital divide between youth and seniors; and low participation rate of women in the workforce. The impact of these on lifelong learning is significant. Firstly, we are already impacted by shifts in the demand and supply for specific provisions of learning and education (for instance, in the demand for more quality childcare and pre-school education); secondly, since jobs are disappearing faster than they can be created – organisations are offering shorter/temporary employment contracts and outsourcing their non-core operations affecting an individual’s long-term social safety and security needs. Singapore does not have unemployment insurance. Lastly, wages especially of those with basic or no education (and this could also affect those with tertiary qualification) tend to remain ‘depressed’. We return to my earlier queries underlying the assumptions on the aims of lifelong learning—do we really have control of education and jobs? What is the purpose of employment? And to what extent our wages reflect the true value of our jobs? It also calls into question the role of the state, organisations and individuals for which policies are formulated to address manpower development and unemployment concerns. Hence, the use of human capital through constant reskilling and relearning has been one of the mantras propagated by the state. Coffield (1999) cautions that there are limitations to human capital theory, although he looks at it from the context of the United Kingdom, some of these do have relevance to our discussion. A number of these relate to: (a) an overemphasis on human capital which could lead to a diminishing focus on social capital; (b) there is also less clarity on the empirical basis of the theory and the fact that there are personal characteristics and job conditions that affect work performance; (c) deepening polarisation in income and wealth based on the way educational outcomes are measured; (d) lack of understanding on the effects of gender in the social context of labour; (e) creation of a new moral economy sidelining those with learning difficulties; and (f) upskilling could create credential inflation when the rate of graduation increases in each generation and the value of the credentials would reduce if we do not see a corresponding expansion of higher value jobs.

Ng (2013) argues that we need to take into account the other policies that impact lifelong learning and education in Singapore. These are on the inflow of ‘foreign talent’ that although it is able to meet the immediate needs of the market, it also affects the employment opportunities of local citizens. Furthermore, some may not have the same access to lifelong learning compared to others from low-income group. Singapore’s pragmatic approach to governance seeks to learn from best practices worldwide and adapt them to suit its own needs and context. Since in this instance learning is future-centric and is experimental in nature—one that emphasises creativity and innovation—the approach taken could be ‘learn to live rather than to acquire a fixed curriculum’

(Elkjaer 2009: 88). A reductionist approach to skills acquisition robs an individual of the ability to think critically, the freedom to be ‘oneself’ and to reflect on their personal learning goals. At times, these may collide with organisational or societal–cultural norms and needs. In the Asian context, there is a tendency for educational and career choices to be decided not only by individuals but by their parents and the state. There are also the educational structures and remuneration systems geared towards a ‘higher education = higher wage’ model rather than ‘higher skills and lifelong learning = higher wage’ approach in the Civil Service. Yang (2016) calls for a mindset shift in the Civil Service especially in its ‘employment practices and progression opportunities’ which are based on having strong educational background or academic qualification (p. A20). The Acting Minister for Education (Higher Education and Skills) acknowledges that changes are expected to gradually erase the lines between learning in school and training during employment, stating that ‘this will make us look at education differently—that it is no longer just confined to schools and institutes of higher learning, but is a lifelong pursuit of mastery and excellence’ (Yang 2016: A20).

THE ‘SKILLSFUTURE’ INITIATIVE

The ‘Why’ and ‘What’

Recent developments in the lifelong learning scene point to the path towards creating a ‘skills ready’ culture with multiple pathways to acquiring skills and educational qualifications in Singapore. An attempt will be made here to share key policies and ideas on the ‘Why’, ‘What’ and ‘How’ of this ‘SkillsFuture’ initiative. In 2014, the prime minister announced the formation of a SkillsFuture Council whose aim was to ‘develop an integrated system of education, training and career progression for all Singaporeans, promote industry support for individuals to advance based on skills, and foster a culture of lifelong learning’ (Ministry of Education [MOE] 2015). Thereafter, Deputy Prime Minister Tharman Shanmugaratnam (who chairs the council) highlighted the key aspects of this approach that ‘our future must be about mastery of skills, in every job, and enabling every Singaporean to develop themselves to the fullest. We are going to put full effort into this, and it involves everyone—Government, employers, unions and all of us as individuals’ (MOE 2015). The four key strategic thrust driving this lifelong learning project were: (a) to help individuals make well-informed choices in education, training and careers; (b) to develop an integrated, high-quality system of education and training that responds to constantly evolving industry needs; (c) to promote employer recognition and career development based on skills and mastery; and (d) to foster a culture that supports and celebrates lifelong learning. Since there is a claim that the future of skills is attaining mastery, it would be helpful to define the term as its meaning is used in a variety of contexts and time frames. This has implications on the evaluation methods, curriculum, and strategies for teaching, amongst others as

learning involves a dynamic interplay of a person's cognitive, affective and psychomotor domains.

Underpinning the SkillsFuture project is the vision of the government to reach the next frontier of economic development where firms are driven by innovation, and jobs that attract higher levels of income as a result of possessing 'deep' skills and expertise (Shanmugaratnam 2015). It also wants to ensure that society is 'fair and just'—enabling social mobility. 'SkillsFuture' is viewed as the new chapter in Singapore's human capital investment. From schools to the workplace and to learning online, it is meant for every Singaporean to 'gain expertise and achieve mastery'. Some of the initiatives relate to students receiving career guidance in schools, engaging in deeper and more structured internship programmes, continuous engagements in learning supported by SkillsFuture Study Awards and SkillsFuture Fellowships. These are buttressed by a lifelong SkillsFuture Credit for every Singaporean, to be increased at specific periods with credits in exchange for courses of their choice. Expenditure on continuing education and training is expected to increase as a result of these initiatives and the government will channel an addition S\$1.5 billion into the National Productivity Fund. Courses that are covered under the SkillsFuture Credit can be used to supplement course subsidies and approved skills-rated courses for degrees, diplomas, certificates and even basic bread-making and tea appreciation. We seem to be seeing here in terms of policy on lifelong learning a slight shift towards the blurring of lines between formal, non-formal and informal learning. There is some degree of acceptance that such learning takes place within one's life context and at any place and time. The question here is what constitutes a 'skill' versus 'learning' as a majority of the schemes are for skills-related programmes. It would certainly be useful to analyse the data on who consumes the SkillsFuture credits and courses, especially when there may be situational, dispositional and other barriers for non-participation by older adults. We may experience in practice, therefore, the SkillsFuture providing a false sense of expectation amongst citizens that undertaking SkillsFuture courses would secure employment (*The Straits Times*, 1 April 2016). In addition to this, there is a lack of research on lifelong learning emanating from local universities and this could be due to the absence of such centres in academia. It is highly plausible that there is no 'market'—for universities have also been subjected to the forces of demand and supply.

Why the need for a SkillsFuture movement? Although it is not explicitly mentioned by the policymakers, one of the reasons could be due to trade. International trade is the lifeblood of Singapore and she has been consistently increasing her Free Trade Agreement (FTAs) networks with other countries. Even recognition of degrees due to the internationalisation of education has found its way into FTAs. Every country is impacted by trade liberalisation. Global trade typically produces gainers and losers, and these in turn will affect jobs and employment opportunities of workers. Krugman et al. (2015) claim that the overall benefits of increased international trade almost always make up for the losses. Hence, countries, organisations and unions would have to retool

their workers frequently and keep their training and educational systems updated to changing market conditions.

Singapore has been able to achieve economic growth and success largely due to the role the state plays in social engineering and in creating her own model of developmental capitalism since she gained independence. However, moving forward Brown and Lauder (2001) suggest that ‘the biggest threat to the future of skill formation in Singapore stems from inherent tensions within its developmental strategy as a whole’ (p. 124). One of these factors they contend is the extent to which Singapore allows for more individual expression and freedom that is often seen in more open democracies, and is a foundation for creative and entrepreneurial talent to take root. Their concern is that there are still questions in search of answers one of which is if Singapore’s developmental approach ‘involving tightly integrated government departments and the meshing together of the supply and demand for labour could be maintained when individuals have greater scope for personal initiative’ (p. 134). Based on the thesis that Singaporeans lack empowerment and self-directedness due to its ‘authoritarian’ democracy, we find that citizens would have been conditioned to expect solutions from the government. There will also be segments in the population who will not be aware of or know how to find ways to reskill or even deepen their skills. Success would depend on ‘How’ effectively the SkillsFuture initiative is critically evaluated. For the purposes of this chapter, we will focus on the implications in meeting the needs of a multigenerational workforce in the ensuing discussions.

The ‘How’

The ‘How’ of translating the vision into strategy and operationalising it is through the creation of two Ministerial portfolios. For the first time, since Singapore’s independence, the government appointed two Acting Education Ministers in October 2015 (Channel News Asia 2015). In the hope of achieving greater clarity and results, the portfolio has two tracks—one focused on schools while the other on higher education and skills. It could be argued that this shows the importance placed in enhancing the existing educational pathways and skills development for employment with the anticipation that the system will become even more diverse. Singapore has been an advocator and practitioner of ensuring that the trilogy of education, skills development and economic development are not taken as mutually exclusive. This strategy is in offering and attracting companies that in the future would require high skills and value creation ability. For example, the Hays Global Skills Index reported that wages of workers with high levels of experience, education and technical knowledge were being driven higher due to the tight labour supply of workers with such a background (Koh 2015). This was partly due to the ability of the government to attract multinational corporations to set up regional operations and headquarters. As business costs in Singapore are generally higher compared with other countries in the region, companies that employ workers with low

skills would have been hard pressed to increase their wages as there is the availability of low-skilled foreign workers entering Singapore (policy adjustments have slowed their numbers) and are willing to work for lower wages. Although there is an assumption that higher valued skills and qualifications command a higher wage, there are other extenuating factors at play such as the motivation and the intrinsic characteristics of a person.

It is said that the real proof of the pudding is in the eating. Researchers, Kuruvilla et al. (2002) in assessing Singapore's skill development system, highlighted its 'acclaimed skills development system' which is due in part to strong linkages to 'other national policies (e.g. economic development, technology transfer) and the various institutions appear to work together...' concluding 'that the Singapore system works well for its current needs and exhibits the needed pre-requisites to transform into higher skills equilibria' (p. 1475). Some of the required prerequisites for long-term sustainability of Singapore's skills model is building fundamental research accomplishments and incubating new high-tech startups, attracting venture capitalists, and in creating a supportive environment for creativity and risk-taking to flourish. They noted the need to focus on the way the society and universities are managed with regard to autonomy, academic freedom, research and teaching some of which are valued by 'knowledge' workers. There have been a lot of developments since 2002 in Singapore's lifelong learning landscape and one of these has been the rise of the local universities to the top of world rankings, deepening their research capabilities, and in enhancing the workforce development framework (Kumar 2016). One of the questions that we could ask is whether individuals will become lifelong learners naturally over time—where the pursuit of knowledge and skills is intrinsically driven.

Another workforce development study by the World Bank examined Singapore's approach that noted significant progress and improvements made from 1970 to 2010 (The World Bank 2012). The challenge, the report highlighted, was to find a balance in a system that has strong demand with the ability to match the supply of skills with what is available in the labour market. This offers the 'possibility of creating wider pathways and opportunities to support equity and individual aspirations' (p. 4).

COMPLEXITY OF WORKFORCE DEVELOPMENT: A CROSS-CULTURAL VIEW

While we may have the best skills development systems, we are also profoundly affected by the constant 'flows' of people from within and into the country. As I have highlighted, such flows will continue to disrupt industries, and increase pressure on societies to adapt and change quickly. These developments have given rise to potential gaps in the lifelong learning system that intersects across multiple disciplines of study and practice. Kumar (2016) had highlighted the complexities that the learning marketplace had created in the context of

Singapore. Lifelong learning along with workforce development have typically focused on three key strands – that of seeing it from the perspective of the individual, organisation or society (see Fig. 1). The elements that we find in each of these strands tend to in practice overlap, mutually support and influence each other. For instance, engaging all aspects of the individual would involve the development of the intellectual, emotional, physical and spiritual; and all of these affect society and organisations conversely. Technology and globalisation (including policy responses) has for better or worse impacted our lives around the world. If we examine it from a systems point of view we will need to consider identifying and addressing the complex issues affecting economic and social well-being. Reducing the chasm requires a multi-disciplinary and multi-dimensional approach to research and policy since in practice there is a tendency to take a short-term rather than a long-term view and work in a silo rather than in a *gestalt*.

In Singapore, reducing costs and increasing profits have been putting pressure on salaries to stay ahead of inflation. The buzz words that we often hear in the press are ‘upskilling/reskilling’, ‘relearning’ and ‘retraining’. In the ‘new’ economy, even persons with disabilities are not spared. A recent report in *The Straits Times* (Tan 2015) highlighted the situation. Although retraining helped some in the disabled community to be re-employed with higher salaries, others were not so fortunate. Some lost their jobs due to medical conditions while for others the work at hand did not match their level of skills and abilities that suited simpler manual job assignments. One of the key findings of a research report on ‘promoting and supporting lifelong employability for Singapore’s workers aged 45 and over’, was the recommendation to find ways of engaging older workers (with low educational levels) in continuing education and training, with certification that could help them to sustain their work life and in upskilling to higher level occupations (Billet 2010). Another report commissioned by the *Council for Third Age* on ‘Lifelong Learning among older adults in Singapore’ found that ‘older adults in Singapore perceived lifelong learning in many different ways’ (Council for Third Age 2012). They had attitudinal barriers such as ‘being intimidated or fearful of learning, self-perceptions of being too old to learn, and being preoccupied with their more immediate needs. Their health, inability to communicate effectively in English, and lack of family support, were also some situational barriers that were beyond their control. They also faced institutional barriers like high course fees, lack of accommodation of older adult’s needs, lack of lifelong learning awareness and opportunities’ (p. 56). How do we upskill workers when they may not have basic education to begin with?

Reskilling, upskilling and continuous learning involve expanding individual capabilities and capacities. Part of creating a skills ecosystem requires a top-down and bottom-up approach engaging multiple stakeholders such as public organisations, private companies in various sectors, universities, non-profit organisations and others. One of the less researched topics in lifelong

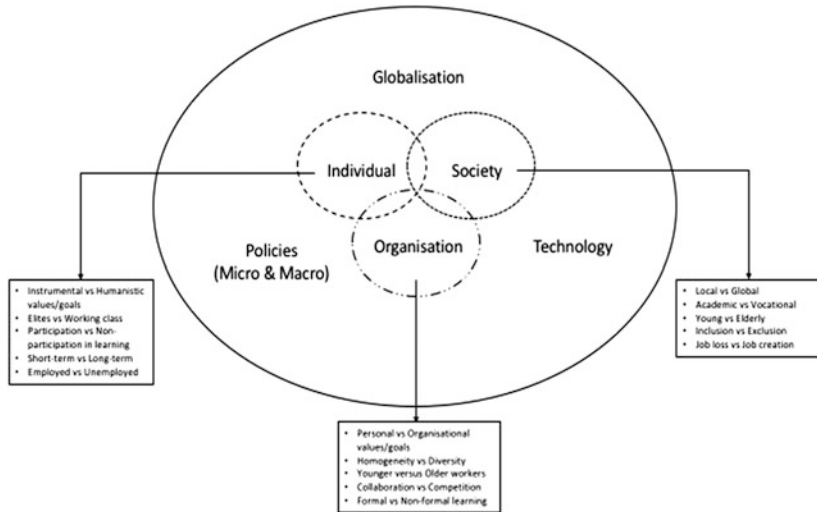


Fig. 1 A holistic view of lifelong learning

learning is studying how our life stages affect the choices we make and the decisions we take. The discussion on the ‘multigenerational flow’ that follow attempts to briefly cover the issues affecting lifelong learning in the workplace and highlight the patterns and opportunities to further our inquiry.

Multigenerational Flow

The topic of participation and even non-participation in lifelong learning impacts our lives and society since these are based on the opportunities available throughout our lifespan, on our disposition and earning capacity. It presents opportunities for understanding more deeply the reasons why and what strategies and policy options are available to influence participation. Evans et al. (2013) studied factors that promoted participation in education, benefits associated with lifelong learning and how the less advantaged should improve their life chances through relevant types of learning. They found that there were four principles that impact people’s choices and decision-making through their life course. These were that (a) development takes time and includes the experiences that have been accumulated over time (such as educational qualifications and ongoing capability development; (b) the result of our development is based on our social context—from the close interactions we have with our significant others to macro-social conditions; (c) our life course transitions during employment till retirement were formed by institutional and labour market structures including regulations and environments; (d) the decisions taken by individuals were confined by their social life position, including the social institutions and wider macro-social conditions. Field (2013) had also

attempted to explore the learning across generations in particular inequalities in participation by age (example of transition of older people looking into their expectations and experiences), their attitudinal differences and impact on social cohesion. The focus for policymakers as Field points out is the ‘transitions into and through the labour market’ especially for older adults since changes across the life course are changing and that earlier studies tended to focus on fixed social roles and age-based social stages (in particular on youth transition from education into work) (p. 110).

As I shared earlier, life expectancy has been increasing in Singapore in tandem with improvements in economic, medical and technological advances over each passing decade. It is now (as of 2014) around 81 years for males and 85 for females compared to 59 and 63 respectively in 1957 (Department of Statistics 2015b). The prime minister had in his 2015 National Day Rally speech announced that the re-employment age will be raised from 65 to 67 by 2017 (Discoll 2015). By 2030 for example, it is estimated that 900,000 people—or a fifth of the population—will be aged over 65 (Lai 2015). This is large given Singapore’s ‘core’ population of 3.9 million. If we go by the re-employment age of 67, we would have about 10–15 years for the third age. Multigenerational or intergenerational workforces are now common in organisations. Each generation offers us the opportunity to study and understand the way they learn, their preferences, values, behaviours, belief systems and how these impact learning as they interact and cross over different sociocultural contexts—from home to work and other settings. Figure 2 shows typically what we will see in the workplace for instance, that of an overlapping generational workforce. There is no agreed consensus on the definition of when each generation commences and ends or on the use of the terms (Strauss and Howe 1991; Tan 2012; Bump 2014). Some writers tend to associate Generation Y (Gen Y) with Millennials while others view them as distinct since they ‘arrived’ in the new millennium.

There are some differences in the characteristics as each country will have its own specific socio-demographic profile. A recent report by Pricewaterhouse Coopers found that female millennials (women born between 1980 and 1995) in Singapore are the most financially independent in the world. Surveying 8756 female millennials, they found 69% of young women in Singapore bring in equal or more salaries than their partner or spouses. This percentage was higher than the global average of 66%. Globally, the female millennial was also found to be

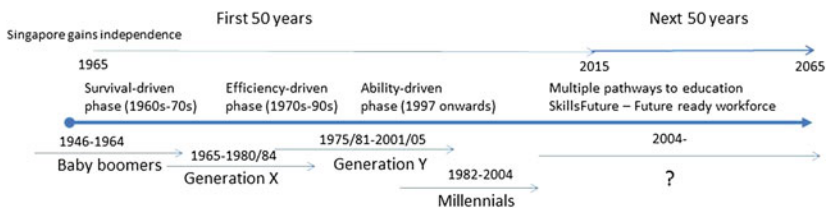


Fig. 2 Multigenerational flow

confident about reaching the senior-most positions in her current company, particularly those respondents who were just starting their careers (49%). However, in Singapore, only 31% of female millennials surveyed were found to be confident of this (Ang 2015).

On the management of multigenerational issues in the workplace, a research report focused on Singapore public officers suggested the need to address intergeneration tension more adequately. The study done in 2012 found ‘one third of ‘Baby Boomers’ and ‘Traditionalist’ generation (those born before 1946) reported having difficulties working with Gen Y supervisors while half of Gen Y supervisors faced problems with their baby boomers and traditionalist’ workers (Tan 2012). For baby boomers and traditionalist, they were characterised as being stubborn and resistant to change. Gen Ys on the other hand were seen as inexperienced, self-centred and less consultative. It recommended that young officers (new supervisors) acquire skills in managing a multigenerational workforce and in creating an age-friendly team environment. The young employees could also learn soft skills from the Baby Boomers such as building social capital, negotiation skills, personal accountability, among others. Conversely, the older supervisors need to be more communicative and share their views in ways that they can resolve differences together. One of the findings showed that the baby boomers and traditionalist, and Gen Y supervisors generally preferred not to supervise employees older than them. It was surmised that this could be due to cultural differences between the Asian and Western perspectives where age-related conflicts tend to be more conspicuous here due to the respect accorded to ‘seniors’. The study noted that training and learning opportunities were of low importance for all generations of workers. In addition, Gen Y officers wanted to be engaged and to make more sense of what they were doing. Along similar lines, a paper by the Singapore Armed Forces sought to understand the profile of its Gen Y conscripts (born between 1982 and 2001, and seen as Millennials as well) so that they can better engage them rather than impede their natural talent and potential for development (Fu and Nah 2013). The authors found that the Gen Y tend to be better educated, very comfortable with technology—savvy and interconnected, intrinsically motivated and optimistic—and were intolerant of hierarchical structure. They suggested striking a balance in adapting training methodologies that empower while at the same time provide direction, discipline and cohesion.

These surveys offer us some glimpse into the issues of multigenerational workforce in Singapore. Field (2013) cited Finnish studies that there were differences on the attitudes towards initial education and learning between generations, such as the way they perceive on-the-job-training. Quoting a study from Scotland he shares how a ‘group entered school in the period between 1948 and 1965 viewed university as a possible trajectory, even if it was deferred as a result of life chances, including the decision to enter the labour market. They are aware from their parents’ experiences, even their envy, that university has not always been available as a mass option. Members of this group may prove more suited to respond positively to such lifelong learning mechanisms as

the recognition of prior learning, despite their unfamiliarity with these new structures—unlike later generations, who may take credit systems and the life for granted’ (p. 117). He raises the potential for future research to consider how older adults are viewed and differentiated in terms of generational identity and their location; and suggest conducting longitudinal studies based on cohort studies on the ‘intergenerational transmission of educational advantage (and disadvantage), as well as using inter-cohort comparisons to investigate changes in educational outcomes and social mobility over time’ (p. 117). We can consider how in Singapore’s context different cohorts and ethnic groups view and understand education; and whether they are able to shift their mindset from a utilitarian/instrumental perspective towards a more balanced personal growth model.

I have juxtaposed our educational system of each generation to illustrate a sense of the flow of ‘learning’ through the lifespan. As Fig. 2 shows Singapore’s educational system has evolved from a survival-driven phase to ability-driven. Along the same track, Singapore’s economy has also been transformed from export-led industrialisation (1965–1984) to the liberalisation and rise of modern services (1985–2010) and bringing Singapore from third world to first (Soh 2015). Painting a picture of what Singapore would be like in 2065, Ravi Menon, the managing director of the Monetary Authority of Singapore, stated that for Singaporeans there will be a reduction in working hours from 2,300 hours in 2015 to 1,400 hours. He also foresees that Singapore would from 2026 to 2040 enter into a phase of regional integration and emerge into an ideas economy, accompanied by widespread technological transformations. Among many other things, he noted that Singapore’s economic journey of 100 years would be a narrative of ‘continual restructuring...with a spirit of constant adaptation and lifelong learning would distinguish Singapore’ (Soh 2015).

CONCLUSION

I began by setting the context for lifelong learning in Singapore, one that is rooted in Singapore’s pragmatic approach to developing her human capital. We had a brief discourse on the binaries and implications of lifelong learning and lifelong education suggesting a call towards a more sustainable economic model balanced with social well-being. I discussed the case of the national SkillsFuture initiative, the challenges to policy and practice, and identified issues that impact the ‘flows’ of learning in a multigenerational workforce.

This chapter has proposed that although there is a movement to enlarge the wider goals of lifelong learning for personal development, the key purpose is still utilitarian in nature. Singapore has achieved remarkable economic growth and social progress for the past 50 years using education and skills as a lever to develop her economy and create a more inclusive society. As the world has become much more complex, interdependent and unpredictable we are faced with chasms some of which are between those with no or limited basic education and the highly educated, between the low-skilled and high-skilled

workers, and between the socially mobile and socially excluded groups. In the next 50 years, targeted policy interventions would be required to mitigate these divides, and lifelong learning practice and policy will require us to anticipate and respond effectively to emerging realities as they unfold.

Acknowledgements I wish to thank the editors for their helpful comments and suggestions. The views and opinions expressed are of the author's own and do not represent the National Community Leadership Institute.

REFERENCES

- Ang, J. (2015, March 6). Female Singaporean millennials more independent globally. *HumanResources*. Retrieved August 25, 2015, from <http://www.humanresourcesonline.net/female-singaporean-millennials-independent-globally/>.
- Aspin, D. N., & Chapman, J. D. (2000). Lifelong learning: Concepts and conceptions. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 19(1), 2–19.
- Barros, R. (2012). From lifelong education to lifelong learning. Discussion of some effects of today's neoliberal policies. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 3(2), 119–134.
- Biesta, G. (2006). What's the point of lifelong learning if lifelong learning has no point? On the democratic deficit of policies for lifelong learning. *European Educational Research Journal*, 5(3&4), 169–180.
- Billet, S. (2010, July). *Promoting and supporting lifelong employability for Singapore's workers aged 45 and over* (Research report). Singapore: Institute of Adult Learning.
- Brown, P., & Lauder, H. (2001). The future of skill formation in Singapore. *Asia Pacific Business Review*, 7(3), 113–138.
- Brown, P., Lauder, H., & Ashton, D. (2008). Education, globalisation and the future of the knowledge economy. *European Educational Research Journal*, 7(2), 131–155.
- Bump, P. (2014, March 25). Here is when each generation begins and ends, according to facts. *The Atlantic*. Retrieved August 15, 2015, from <http://www.theatlantic.com/national/archive/2014/03/here-is-when-each-generation-begins-and-ends-according-to-facts/359589/>.
- Coffield, F. (1999). Breaking the consensus: Lifelong learning as a social control. *British Education Research Journal*, 25(4), 479–499.
- Council for Third Age. (2012). *Lifelong learning among older adults in Singapore*. Singapore: Fei Yue Community Service. Retrieved September 15, 2015, from <https://s3-ap-southeast-1.amazonaws.com/c3a-java-files/52d3ec9b09b2bfea918e7915dfd39f00.pdf>.
- Department of Statistics, Singapore. (2015a, September). *Monthly digest of statistics*. Republic of Singapore: Ministry of Trade & Industry. Retrieved October 12, 2015, from http://www.singstat.gov.sg/docs/default-source/default-document-library/publications/publications_and_papers/reference/monthly_digest/mdssep15.pdf.
- Department of Statistics, Singapore. (2015b). *Life expectancy at birth*. Retrieved August 8, 2015, from <http://www.singstat.gov.sg/statistics/visualising-data/charts/life-expectancy-at-birth>, last updated May 7, 2015.
- Driscoll, S. (2015, August 23). National Day Rally 2015: Re-employment age to be raised from 65 to 67 by 2017, says PM Lee. *The Straits Times*. Retrieved September

- 1, 2015, from <http://www.straitstimes.com/singapore/manpower/national-day-rally-2015-re-employment-age-to-be-raised-from-65-to-67-by-2017-says>.
- Elkjaer, B. (2009). Pragmatism: A learning theory for the future. In I. Knud (Ed.), *Contemporary theories of learning: Learning theorist...in their own words*. Oxon: Routledge.
- Evans, E., Schoon, I., & Weale, M. (2013). Can lifelong learning reshape life chances? *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 61(1), 25–47.
- Field, J. (2013). Learning through the ages? Generational inequalities and inter-generational dynamics of lifelong learning. *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 61(1), 109–119.
- Fu, W. E., & Nah, J. (2013). Understanding the millennial generation: Developing a more effective workforce for future SAF. *POINTER, Journal of the Singapore Armed Forces*, 39(1), 1–9. Retrieved August 15, 2015, from http://www.mindef.gov.sg/content/dam/imindef_media_library/graphics/pointer/PDF/2013/Vol.39%20No.1/2%29%20V39N1_Understanding%20the%20Millennial%20Generation%20compressed.pdf.
- Goh, T. W. (2014). *Economic Survey of Singapore 2015*. Singapore: Ministry of Trade and Industry. Retrieved December 12, 2015, from https://www.mti.gov.sg/ResearchRoom/SiteAssets/Pages/Economic-Survey-of-Singapore-2014/FA_AES2014.pdf.
- Gouthro, P. A. (2002). Education for sale: At what cost? Lifelong learning and the marketplace. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 21(4), 334–346.
- Gouthro, P. A. (2010). Well-being and happiness: Critical, practical and philosophical considerations for policies and practices in lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(4), 461–474.
- Hefler, G., & Markowitsch, J. (2012). The qualification-providing enterprise? Support for formal adult education in small and medium-sized enterprises. In S. Riddle, J. Markowitsch, & E. Weedon (Eds.), *Lifelong learning in Europe: Equity and efficiency in the balance*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Jacobs, R. L. (2006). Perspectives on adult education, human resource development, and the emergence of workforce development. *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development*, 20(1), 21–31.
- Jacobs, R. L., & Hawley, J. D. (2009). The emergence of ‘workforce development’: Definition, conceptual boundaries and implications. In R. Maclean & D. Wilson (Eds.), *International handbook of education for the changing world of work: Bridging academic and vocational learning*. Bonn: Springer.
- Jarvis, P. (2009). Lifelong learning: A social ambiguity. In P. Jarvis (Ed.), *The Routledge international handbook of lifelong learning*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Koh, J. (2015, September 30). Wages of highly skilled, educated workers rising faster here: Index. *The Straits Times*, p. C6.
- Krugman, P. R., Obstfeld, M., & Melitz, M. (2015). *International economics theory and policy* (10th ed.). London: Pearson Education Limited.
- Kumar, P. (2004). Lifelong learning in Singapore: Where are we now? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 23(6), 559–568.
- Kumar, P. (2016). *The learning marketplace: East meets West in Singapore*. Singapore: World Scientific Publishing.
- Kuruville, S., Erickson, C. L., & Hwang, A. (2002). An assessment of the Singapore skills development system: Does it constitute a viable model for other developing countries? *World Development*, 30(8), 1461–1476.

- Lai, L. (2015, August 31). Reframing the ageing issue. *The Straits Times*, p. A2.
- Matheson, D., & Matheson, C. (1996). Lifelong learning and lifelong education: A critique. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, 1(2), 219–236.
- Ministry of Education. (2015). *SkillsFuture Council begins work: Driving national effort to develop skills for the future*. Press Release, 5 November 2014. Singapore: Ministry of Education. Retrieved September 25, 2015, from <http://www.moe.gov.sg/media/press/2014/11/skillsfuture-council-begins-work.php>.
- Ministry of Finance. (2015, August). *Income growth, inequality and mobility trends in Singapore* (Ministry of Finance Occasional Paper). Singapore.
- National Talent and Population Division. (2012). *Issues paper 2012—Our demographic challenges and what these mean to us*. Prime Minister's Office, Government of Singapore. Retrieved October 5, 2015, from <http://population.sg/key-challenges/#.VhsQvLmqpBc>.
- Ng, P. T. (2013). An examination of lifelong learning policy rhetoric and practice in Singapore. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 32(3), 318–334.
- Riddell, S., & Weedon, E. (2012). Lifelong learning and the wider European socioeconomic context. In S. Riddle, J. Markowitsch, & E. Weedon (Eds.), *Lifelong learning in Europe: Equity and efficiency in the balance*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Shanmugaratnam, T. (2015). *Budget 2015: Building our future, strengthening social security*. Singapore: Ministry of Finance. Retrieved September 15, 2015, from http://www.singaporebudget.gov.sg/budget_2015/BudgetSpeech.aspx.
- Soh, A. (2015, August 6). For Singapore, pain before greater heights: MAS's Menon. *The Business Times*, p. 2.
- Strauss, W., & Howe, N. (1991). *Generations: The history of America's future, 1584 to 2069*. New York: Quill/William/Morrow.
- Tan, C. (2012). *The aging workforce in Singapore: Managing intergenerational issues of Generation Y and baby boomers at the workplace*. Singapore: Civil Service College. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from <https://www.cscollege.gov.sg/Knowledge/Pages/The-Aging-Workforce-in-Singapore-Managing-Intergenerational-Issues-of-Generation-Y-and-Baby-Boomers-at-the-Workplace.aspx>.
- Tan, J. (2015, May 18). People with disabilities losing jobs to technology. *The Straits Times*, p. B2.
- The Straits Times*. (2016, March 19). *A learning nation much love reading*. Editorial, p. A50.
- The Straits Times*. (2016, April 1). New measures riding on SkillsFuture credits to be introduced, p. B4.
- The World Bank. (2012). *Singapore: Workforce Development, SABER Multiyear Country Report 2012*. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from http://wbfiles.worldbank.org/documents/hdn/ed/saber/supporting_doc/CountryReports/WFD/SABER_WfD_Singapore_Multiyear_CR_2012.pdf.
- The World Bank. (2015, September 18). *World Development Indicators database*. Retrieved October 12, 2015, from <http://databank.worldbank.org/data/download/GNIPC.pdf>.
- Yang, C. (2016, March 21). Preparing for the economy of the future. *The Straits Times*, p. A20.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Prem Kumar is a capacity building evangelist, author and researcher of individual, organisational and national learning systems. He has written articles on organisational and lifelong learning, cultural and social capital development. Prem is currently Assistant Dean (Training) at the National Community Leadership Institute, Singapore. His latest publication is on *The Learning Marketplace: East meets West in Singapore* (World Scientific Publishing, 2016).

Timor-Leste: Adult Literacy, Popular Education and Post-conflict Peacebuilding

Bob Boughton

Abstract Timor-Leste, one of the world's newest countries, gained its independence in 2002, after a protracted national liberation struggle against occupying Indonesian military forces and a brief period of United Nations rule. In 2006, the first independence government initiated a national adult literacy campaign, with the support of a team of Cuban advisers, who brought with them a literacy teaching model, known internationally by its Spanish name *Yo, Si Puedo!* (Trans: Yes, I Can!). By the time the campaign officially concluded, in December 2012, it had reached over 200,000 people. This chapter draws on evidence collected during an in-country participatory action research evaluation of this campaign to discuss the contribution of popular education to post-conflict peacebuilding and development.

Community development and adult education come together in the field of community education, particularly for practitioners and theorists of radical or popular education. This is the tradition of adult education which is closely associated with movements for social change. As Kane (2010: 277) writes:

Attempting to participate in their own development, communities simultaneously engage in educational processes of a formal, non-formal or informal nature, both to understand their communities better and to learn how to change them. This is the terrain of popular education.

While the industrialised countries of the North have produced many examples of popular education undertaken at the interface of adult education and community

B. Boughton (✉)

University of New England, Armidale, NSW 2351, Australia
e-mail: bob.boughton@une.edu.au

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_32

development (Church et al. 2008; Brookfield and Holst 2011), the connection is made more often in countries of the Global South, in the field known as international development (Boughton 2008). Kane's research, for example, was undertaken largely with the popular education movement in Latin America (Kane 2001) whose most well-known theorist is the Brazilian, Paulo Freire (Schugurensky 2011). Freire's theory of a 'pedagogy of the oppressed' grew from his efforts to develop critical literacy within impoverished communities in 1960s North-Eastern Brazil (Freire 1972), work which reflected a renewed impetus internationally on adult education in this period, which the United Nations (UN) designated as the Decade of Development. In 1973, the International Council of Adult Education (ICAE) was established, with its seven regional bodies (covering Africa, Arab Region, Asia-South Pacific, the Caribbean, Europe, Latin America and North America). Today, ICAE continues to work closely with the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), fostering and supporting local and international non-government organisations (NGOs) who work in this area, contributing to global policy debates about the role of education in poverty reduction and development (Duke 2004; ICAE 2015).

The concept of post-conflict peace-building entered the discourse of international development much later, in the 1992 Agenda for Peace promoted by UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali (United Nations Security Council 1992). Its adoption by the UN General Assembly signalled the intention of the international community to move beyond peace-making (bringing conflicts to an end through negotiation and treaties) and peace-keeping (the deployment of international security forces in order to prevent further conflict); and to address 'the need to deal with the underlying economic, social, cultural and humanitarian causes and effects of conflicts in order to promote a durable foundation for peace' (United Nations 1993). The UN now uses the term peace-building to describe development work which it carries out with its associated agencies in countries which are in, or have only recently emerged from, armed conflict.

Boutros-Ghali's initial report highlighted several aspects of this work, but did not explicitly mention education, focusing instead on 'good governance', democracy and institution building:

There is a new requirement for technical assistance which the United Nations has an obligation to develop and provide when requested: *support for the transformation of deficient national structures and capabilities, and for the strengthening of new democratic institutions*. The authority of the United Nations system to act in this field would rest on the consensus that social peace is as important as strategic or political peace. *There is an obvious connection between democratic practices - such as the rule of law and transparency in decision-making - and the achievement of true peace and security in any new and stable political order*. These elements of good governance need to be promoted at all levels of international and national political communities. (United Nations Security Council 1992; my emphasis)

The 2 decades since the General Assembly endorsed this position has seen a rapid expansion of policy, programmes and academic research devoted to the role of education in post-conflict development and peace-building. The vast majority of the published work, however, has focused on schools and post-school formal education and training, particularly vocational education (e.g. UNESCO 2011), and paid little attention to community-based non-formal and popular adult education. Moreover, the majority of this work was framed within what is now called ‘liberal’ peace-building theory (Richmond and McGinty 2015), a term which will be discussed further below.

In 2000, Professor Frank Youngman of the University of Botswana in Southern Africa attempted the first systematic analysis of the role of adult education in development in the Global South, utilising the framework of historical materialism (Youngman 2000). That same year, I began my work in Timor-Leste, which in 1999 had finally expelled the occupying army of its giant neighbour, the Republic of Indonesia, and was under the interim administration of the United Nations. When full independence was achieved in 2002, the opportunity arose to develop a long-term participatory action research study on the role of adult education in the country’s ‘post-conflict’ development, utilising Youngman’s framework in combination with the peace-building approach advocated by John Paul Lederach (1997; Boughton and Durnan 2007). Initially, this was a collaboration with Timorese colleagues who had been active in the independence movement, FRETILIN (from the Portuguese: *Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente*), which had now become a legal political party and formed the first post-independence government. Fourteen years later, the work continues, in an ongoing partnership with colleagues from the popular education movement, many of whom are based at the National University of Timor-Leste (UNTL) in the capital Dili, which now hosts a biennial Timor-Leste Studies Association Conference (Leach et al. 2010). In this chapter, I outline some of what we have learned from this long-term research programme, to demonstrate the ways in which the theory and practice of adult literacy and popular education can be deployed in the field of post-conflict peace-building.

COLONIALISM, WAR AND PEACE

While many attempts have been made to codify a practice of peace-building which could be applied across diverse contexts, the initial United Nations resolution on the topic was quite clear that ‘each situation in which post-conflict peace-building may be undertaken is unique and therefore should be considered on a case-by-case basis’ (United Nations 1993). This was a crucial point in relation to Timor-Leste, whose specific history was quite unlike many of the other countries in which United Nations interventions occurred around the same time. Most importantly, one party to the conflict, the armed forces and colonial administration of the Republic of Indonesia, had totally withdrawn. Second, the other party was the national liberation movement itself, which had

been initiated by FRETILIN in 1974 and was, by 1999, composed of a broad coalition of nationalist forces, known as the National Council of the Timorese Resistance. Third, several of the major donor countries and multilateral agencies which joined the post-conflict development effort had previously been active supporters of the Indonesian occupation, including my own country, Australia. Developing our understanding of this complex historical background became an integral component of our study, and a brief summary follows.

In April 1974, at the height of the cold war, Portuguese military officers overthrew their country's fascist government and initiated the decolonisation of Portugal's overseas territories. The smallest of these, Portuguese Timor, comprised the eastern half of a small island, 600 kms from Australia's northern coastline. Within months, its indigenous peoples, who had been ruled from Portugal for nearly 500 years, had formed their own political parties, the most popular of which was FRETILIN, a party inspired by the radical national liberation movements of Portugal's African colonies, Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau (Hill 2002). Studying in universities, in Portugal, in the 1970s, FRETILIN's leaders had made contact with these movements, and with Portugal's own antifascist underground. From these experiences, they learned about the work of Paulo Freire, the importance of education in decolonisation and why the extension of adult literacy was fundamental to this process. On their return home, they participated in the Portuguese Government's Education Decolonisation Commission, and began to mobilise and train young high school students to go into the countryside to teach the rural peasantry—whom they called the Maubere people—how to read and write. The students worked from a manual, *Rai Timor Rai Ita Nian*—Timor is Our Country—in which simple 'generative' words and phrases were broken down and reconstructed into sentences about colonialism and imperialism, finishing with the words of an independence anthem, *Foho Ramelau* (Mount Ramelau) (Da Silva 2011).

Within months of the launch of this campaign, the independence movement was facing armed incursions across the border from Indonesian-controlled West Timor, in operations which culminated in a full-scale military invasion in December 1975. Many of the young literacy teachers and their students retreated with the population into the mountains, where they continued their educational work in the FRETILIN-controlled areas, known as 'bases de apoio'. After 3 years, faced with the overwhelming force of the Indonesian military, the people were eventually forced to surrender, abandon their mountain bases and return to the coastal areas where they lived under a harsh military occupation (Da Silva 2011). However, by then the initial education work had produced a generation of committed independence activists. For 24 years, and despite having minimal international support, the independence movement kept up its struggle, led by an armed guerrilla movement in the mountains, known as FALINTIL (*Forças Armadas da Libertação Nacional de Timor-Leste*); a clandestine network of Resistance activists and supporters in the towns and villages; and an external diplomatic front based in Portugal, Mozambique and Australia (Cabral 2002). In 1991, a new generation of Timorese students brought

international attention to their cause, when film of Indonesian soldiers gunning down more than 200 peaceful demonstrators was smuggled out and beamed around the world (Nicholson 2001). The independence campaign finally succeeded when, in the midst of its own internal crisis following the fall of the dictator Suharto, the Indonesian government agreed to a United Nations supervised ballot, in which 78.5% of the population chose independence, despite widespread violent intimidation by the Indonesian military and local militias they had armed and trained (Cristalis 2009).

This was not the end of the violence, however. Forced to withdraw, the Indonesian troops and local militias laid the country waste. Every school was de-roofed, every public building burned out and over a thousand more independence supporters died, before an international peacekeeping force arrived, led by Australia. In the wake of the peacekeeping force came the United Nations Transitional Authority for East Timor (UNTAET), which was to govern until May 2002. A UN assessment of the situation was unequivocal:

Not since the end of World War II has a country experienced such destruction of its infrastructure, complete collapse of government structures, displacement of most of its population and near total disruption of all economic activities. The cost in material and human terms has been immense. (Cited Nicolai 2004: 28)

The high school and university students of the Resistance, who had led the popular education campaign in support of a vote for independence (Nicholson 2001), now turned their attention to the education system, and hundreds returned to the countryside, this time to reopen the schools, and to start small local literacy classes with adults, inspired by the model of their leaders of 1975. The students gradually built new NGOs, through which to influence these debates, eventually forming a network of popular educators, called Dai Popular (Durnan 2005).

THE ROAD TO A POST-COLONIAL FUTURE?

From 1999 onwards, Timor-Leste became the site of a massive international aid effort, which included the reconstruction of the education system. The discourse of international education aid agencies frames its programmes in the technical and allegedly non-political language of educational administration; and the reports of the World Bank and United Nations' agencies on Timor-Leste at this time were no exception. The main issues, according to this discourse, were physical infrastructure, access, participation and retention, languages of instruction, quality teaching, curriculum, resources, and systems of administrative and financial management and planning. For example, in a Report to the First National Education Conference after independence, the World Bank outlined 'The Way Forward' under the following headings:

- Improving access and coverage, ensuring completion at a reasonable cost
- Improving achievement
- Building a sustainable financing system
- Strengthening management capacity (World Bank 2003)

This report, and many subsequent ones in the same genre, treated educational planning as a technical exercise, in which resources must be expended efficiently and effectively, to ensure achievement of outcomes deemed universally valid, including universal primary education, and school and post-school completions and qualifications. These outcomes, it was assumed, would contribute to moving the country along an already-known path, towards an equally unproblematic stage of ‘development’.

As many writers have pointed out, this international education policy discourse is permeated by the ideology of neoliberalism (Rutkowski 2007), as evidenced in its vocabulary which is rich in the words of corporate managerialism, of ‘challenges’, ‘goals’, ‘stakeholders’, ‘partnerships’, ‘strategies’, ‘commitment’, ‘capacity’, ‘effectiveness’, ‘flexibility’ and ‘opportunities’ (Connell 2009: 219–210). This discourse shifts the focus away from any consideration of the reasons why the people of Timor-Leste struggled and died in their hundreds of thousands to become an independent and free nation; nor about what kind of an education system might help them fulfil the aspirations of their extraordinary struggle. Seven months prior to the above-mentioned conference, a Timorese intellectual, Balthasar Kehi, had called for

a new system of education (that) decolonises, depaternalises and defeudalises the minds and practices of the Timorese. (Kehi 2003)

Such sentiments were echoed at the time in the writings and conversations of many Timorese, particularly the political leaders and the many local NGOs which had grown out of the earlier Resistance structures.

Advisers in the international agencies, the World Bank, UNICEF, UNESCO, UNDP and the ILO, were either unaware or more often, actively opposed to such a discourse. For them, the past was over, the country was now free and democratic, and it remained only to equip it with a functioning education system, whose elements were already well known from the recent experience gained in other post-conflict situations, including Afghanistan (Boughton 2009). In effect, the international community set about ‘re-colonising’ Timor’s education system, by failing to acknowledge or learn from the rich pedagogic traditions which had played a central role in the independence struggle (Cabral and Martin Jones 2008; Da Silva 2011).

For Timor-Leste, as for many post-conflict societies, the warning of Mahatma Gandhi that ‘the road to the future lies over the bones of the past, on which we dare to tread’ has a particular resonance. Conservative estimates put the number who died as a direct result of the Indonesian military occupation at over 180,000, from a population of only 600,000 in 1975 (CAVR 2006). While

the international agencies regularly acknowledged the enormous challenges which existed with the withdrawal of the Indonesian occupation forces, they were less forthcoming about the role of the international community during that occupation, including many of the western countries which were now dominating the donor effort. This lack of focus on the past not only served to obscure the West's role in this genocide, but it also rendered unimportant the 'movement knowledge' (Cox and Fominaya 2009) of the national liberation struggle, the many lessons which the Timorese learned from their experiences of colonisation, resistance and war, which the new Constitution explicitly valorised and which many argued should be at the centre of a new national education system.

In a different context, Marxist–feminist adult education theorist, Sharzad Mojab and her colleague Stephan Dobson make a similar point:

As educators, as policy-makers, as administrators within a democratic polity, we must think through what wars in general mean for education... Especially, we must consider these issues and challenges for populations of learners who have experienced or are experiencing the horror of war and life under occupation, for to do so is to confront the exponential increase in the issues and challenges such violence poses for education and learning. (Mojab and Dobson 2008: 119)

This is also the approach promoted by some of the leading writers in the field of post-conflict peace-building, such as John Paul Lederach, who advocates for development workers in post-conflict contexts to adopt a form of participatory research and reflective practice which mirrors the principles of Freirian popular education (Lederach et al. 2007; Durnan 2010).

In the last decade, as more writers in the field of education and development have begun to address the role of education in and after armed conflicts, some of the limitations of the approach adopted by the World Bank and the United Nations and its agencies in Timor-Leste have been identified (Novelli and Smith 2011). Whether and to what extent this is reflected in changed practices remains a subject for ongoing research, but at least there are now numerous studies, including ones by those agencies themselves, which display a more 'conflict-sensitive' approach (e.g. World Bank 2005). In 2011, UNESCO devoted its Education for All Global Monitoring Report to the theme of armed conflict and education (UNESCO 2011). Although it said very little about the role of adult education in post-conflict settings, focusing most attention on schools and vocational education, the Report noted the very high rates of adult illiteracy which are found in post-conflict countries (UNESCO 2011: 133). In the same year, the comparative education scholar, Allan Smith, who helped to launch these debates in 2005 (Smith 2005), completed a study sponsored by UNESCO which identified three distinct approaches to post-conflict educational reconstruction. Of these, the third more closely represents the position of the Timorese Resistance, that education can and should make a difference, by transforming the society in ways that are more likely to ensure that peace

endures. Nonetheless, Smith acknowledged that this ‘more optimistic view of the role of education in development... has significant challenges for current aid orthodoxies and the ideological positions adopted by international donors and development agencies’ (Smith 2011: 1). Perhaps for that reason, the report fails to specify in any detail what such a social transformation would aim to achieve.

SOUTH–SOUTH COOPERATION: CUBA AND TIMOR-LESTE

The clash between the international community’s view of how a post-conflict education system should be built and the ‘decolonising’ focus of the FRETILIN government and the ex-Resistance NGOs in the popular education movement was clearly demonstrated through the experience of the Timorese national literacy campaign, undertaken in partnership with the government of the Republic of Cuba. (For a more complete account of this campaign, see Boughton 2010; Boughton and Durnan 2013.) Within months of the restoration of sovereignty in 2002, the first independence government, which was led by FRETILIN, negotiated a bilateral agreement with Cuba, which provided 500 Cuban doctors to establish health posts in every administrative unit (*sucos*), and offered scholarships to over 300 Timorese students to study medicine in Cuba (Anderson 2010). Following a national adult literacy conference in 2004, organised by members of the Dai Popular network supported by Oxfam Great Britain, this extraordinary ‘South-South’ aid programme was further enhanced, and the Cuban government sent an initial mission of 11 Cuban educators, to assist the Ministry of Education to mount a national literacy campaign. In opening the 2004 Conference, the FRETILIN Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri had formulated the task ahead in words which echoed those of generations of national liberation leaders before him:

Learning to read and write is to liberate... Literacy is a national priority, because Timor-Leste needs all the population to understand the process of development, to consolidate democracy and to have the capacity to intervene in their own life. (Author’s fieldnotes, 15/9/04)

That said, the tasks faced by the campaign were enormous. In 2004, over 260,000 Timorese aged 15 and over told the census collectors that they could not read or write a simple sentence in any of the official or working languages. Nationally, this represented half the adult population, but the illiteracy rate, measured in this way, varied substantially between districts, from 20% in Dili, the largest district containing the national capital, to 60–70% in some districts. In remote villages, over 90% of women were reported as illiterate. In the majority of rural districts, infrastructure development, including roads, electricity and water supply was still rudimentary; and the country was dependent for much of its education budget on an international donor community for whom a mass popular literacy campaign was not a priority. This last point reflected a longstanding position of the World Bank, dating back to cold war era

suspensions of the United States and its allies about the ‘socialist’ character of such campaigns (Dorn and Ghodsee 2012; Boughton 2016), concerns no doubt exacerbated by the FRETILIN government’s relationship with Cuba. Moreover, within the Ministry, where UNICEF was the leading source of international advice, adult education had to compete for resources with another major priority, universal primary or basic education, delivered through the formal school system. The scale of the challenge can be seen from the fact that, in the 2004/2005 financial year, the government was able to budget only US \$70,000 of its own funds for all non-formal adult education, including literacy, which was only a little more than US\$0.25 per illiterate adult (DRTL.ME&SSSL 2005: 37).

The Political Crisis of 2005–2007

Adding to these challenges, by the time the Cuban education mission had arrived to begin its work, the country was in the midst of a major political crisis, initially triggered by the opposition of the Catholic Church hierarchy to the government’s decision to end compulsory religious instruction in public schools. During the latter months of 2005, Church leaders organised mass demonstrations in the capital Dili which almost brought the country to a standstill. Opposition then spread to many other disaffected groups, including some who had supported the Indonesian occupation and others from within the Resistance for whom independence and reconstruction had not delivered the hoped-for benefits. Capitalising on this turmoil, international actors who objected to the progressive social programme proposed by FRETILIN (including its relationship with Cuba) threw their weight behind the opposition parties. The crisis culminated in a mutiny within the army and the police which led to armed clashes in the capital in June 2006. This precipitated the intervention of another UN Peacekeeping Force, led by Australia, and forced the resignation of the FRETILIN Prime Minister and some of his Ministers. In the wake of these events, a new and increased UN-led international donor programme was established, to deal with the immediate humanitarian and security crisis, and assist in preparation for elections due in 2007. This new mission had a specific ‘peacebuilding’ mandate, and several UN agencies established peacebuilding programmes, including UNICEF which had principal responsibility for education.

Throughout this chaos, FRETILIN retained control of the Ministry of Education, which became a major target of the rebellion. As reported by UNICEF:

The unrest and gang-related violence (sic) which first surfaced in April 2006, led to the displacement of 178,000 people as well as the burning and looting of houses and public buildings including schools. By the end of February 2007, there were still approximately 100,000 Internally Displaced People (IDPs), 30,000 in the capital and some 70,000 in the districts.... On 3 March 2007 the warehouse of

the Ministry of Education and Culture was burnt to the ground and thousands of books and other school materials have been destroyed. Four hundred kits of curriculum material developed for class one with UNICEF technical and financial support have also been destroyed. (UNICEF 2007)

The Vice Minister of Education, Ilda Da Conceição, who was responsible for the literacy campaign, was one of these internally displaced people, and the Non-Formal Education Centre, where the Literacy Campaign's National Secretariat was based, was subject to attack by gangs. However, unlike the vast majority of international advisers, the Cuban educators did not evacuate, but stayed on to complete the pilot stage of the campaign and the preparations for a national roll-out. This included the training of over 400 local facilitators and 78 district and sub-district coordinators in the adult literacy campaign pedagogy model known internationally as *Yo Si Puedo!* (*Yes, I Can!*); and the development of a manual in the local language Tetum to supplement the Portuguese-language materials they had originally developed for use in Brazil. Working alongside the Cubans in the national secretariat were several leaders of Dai Popular, some of whom were also targeted in the violence.

In the elections of June 2007, FRETILIN lost government. Despite obtaining the most votes, its support had been reduced from above 57% in the elections of 2001 to less than 30%, and it was replaced by a coalition of smaller parties, many of them regionally-based, and whose formation had been facilitated by an extensive programme of international aid in the name of building democracy (Anderson 2006). However, through the efforts of FRETILIN, the Cuban mission and the Dai Popular network, the adult literacy campaign was underway, the first classes opening in Dili in the month before the election, and in all 442 local administrative centres (called *sucos*) by the end of that year. The campaign proved popular locally, and the new government continued to support it, as did the Cuban government, which expanded its mission to 35 advisers. On a field visit in September 2010, the Ministry of Education data we examined revealed there were now classes running in 558 sites, and 73,600 people, all of whose basic demographic data and progress through the classes had been recorded, had successfully completed the initial 64-lesson course. By the time the campaign concluded in December 2012, it had reached over 200,000 people with its basic literacy classes, and every one of Timor-Leste's 13 districts had been declared 'free of illiteracy' (Boughton 2010; Boughton and Durnan 2014).

Los, Han Bele!: Yo Si Puedo! in Timor-Leste

The Timor-Leste national literacy campaign ran for 5 years, from 2007 until 2012, gradually building a mass base of support among the least literate of the population, and garnering support in every district from a wide cross-section of Timorese society, led largely by the local sub-district and district literacy activists who had been trained by the Cuban advisers. In a society that had been

fractured and divided by the colonial powers for hundreds of years, this represented a major advance towards a new national unity and national identity. Moreover, as we witnessed in every village we visited during this time, the literacy class participants, their monitors (local village-based facilitators) and the campaign organisers were being empowered through this process to take a more active part in their country's development.

Rosa, a 40-year-old woman from the island of Atauro, was one of many who told her story to our Timorese collaborators. She took part in the *Yo Si Puedo!* classes from July to September 2009. She was the most diligent student in the class, she said—she was never absent, unless sick, and attended the classes three times a week. Over time, due to her arduous endeavour, she learned to read the bible and write long letters, which she had kept and produced as evidence of this during her interview. She told us that she was really committed to being part of literacy classes because she wanted to get rid of illiteracy. During the Indonesian occupation, she had wanted to go to school but her parents did not allow her, because she had to take care of her brothers and sisters. She was chosen to represent her village by reading out a letter she had written on the graduation day, which was attended by then-President, Jose Ramos Horta. She said she would never forget that day, because it had shown to Atauro people and the leaders that she was no longer illiterate. Her illiteracy, she said, had been a burden for her, preventing her from participating actively in the community; people often excluded her because couldn't read and write; the illiterate people were called 'ema beik sira' (the stupid ones). After seeing that his daughter could read and write, Rosa's father wanted to join a class. He told her: 'My daughter, you have the courage to talk to the President. I want to follow your path'. When she started to read and write, she wrote a letter to *chefe de aldeia* (village chief) asking for rice. She also wrote a letter to a schoolteacher asking for food, saying that the school-feeding programme should not only be for children but also for mothers. She wrote a letter to the sub-district administrator asking for rice as well, and her husband walked alone for six kilometres to deliver the letter. The sub-district administrator told the husband to wait. Rosa asked our interviewer whether she could write a letter to President Horta asking for full support of the continuation of post-literacy programmes (N. Rodrigues, Interview Record Rosa S, February 9, 2010).

One reason for the success was the historical experience of the first campaign, which had run from early 1975 until the fall of the last resistance base in late 1978. A Timorese colleague who travelled to her home district of Viqueque to evaluate the campaign discovered that women in the *Yes, I Can!* classes had initiated the singing of revolutionary independence songs from the 1974 to 1975 campaign as one of the class activities (Fernandes 2010). Many of the older district and sub-district organisers and facilitators also had direct experience of the earlier campaign, as did some of their students and the local officials on whom the campaign depended for support, including Vice Minister Da Conceição, who had taught literacy to the guerrilla army in the mountains in the 1980s (Da Conceição, personal communication, March 4, 2007).

Another factor in the campaign success was the distinctive approach of the Cuban advisers in comparison with other international development workers. The national coordinator and one other adviser worked in the capital, but the rest lived and worked in the towns and villages. They received a monthly allowance which was one-tenth the norm for international advisers, renting rooms in local houses, shopping locally and travelling on local transport, either microlets or on the back of the motorbikes allotted to the Timorese district and sub-district campaign coordinators. Living and working as closely as possible to the local monitors and students, they earned enormous respect, but also gained a much better understanding of the local communities, so they could better tailor their advice and supervision of the classes to the local context. They exercised close supervision and control, with every class being visited regularly, to monitor attendance and progress; and they ran regular training sessions for the monitors to help with lesson preparation and to resolve problems being encountered. An interesting synergy developed between the literacy campaign and the Cuban medical aid programme. In a significant number of Timor-Leste's 442 local administrative units, called *sucos*, Cuban doctors and their Timorese trainees regularly visited the literacy classes to undertake health checks and carry out basic health promotion work. For these reasons, we concluded that the Cuban mission was a genuine form of popular education, working with the people, as Freire said, to build popular power:

Popular education postulates, then, the effort of mobilising and organising the popular classes with the goal of creating a popular power. (Freire, cited Torres 1992: 55)

The third factor in the campaign's success was that the original materials in Portuguese which had been brought from Brazil for the pilot phase were adapted and modified after the experience of the first year, and the Cuban government's literacy experts worked with Timorese medical students in Havana to produce a new set of DVDs and workbooks in Tetum—the indigenous lingua franca which is the country's second official language. While some districts where Tetum was not used widely chose to continue to learn in Portuguese, the majority of districts opted for the Tetum version, known as *Los, Hau Bele!*

Popular Education, Adult Literacy and Post-conflict Peace-Building

From the interviews, participant–observation fieldwork and examination of the campaign participation data which we undertook with our Timorese colleagues throughout the period 2007–2012 (Boughton 2010; Boughton and Durnan 2014), we concluded that the national literacy campaign made a significant contribution to the peace-building and recovery effort. The delivery of adult literacy classes in one or another of the two official languages to over 200,000 people was important for the following reasons:

- Education is a basic human right, and literacy is the first step in every educational pathway. As a basic human right, it was part of what had to be achieved in Timor-Leste to overcome inequality, and it was fundamental to people's capacity to achieving other rights;
- As literacy levels improved, this dramatically increased people's capacity to participate in the development debate on a more equal basis;
- The campaign helped to consolidate national unity, by bringing the whole population together over a shared goal, connecting people across regional and political divides, involving the state, the government, the president and the parliament;
- It created bonds between the less and more educated, encouraging the better educated to share their skills with the least educated in their villages; and
- It directly addressed the status of women, especially in the rural districts.

Despite these achievements, the campaign received virtually no acknowledgement at the time, or since then, in the extensive literature on Timor-Leste which arose from this period (e.g. Scambury 2009; Engel and Vieira 2011; Shah 2012). This in part reflects the continued hegemony of old cold war anti-communist and antisocialist ideology within the international development community mentioned previously; but it also reflects the continuing marginal status of adult education itself, particularly its social purpose or popular education variant.

To understand the importance of the campaign's achievements, one needs only to reflect on the recent history of the country and its people. Until 1999, the Timorese had lived for more than 200 years under not one, but three fascist and highly militarised colonial regimes, those of Portugal, Japan and Indonesia. None of these regimes had shown any respect for their basic human rights and had responded to any local attempts to challenge their rule with extreme and arbitrary violence. This material reality produced a particular consciousness, not just in terms of education levels, but in attitudes towards authority, internal ethnolinguistic divisions and a culture of fear and secrecy. To achieve decolonisation, the people have been asked to transform themselves and their communities, in the space of less than 2 decades, into active participants in the tasks of building an independent nation, based on the principles of democracy and the rule of law. The miracle is that they have achieved as much as they have, but one should not be surprised that the process is full of problems yet to be overcome. The three biggest challenges remain the consolidation of national unity, overcoming the internal divisions fostered and exacerbated by the colonial powers; the creation of social and political institutions and practices that sustain democracy and the rule of law; and the creation of an independent and sustainable economic base, capable of feeding the population and moving it out of extreme poverty. Each of the three challenges, interrelated in practice, must be faced as part of the process of peace-building (Durnan 2005).

While this term, peacebuilding, may be new to the field of international development practice and theory, the processes through which it occurs are not. During the twentieth century, many societies emerged out of long periods of brutal colonial rule, often only after protracted wars of national liberation to expel their occupiers. Others, which had enjoyed formal independence but which had been ruled by local elites still beholden to their excolonial masters, likewise fought wars of national liberation before achieving genuine independence. The national liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies of Africa which inspired the young students who formed FRETILIN in 1974 were an important source for the ideas and practices developed during the Resistance period. They also drew on the much longer tradition of socialist thinking and revolutionary practice that had developed from the popular democratic struggles in Europe in the mid-nineteenth century, and inspired anticapitalist revolutions in Russia, China and large areas of Eastern Europe in the first half of the twentieth century (Hill 2002; Da Silva 2011). National literacy campaigns have a long history that connects strongly to these socialist and anticolonialist traditions, as documented by Arnove and Graff (2008), with Cuba's own literacy campaign in 1961 being one of the best known examples (Kozol 1978; Abendroth 2009). While some writers in the field have identified the link between adult literacy and the practices of post-conflict peace-building (e.g. McCaffery 2005), making the connection with this longer tradition of mass literacy work remains problematic for many, because of the continued hegemony of antisocialist thinking within the major donor countries of the North.

CONCLUSION

The connection between adult education and the processes of post-conflict peacebuilding and national development which have been demonstrated in this chapter are part of a tradition of adult education which has been all but suppressed in recent decades. In 1976, less than a year after Indonesia began its occupation of Timor-Leste, UNESCO's recommendation on the development of adult education identified 'work for peace, international understanding and cooperation' as the first of the field's 11 objectives. In like manner, the ICAE had an active Adult Education and Peace Network in the 1980s (Hsu 2008), and the adult education field was a leader in the introduction of 'peace studies' into the curriculum of education institutions. Yet, in international adult education's most recent international manifesto, the Belem Framework for Action adopted at UNESCO CONFINTEA in 2009, the concern with building peace no longer enjoys such prominence, but is rather embedded in the neoliberal discourse of 'return on investment' and 'public-private partnerships', as illustrated in the two extracts below:

Adult learning and education represent a valuable investment which brings social benefits by creating more democratic, peaceful, inclusive, productive, healthy and sustainable societies. (UNESCO 2009: 4)

Public-private partnerships are gaining currency, and South-South and triangular cooperation are yielding tangible results in forging a new form of adult learning for sustainable development, peace and democracy. (UNESCO 2009: 10)

This neoliberal framing of the field and its purposes has been subject to substantial critique at a theoretical level, but that critique needs to be applied in concrete analyses of the role of adult education in post-conflict development work. A recent review of the political economy of education in post-conflict contexts points to the possibilities inherent in a more systematic and critical approach to the underlying determinants of education policy, but is still largely confined to issues around formal education provision (Novelli et al. 2014). Future adult education research projects in this area can now draw on the emerging critique of ‘liberal peace-building’ (e.g. Pugh 2005; Howarth 2014) within the field of peace studies, a critique which has not as yet been applied to the role of education aid. The recent work of Marxist–feminist scholars, Sharzad Mojab and Sarah Carpenter, on democracy, war and learning (Mojab and Carpenter 2011) provides a valuable theoretical resource, as does the relatively-new field of adult learning studies of social movement learning (Hall et al. 2012; Choudry 2015). This would be particularly fitting, given that the academic field of ‘peace studies’ which was pioneered by adult education and the ICAE was itself an attempt to give an education dimension to the work of the peace movement in the 1960s and 1970s.

REFERENCES

- Abendroth, M. (2009). *Rebel literacy: Cuba’s national literacy campaign and critical global citizenship*. Duluth, MN: Litwin Books.
- Anderson, T. (2006). Timor-Leste: The second Australian intervention. *Journal of Australian Political Economy*, 58, 62–93.
- Anderson, T. (2010). *Cuban health cooperation in Timor Leste and the South West Pacific South-South cooperation: A challenge to the aid system?* Quezon City: IBON Foundation.
- Arno, R. F., & Graff, H. J. (Eds.). (2008). *National literacy campaigns and movements. Historical and comparative perspectives*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers.
- Boughton, B. (2008). Adult education and development. In J. Athanasou (Ed.), *Adult Education and Training*. Sydney: James Barlow Publishing.
- Boughton, B. (2009). Challenging donor agendas in adult & workplace education in Timor-Leste. In L. Cooper & S. Walters (Eds.), *Learning/work. Turning work and lifelong learning inside out*. Capetown: Human Science Research Council Press.
- Boughton, B. (2010). Back to the future? Timor-Leste, Cuba and the return of the mass literacy campaign. *Literacy and Numeracy Studies*, 18(2), 23–40.
- Boughton, B. (2016). Popular education and mass adult literacy campaigns. Beyond the ‘new literacy studies’. In K. Yasukawa & S. Black (Eds.), *Beyond economic interests. Critical perspectives in adult literacy & numeracy in a globalised world* (pp. 149–164). Rotterdam: Sense.

- Boughton, B., & Durnan, D. (2007). The political economy of adult education and development. In D. Kingsbury & M. Leach (Eds.), *East Timor. Beyond independence*. Clayton: Monash University Press.
- Boughton, B., & Durnan, D. (2013). Adult literacy campaigns, political participation and nation building in Timor-Leste. In S. May (Ed.), *LED2011: Refereed conference Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on Language, Education and Diversity*. Auckland: University of Auckland.
- Boughton, B., & Durnan, D. (2014). Cuba's Yo, Sí Puedo. A global literacy movement? *Postcolonial Directions in Education. Special Issue: Adult Literacy and Adult Education*, 3(2), 325–359.
- Brookfield, S., & Holst, J. (2011). *Radicalizing learning. Adult education for a just world*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cabral, E. (2002). *FRETILIN and the struggle for independence in East Timor 1974–2002: An examination of the constraints and opportunities of a non-state nationalist movement in the late twentieth century*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Lancaster University, Lancaster.
- Cabral, E., & Martin-Jones, M. (2008). Writing the resistance: Literacy in East Timor 1975–1999. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11(2), 149–169.
- CAVR. (2006). *Chega! The Report of the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR)*. Retrieved from <http://www.cavr-timorleste.org/en/chegaReport.htm>.
- Choudry, A. (2015). *Learning activism: The intellectual life of contemporary social movements*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Church, K., Bascia, N., & Shragge, E. (Eds.). (2008). *Learning through community: Exploring participatory practices*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Connell, R. (2009). Good teachers on dangerous ground: Towards a new view of teacher quality and professionalism. *Critical Studies in Education*, 50(3), 213–229. doi:10.1080/17508480902998421.
- Cox, L., & Fominaya, C. F. (2009). Movement knowledge: What do we know, how do we create knowledge and what do we do with it? *Interface: A Journal for and About Social Movements*, 1(1), 1–20. Retrieved January 10, 2011, from <http://www.interfacejournal.net/2009/01/issue-one-editorial-movementknowledge.html>
- Cristalis, I. (2009). *East Timor. A Nation's Bitter Dawn*. London: Zed Books.
- Da Silva, A. B. (2011). *FRETILIN popular education 1973–78 and its relevance to Timor-Leste today*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of New England, Armidale Australia.
- Democratic Republic of Timor Leste, Ministry of Education, & Secretariat of State for Solidarity and Labour (DRTL. ME&SSSL). (2005). *Education and training. Priorities and proposed sector investment program*. DRTL: Dili.
- Dorn, C., & Ghodsee, K. (2012). The Cold War politicization of literacy: Communism, UNESCO, and the World Bank. *Diplomatic History*, 36(2), 373–398.
- Duke, C. (2004). Adult education and poverty reduction – A global priority. General report. *Adult Education and Development*, 63, 15–78.
- Durnan, D. (2005). *Popular education and peacebuilding in Timor Leste*. Thesis submitted for Masters of Professional Studies (Honours), University of New England, Armidale, Australia.
- Durnan, D. (2010). Popular education & peacebuilding in Timor-Leste: Theoretical foundations. In M. Leach, N. C. Mendes, A. B. Da Silva, A. D. C. Ximenes, & B. Boughton (Eds.), *Hatene kona ba/ Compreender/ Understanding/ Mengerti*

- Timor-Leste. Proceedings of the Timor-Leste Studies Association Conference, Dili 2–3 July, 2009.* Hawthorn: Swinburne Press.
- Engel, R. E., & Vieira, L. F. (2011). *International contributions to state-building in Timor-Leste: The undermining of state legitimacy?* Oslo: Norwegian Peacebuilding Resource Centre.
- Fernandes, Z. (2010). The significance of using the Cuban method in Literacy Learning. In M. Leach, N. C. Mendes, A. B. Da Silva, A. D. C. Ximenes, & B. Boughton (Eds.), *Hatene kona ba/ Compreender/ Understanding/ Mengerti Timor-Leste. Proceedings of the Timor-Leste Studies Association Conference, Dili 2–3 July, 2009.* Hawthorn: Swinburne Press.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (M. B. Ramos., Trans.). Harmondsworth: Penguin Education.
- Hall, B., Clover, D. E., Crowther, J., & Scandrett, E. (Eds.). (2012). *Learning & education for a better world. The role of social movements.* Rotterdam: Sense.
- Hill, H. (2002). *Stirrings of nationalism in East Timor: Fretilin 1974–1978: The origins, ideologies and strategies of a nationalist movement.* Sydney: Otford Press.
- Howarth, K. (2014). Connecting the dots: Liberal peace and post-conflict violence and crime. *Progress in Development Studies*, 14(3), 261–273. doi:10.1177/1464993414521336.
- Hsu, H.-C. (2008). *An interpretive analysis of selected peace education Activists with implications for adult education.* Unpublished Thesis, Doctor of Education, Northern Illinois University.
- ICAE. (2015). *IX ICAE World Assembly Declaration.* Montreal 14 June 2015. Retrieved October 7, 2015, from <http://www.icae2.org>.
- Kane, L. (2001). *Popular education and social change in Latin America.* London: Latin America Bureau.
- Kane, L. (2010). Community development: Learning from popular education in Latin America. *Community Development Journal*, 45(3), 276–286.
- Kehi, B. (2003). *Education transformation in East Timor. Critical thinking, dialogue and decolonisation of mind.* Paper presented at the National Conference on Education Timor-Leste, Dili, April.
- Kozol, J. (1978). A new look at the literacy campaign in Cuba. *Harvard Educational Review*, 48, 341–377.
- Leach, M., Mendes, N. C., Da Silva, A. B., Ximenes, A. D. C., & Boughton, B. (Eds.). (2010). *Hatene kona ba/ Compreender/ Understanding/ Mengerti Timor-Leste. Proceedings of the Timor-Leste Studies Association Conference, Dili 2–3 July, 2009.* Hawthorn: Swinburne Press. Retrieved from <http://www.tlstudies.org/>.
- Lederach, J. P. (1997). *Building peace. Sustainable reconciliation in divided societies.* Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace Press.
- Lederach, J. P., Neufeldt, R., & Culbertson, H. (2007). *Reflective peacebuilding: A planning, monitoring, and learning tool kit.* Notre Dame, IN: CRS.
- McCaffery, J. (2005). Using transformative models of adult literacy in conflict resolution and peacebuilding processes at community level: Examples from Guinea, Sierra Leone and Sudan. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 35(4), 443–462.
- Mojab, S., & Carpenter, S. (2011). Learning by dispossession: Democracy promotion and civic engagement in Iraq and the United States. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 30(4), 549–563.

- Mojab, S., & Dobson, S. (2008). Women, war, and learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 27(2), 119–127.
- Nicholson, D. (2001). *The Lorikeet Warriors: East Timorese new generation nationalist resistance, 1989–99*. Bachelor of Arts (Honours) Bachelor of Arts (Honours) thesis, University of Melbourne, Melbourne.
- Nicolai, S. (2004). *Learning independence. Education in emergency and transition in Timor-Leste since 1999*. Paris: UNESCO International Institute for Educational Planning.
- Novelli, M., Higgins, S., Ugur, M., & Valiente, V. (2014). *The political economy of education systems in conflict-affected contexts: A rigorous literature review*. London: UK Department for International Development.
- Novelli, M., & Smith, A. (2011). *The role of education in peacebuilding: A synthesis report of findings from Lebanon, Nepal and Sierra Leone*. New York: UNICEF.
- Pugh, M. (2005). The political economy of peacebuilding: A critical theory perspective. *International Journal of Peace Studies*, 10(2), 23–42.
- Richmond, O. P., & MacGinty, R. (2015). Where now for the critique of the liberal peace? *Cooperation and Conflict*, 50(2), 171–189. doi:10.1177/0010836714545691.
- Rutkowski, D. J. (2007). Converging us softly: How intergovernmental organizations promote neoliberal educational policy. *Critical Studies in Education*, 48(2), 229–247.
- Scambary, J. (2009). Anatomy of a conflict: The 2006–2007 communal violence in East Timor. *Conflict, Security & Development*, 9(2), 265–288.
- Schugurensky, D. (2011). *Paulo Freire*. London: Continuum.
- Shah, R. (2012). Goodbye conflict, hello development? Curriculum reform in Timor-Leste. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32(1), 31–38.
- Smith, A. (2005). Education in the twenty-first century: Conflict, reconstruction and reconciliation. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 35(4), 373–391. doi:10.1080/03057920500331397.
- Smith, A. (2011). *Education and peacebuilding: From 'conflict analysis' to 'conflict transformation'?* Bonn: Working Group on Peace and Development (FriEnt).
- Torres, C. A. (1992). Participatory action research and popular education in Latin America. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 5(1), 51–62.
- UNESCO. (2009, December). Harnessing the power and potential of adult learning and education for a viable future. Belém Framework for Action. In *CONFINTEA VI. Sixth International Conference on Adult Education*, Belem, Brazil. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2011). *EFA Global Monitoring Report 2011. The hidden crisis: Armed conflict and education*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNICEF. (2007). *Timor-Leste Donor Update 21 March 2007*. Downloaded September 28, 2009, from http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/files/Timor_Leste_DU_21Mar2007.pdf.
- United Nations. (1993). *General Assembly Resolution A/RES/47/120. 91st Plenary Meeting 18 December 1992*. New York: United Nations.
- United Nations Security Council. (1992). *An agenda for peace. Preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace-keeping* (Report of the Secretary-General pursuant to the statement adopted by the Summit Meeting of the Security Council on 31 January 1992). New York: United Nations.
- World Bank. (2003, December 1). *Timor-Leste education. The way forward* (A summary report from the World Bank).

- World Bank. (2005). *Reshaping the future. Education and post-conflict reconstruction*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- Youngman, F. (2000) *The political economy of adult education & development*. London: Zed Books.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Bob Boughton is an associate professor of Adult Education at the University of New England in Armidale, Australia. His research focuses on the role of popular education in marginalised and impoverished communities. From 2006 until 2012, he worked with the Cuban education mission in Timor-Leste on a national adult literacy campaign, which taught basic literacy to 200,000 people. Since 2012, he has worked with the same campaign model in Aboriginal communities in Australia.

Transnational Migration, Everyday Pedagogies and Cultural Destabilization

Linda Morrice

Abstract Morrice argues that transnational migration is a mundane and inevitable part of living in our globalised world, and that it requires more creative pedagogical understandings and responses than currently offered. The turn to values and identity in migration and integration debates has co-opted lifelong learning, in the form of language and citizenship education, to support and manage the immigration priorities of nation states. Through an exploration of transnationalism and the concept of transnational spaces, an alternative framing is offered which recognises the ongoing and inevitable re-inscription of national, cultural and individual identities. It is suggested that migration gives rise to an everyday pedagogy of spontaneous, embodied and unpredictable learning. Broad pointers to the role of the educator and researcher in exploring and shaping these processes are offered.

INTRODUCTION

Europe is currently experiencing the largest movement of people since World War II; the unprecedented scale and speed of refugees moving across European borders has sparked a humanitarian disaster and thrown Europe and the European Union into political turmoil. Prior to the current movement of people, transnational migration from the global south to the global north had been steadily growing over the past 20 years and the issue had already earned itself a position as one of the most pressing social and political concerns of the twenty-first century. Governments across Europe, Australia, US and Canada have responded to the challenges of migration by not only trying to tighten

L. Morrice (✉)
School of Education and Social Work, University of Sussex,
Essex House, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9QQ, UK
e-mail: L.M.Morrice@sussex.ac.uk

their national borders to restrict the access of some groups of migrants, but also by mandating the types of education deemed appropriate and necessary to support cohesive and stable societies. These educational initiatives are almost invariably targeted at migrants, rather than the longer term settled population, and usually stipulate the language and citizenship requirements which must be achieved to enable naturalisation or permanent settlement. This chapter starts with a brief overview of the retreat from cultural pluralism in European discourses and the turn to cultural values and identity as key issues in migration and integration debates. Drawing on the example of the UK, I will suggest how lifelong learning is being co-opted to support and manage the immigration policies of nation states. The education mandated is based on fundamental, but largely unspoken, assumptions about the nature of the individual, the social world in which we live, and processes of learning. Although ontological assumptions and theories of learning may not be explicit in policies, they can be discerned from the nature of state-sanctioned provision and the expectations on learners. These assumptions will be outlined in relation to state mandated education for migrants and will be juxtaposed to the learning that migrants and longer term settled communities are undergoing in the process of living together. The dis-embodied and dis-embedded conceptualisations of learning enshrined in policy stand in contrast to the everyday pedagogy and learning that accompanies migration.

Through an exploration of transnationalism and the concept of transnational spaces an alternative framing is offered in the second part of the chapter. This framing sees neighbourhoods and nations as spaces of connection (Massey 1994, 2005), which exist in constant flux and interconnected liveliness. Moving away from a sense of pure and bounded spaces fosters acknowledgement of the multi-layered histories of migration and the ongoing re-inscription of identities at individual, cultural, national and global levels. It also questions the assumption underpinning language and citizenship requirements that cohesive communities based on stability and common values are ever attainable (or indeed ever existed). Finally, transnational migration is posed as a mundane and inevitable part of life in the global north, one which gives rise to an everyday pedagogy of spontaneous, embodied and unpredictable learning. The alternative framing of migration and learning proposed indicates approaches and future directions for research in this field. The role of the educator is to open spaces which enable ‘cultural destabilization’, and some broad pointers to how this process might be understood and shaped are offered.

THE TURN TO CULTURAL VALUES AND IDENTITY AND THE CO-OPTING OF LIFELONG LEARNING

Since the early 2000s, there has been a growing backlash against multiculturalism across Europe from both the political left and the right (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). Commentators on the left have pointed to the deep and

enduring patterns of inequality between minority ethnic and migrant communities: low educational attainment, high unemployment, poor jobs, poor quality housing and limited social mobility, as evidence of the failure of multiculturalism. It is claimed that there has been too much emphasis on celebrating 'culture' at the expense of addressing socioeconomic and structural inequalities. From the political right, multiculturalism is seen as problematic as it has preserved and sustained the different cultural values of minority ethnic and migrant populations. In academic circles, the work of Putnam (2000, 2007) has been highly influential; he claims, somewhat controversially, that the more diverse a society is, the less trust and solidarity there is both between and within ethnic groups. He argues that diversity leads to inward facing communities based on bonding social capital, or networks between homogenous groups; these networks promote exclusionary practices so that people 'hunker down' and avoid engagement with their local community (Putnam 2007: 149). These ideas have been taken up by populist commentators and politicians on the right of the political spectrum who argue that too much cultural diversity weakens the bonds of solidarity and erodes the strong national identity necessary for the functioning of a stable state. Fears that culturally different communities are not only a threat to Western ways of life, but also pose a threat to security have escalated and coalesced around the figure of the migrant, and in particular the Muslim migrant.

The ideological assumption that lack of shared cultural values and identity is linked to extremism and terrorism has seeped, unchallenged into public and policy discourses. This is witnessed in the UK, for example, in the positioning of British values as a key part of the UK Government's 'Prevent' strategy which targets extremism. The strategy describes extremism as 'vocal or active opposition to fundamental British values' (Home Office 2015: 2). It is witnessed in the US by President Donald Trump's attempt to block visas for citizens from 7 'dangerous' Muslim countries, calling for a temporary halt to the resettlement of refugees to the US and a permanent ban of refugees from Syria. The political context in many Western states is now dominated by anxieties about 'too much diversity', 'extremism', and the need for Governments to be seen to be doing something to protect their citizens. The result is a shift in the way Western countries are defining and presenting themselves: the use of razor wire, the closing of borders, the taking of valuables from refugees and Islamophobic rhetoric represent a race among states to present themselves as the least welcoming and most hard line.

The turn of attention to cultural values and identity is reflected in integration policies across Europe which are increasingly emphasising assimilation measures and the requirements for migrants to adopt the cultural values, norms and identity of the country in which they live. The UK is an interesting example as it has a classic and long-standing history of multicultural policy and practice. Like the Netherlands and Sweden it has traditionally been associated with a more liberal or multicultural model of integration, characterised by greater tolerance of cultural and ethnic diversity, and by viewing integration as a dynamic two-way process with some responsibility for the receiving society to adapt to difference. In contrast to countries like Germany or Switzerland in which

policies of multiculturalism never existed (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010); or France which has always had a more assimilationist approach based on the assumption that migrants will eventually become fully incorporated into the host society and should not bring about significant social or cultural change to that society. Whatever approach is taken, most government and academic understandings broadly agree that integration is a process or processes and not an end state; is multidimensional and takes place across different spheres: economic, social, cultural and political (Portes 1997; Zetter et al. 2002). Where the balance of responsibility between migrant and society is struck, and to what degree commonality and difference are stressed and in what areas of life, have long been a source of struggle and contestation; however, there has been an intensification of these debates over the last 15 years and the balance has increasingly been tipping towards the responsibility of the migrant and away from societal responsibility embedded in liberal multicultural models. This represents a reframing of integration from a pre-1990s conceptualisation, where the state was the main actor responsible for removing barriers and ensuring appropriate support was in place for migrants to have equal access to education, the labour market and society more generally, to a duty-based concept in which responsibility lies with the migrant to integrate (Perchinig 2012).

Increasingly issues of identity and values are used as a mechanism to control who can belong to the nation state, for example by linking naturalisation to the passing of language and citizenship tests. Such tests can be seen as an overt expression of the state's project of moral regulation which aims to give a single, coherent and unifying expression of timeless national identity (Morrice 2016). The construction of this 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983), in which Western cultural identity is elevated and fixed, depends upon a polarising discourse in which the non-Western migrant becomes 'other'. In this orientalist construction, the values of migrants are left largely unexplored, or at best perceived as 'backwards' and belonging to some long past stage of civilisation. There is an assumed set of majority cultural values, which are positioned as the glue which can hold society together in the face of the corrosive impact of migrant values (Bhattacharyya 2009).

The expanding role of lifelong learning in managing and supporting European states' immigration and integration policies is set out in a report by the Council of Europe (2014). The survey of 36 member states identified a trend across Europe to adopt language and cultural knowledge-related requirements. The report highlights the steady increase in the number of countries enacting legislation to make language knowledge a requirement for residence, citizenship, and in some cases entry; it also notes a trend towards increasing the level of language proficiency required. The report raises concerns suggesting '... in some cases that language requirements aim at hindering migration and/or integration rather than facilitating integration' (Council of Europe 2014: iii). Through the linking of learning to immigration and naturalisation requirements, lifelong learning (albeit perhaps reluctantly) is made complicit in the reproduction and cementation of global inequalities and

relations of domination. Despite the UK's multicultural history and sense of itself as a nation, it has introduced some of the toughest legislation in Europe. Since 2005, all applicants wishing to settle permanently in the UK or to become naturalised British citizens must successfully demonstrate English language proficiency and knowledge about British culture, institutions and traditions. When first introduced the Knowledge of Language and Life (KoLL) requirement could be achieved through one of two routes. Either by answering 24 multiple choice, computer-based citizenship questions based on an official Government handbook, and demonstrating language proficiency. Alternatively, by completing the English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) speaking and listening qualification using specified citizenship-based teaching materials. The applicant must have demonstrated progression from one ESOL level to the next. This latter route, which offered the possibility for dialogical and critical engagement with the concept of citizenship and British cultural values, was removed in 2013; now all migrants who are eligible and wish to apply for British citizenship must pass the computer-based test and present evidence of having achieved a pre-defined level of English language. Despite the apparently transparent discourses, the language requirements and citizenship test filter out migrants from the poorest parts of the globe who have the lowest literacy and language skills, and fails to recognise diverse citizenship practices. Hidden and gendered disadvantages operate to contain diversity and ensure that migrants from wealthiest Western nations gain access and security of stay while other racialised migrant bodies remain excluded or marginalised (Morrice 2016).

The harnessing of education in pursuit of social goals and the shifting of responsibility from the state to the individual is not new (Griffin 2002; Martin 2003; Billett 2010). In this case, the migrant is the pathologised social problem, obliged to engage with lifelong learning and demonstrate their commitment to the values and cultural traits of the country they are living in. From the outset, the identification of migrants as requiring citizenship testing constructs them as being in deficit and in some way lacking meaningful knowledge, skills, culture, histories or values which might be worthy of exploration. Masoor-Mitha (2005: 375) describes how groups such as migrants, children and others are constructed as what she terms 'not yet citizens' or 'less than'. In a similar vein, Biesta argues that citizenship education is mobilised to 'make ready' these unformed citizens: '[e]ducation thus becomes a process of socialisation through which "newcomers" become part and are inserted into the existing social and political order'. Only after completing a particular developmental and educational trajectory can an individual achieve the status of citizenship (Biesta 2011: 94). Although designed to have a placatory effect on the general public, reassuring them that something is being done to solve a social problem—too much cultural diversity brought by newcomers—the actual effect is quite possibly the reverse: ingraining in the national imaginary that cultural diversity is to be feared.

The assumption underpinning these policies is that learning is an acquisitive process in which a predetermined body of knowledge is appropriated or 'banked' in Freirean terms, without the need for critical engagement or

meaning making on behalf of the migrants. Learning is conceptualised as a largely cognitive and disembodied process, with scant recognition of the affective and moral dimensions of learning. It also sees learning as somehow existing in a dis-embedded state, separated from global, national and local contexts and influences, separate from everyday social relations and interactions, and unencumbered by either biography or material circumstances. The expectation that migrants can prepare for the computer-based test via self-study of online materials or study books reflects the growing significance of technology in lifelong learning policies, but also the reduction and narrowing of learning to an isolated and individual endeavour. There are few opportunities for migrants (or indeed longer term resident communities) to ‘become agents of curiosity, become investigators, become subjects in an ongoing process or quest for the revelation of the “why” of things’ (Freire 1992/2014: 96). Instead, cultural values are handed down with little acknowledgement that they can be understood and interpreted differently, or how they might fit with pre-existing ideals or understandings of good citizenship or positive virtues. It is a model of learning which does not see the need for democratic spaces for self-reflection and examination of citizenship practices and beliefs systems in relation to the other citizens with whom neighbourhood spaces are shared. It is also a model which assumes that history can be reduced to one simple and enduring narrative of national unity to be consumed, rather than a chosen story, open to debate, critique and alternative readings (Morrice 2016).

The growing anti-migrant sentiment across Western nations suggests that these policies of compulsory integration measures might not be successful in either altering negative views towards migrants, or in addressing their stated aims of improving social cohesion. Part of the problem lies in the rather impoverished view of learning which underpins these policies, a view which leaves unacknowledged the fact that individuals live in the social world and it is through our experiences and interaction with others that we make meaning and learn about ourselves, our lives and our place within the world. Partly it also reflects more fundamental assumptions about the nature of the contemporary social world, both at the level of the nation state and the local level of community. Rather than taking the learning needs of the individuals, both migrants and long-term settled, as their starting point, the policies start from the perceived needs and social problems of the social world and then distill these down to the individual level. In the next section, I will outline the growth and characteristics of transnational migration and how we might conceptualise and reframe the effects it is having on contemporary society.

TRANSNATIONALISM AND INTERCULTURAL SPACES

In 2015 approximately 4.8 million people permanently migrated to OECD countries, 10% more than in 2014. Two thirds of these new migrants came from outside of the OECD (OECD 2016). 2015 also witnessed record numbers of refugees entering the OECD, of the 1.65 million newly registered asylum

seekers, almost 1.3 million came to European countries. (OECD 2016). Not only has the scale of migration increased, but patterns and characteristics of contemporary migration have changed dramatically. Whereas, post-war migration was characterised by migrants coming from discrete places to join increasingly large and well-organised communities in particular parts of the UK, today's migration patterns are characterised by smaller, transient, more legally differentiated and less well-organised groups and individuals coming from a much greater number of countries of origin (Vertovec and Wessendorf 2010). Criteria of collective belonging which might have had more resonance in the past are no longer applicable as with any particular groups there will be important distinctions in ethnicity, religion and religious practices, country of origin, regional and local identities, kinship and tribal affiliations, political affiliation, and so on. The shift in migration patterns has resulted in the multiplication and increasingly complex axes of identification and difference; a condition Vertovec describes as 'super-diversity' and the 'diversification of diversity'. This is not just about the addition of further variables of difference; it is also about 'new conjunctions of interactions of variables' (Vertovec 2007: 1025). Coupled with the growing diversity of minority ethnic communities is the increase in transnationalism which '...broadly refers to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states' (Vertovec 1999: 447). Advances in communication technology, especially social media, and relatively cheap travel have meant that links between countries are stronger and more sustained, rendering the strictly bounded sense of community or locality obsolete.

Transnationalism is an important conceptual tool for understanding the scope and lived experience of migrants across space and time, and reminds us that migrants are always emigrants from somewhere before they become immigrants of the country in which they live. It underscores the fact that migration is not just about geographical movement, but also involves movement and ongoing connections between cultures, memories and values. Migrants can maintain their connection and involvement with family, friends and community in the country they have left in a way not previously possible; this can take the form of political or trading activities, participating in family events, cultural celebrations and so on. This means that for migrants there is always a 'backstory', a narrative of a life lived, or being lived, elsewhere; this might be a life in the past with which few ties remain, but it is equally likely to be a life being lived contemporaneously somewhere else. The scale of these connections is manifest materially through the sending of remittances; officially recorded remittances to developing countries are estimated to have been \$404 billion in 2013, equivalent to more than three times the official development budget (World Bank 2014). Less visible, but of no less significance, are the social and emotional ties which bind people across space and time. Back-stories are powerful narratives which are always present, although not necessarily foregrounded, shaping and informing migrant lives in a way not possible in the past when migration generally meant the severing of ties and relationships. This makes biographical and life history approaches particularly relevant when

working and researching with migrants as it enables recognition of these other lives, and the skills, education, work, culture, identities and social positions which migrants occupied prior to migration; and how these characteristics and relationships influence and shape engagement with learning and aspirations in the new social context (Morrice 2011). The significance of existing skills, qualifications and competences and the difficulties migrants face in transferring these to new contexts is the subject of a growing body of scholarship (e.g. Andersson and Guo 2009; Guo and Shan 2013; Sprung 2013). A life history approach also enables us to see beyond the administrative labelling of the immigration system and instead to see individual lives not only with the past, but with a future, with hopes and fears and dreams.

Transnationalism also draws attention to the way that migration is experienced by those who have never physically moved: for example, the first and second generation children born to migrants, who may never have lived in their parents' country of birth, but who, through regular contact (virtual or actual) with family members elsewhere, are raised knowing and shifting between different cultures and value systems. It enables a focus on the communities in which migrants come to live; migrants are not simply inserted into communities, they transform those spaces creating new transnational spaces. The effects of migration are experienced by the longer term settled community such that in the twenty-first century very few lives are left untouched by transnational migration. Finally, as Espiritu (2003) argues, transnationalism shifts attention from a narrow focus on modes of integration or degrees of assimilation, and instead highlights the lived experience of migrants in and across diverse sociocultural sites. Within these transnational spaces the strategies that migrants use to fashion themselves are shaped by the local context: the national policies and culture of the new society, along with structural forces such as poverty and racism (Espiritu 2003).

This understanding of transnational spaces resonates with Brah's concept of diaspora space which she describes as:

... 'inhabited' not only by those who have migrated and their descendants but equally by those who are constructed and represented as indigenous. In other words, the concept of diaspora space (as opposed to that of diaspora) includes the entanglement of genealogies of dispersion with those of 'staying put'. (Brah 1996: 181)

Brah goes on to describe England as a diasporic space where different groups of migrants intersect among themselves as well as with the entity constructed as 'Englishness', an identity which becomes re-inscribed in the process. This reworking of national identities is an inevitable aspect of migration, and it is one which, as I will outline below, has given rise to ever more muscular assertions of national identity which have dominated policy debates around lifelong learning and migration over the last decade.

The quietly shifting nature, and gentle re-inscription of national identities (and indeed the identity of Europe itself) has been going on throughout history. In Britain we could trace influences on what we now consider to be national

identity back through Roman, Viking and Norman settlers (amongst others), and on to British colonisation of the ‘New World’. This complex circulation of symbolic, cultural and material resources, people and activities over time has made, shaped and remade national identity. Despite this long history, it is only relatively recently that Britain has moved from a mono-cultural national identity based on descent and articulated by Conservative politician Enoch Powell in his declaration that ‘the West Indian does not by being born in England become an Englishman’ (Powell 1968 cited in Yuval-Davis 2011) to a multicultural national identity. This shift is what Stuart Hall refers to as ‘multicultural drift’ (Hall and Back 2009), an acceptance that British society has irreversibly moved from a perceived stable and mono-cultural foundation and is now a multicultural, even hybrid nation. Migrants who came to the UK in the 1940s and 1950s are generally acknowledged as forming part of British national identity, and are generally embraced within an inherently multicultural Britain. Race, understood as based on phenotype or descent, is not considered an obstacle to belonging in the same way it was forty years ago, but there remain deep and irreconcilable ambiguities towards some cultural differences, most notably faith. This has given rise to new ‘hierarchies of belonging’ in which minority communities are positioned differently and afforded greater or lesser degrees of tolerance and inclusion, with newly arrived migrants, particularly asylum seekers and Muslims, subject to increasing suspicion and hostility for their ‘problematic’ cultural identity and values (Back et al. 2012). The growth in migration, and in particular from countries which are culturally more distant from an assumed British culture, has enabled new lines of exclusion to emerge, intersecting with older and more established inequalities. We witness this in the current influx of refugees when calls are made for Syrian Christian refugees to be given priority for resettlement (Medhora 2015), and in the Hungarian prime minister’s claim that the building of a fence and use tear gas to prevent migrants entering his country was to defend Europe’s Christian identity against a Muslim influx (Traynor 2015). Faith is advanced as an acceptable criterion on which to establish and enact distinctions between ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ refugees, who can belong and who can be excluded.

TOWARDS MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSNATIONALISM

For migrants, learning and making sense of a new culture is a process that starts from the point of arrival (and for those who migrate voluntarily even before) and continues through quotidian experiences, social interactions and reflections on the world about them. These encounters with difference involve continual affective engagement which enliven and awaken individuals to learning which is embodied and sense oriented: feelings of coldness, shapes of buildings, styles of dress, the colours and sounds of neighbourhoods, the new smells and taste of food, the emotions imbued in the interactions with others, and so forth. These instantaneous and necessary navigations through culture are shaped by biography, by pre-existing expectations, diverse migratory journeys, gendered, raced and classed relationships, resources and aspirations. It is through this that habits

of perception and frames of reference are disrupted and incremental learning and change occur. Although perhaps not as intense, but no less embodied, the long term settled population in and between whom migrants move and settle, are inevitably pushed into unplanned and spontaneous learning with various degrees of interest, excitement, tolerance, discomfort, anxiety and hostility. It is precisely at these encounters with cultural differences that learning occurs; for adult educators and researchers it suggests a focus on the emerging spaces and sociocultural configurations which provide platforms from which to observe and shape the dynamics of intercultural living and learning. This inevitably involves a broad lens which takes in both migrant and longer termed settled communities. It also suggests a focus on interculturalism, which underscores cultural dialogue and exchange, rather than multiculturalism, which either stresses cultural difference rather than communication between cultures, or assumes a gradual erosion of difference through mixing and hybridisation (Amin 2002).

Just as national identity has been gently re-inscribed to take on diversity and acknowledge the changing nature of the social world, so too our individual identities are moulded and shaped to take on difference. Hall (1990) reminds us that cultural identities are never complete and are constantly being remade:

[c]ultural identity ... is a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being'... It is not something which already exists, transcending place, time, history and culture. Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But, like everything which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. (1990: 225)

To this we can add that cultural identities do not exist in silos, and do not come into being in isolation from each other. The formation of cultural identities is a relational process—formed, reformed and transformed with reference to the cultural discourses, cultural identities, social relationships and values of those around us. This recognition of our cultural 'becomingness', that is, that as cultural beings we are constantly drawing upon the norms, values and identity resources around us to make sense of our lives and the lives of others, is important. It positions learning as an ongoing and an open-ended process, what Freire describes as '... men and women as beings in the process of *becoming* – as unfinished, uncompleted beings in and with a likewise unfinished reality' (1996: 65). We are also sentient beings, constantly engaged in evaluative judgements about the world, which means we are capable of both flourishing and suffering, and particularly vulnerable to how we are perceived and treated by others (Sayer 2011). From a learning perspective, this suggests that in the diversifying world around us we pay particular attention to the moments when we are presented with difference, as it is precisely these points which provoke and vitalise learning and reflection. It is at these moments that we can either 'lean in' to difference, and, finding our reference points inadequate, have cause to look beyond our own cultural interpretations to make new meaning and establish new reference points. Or, we 'lean away' from difference, unable or unwilling to bridge the gap and make new meanings. The extent to which we are prepared to shift towards or

away from difference will ultimately depend upon the context, the degree of cultural difference involved and the perceived challenge to our existing identities. Viewed in this way, unplanned and unintentional pedagogical relations are an inevitable accompaniment to transnational migration as individuals are permanently engaged in evaluation and cultural judgements as they attempt to establish and re-orientate themselves in relation to new social relations and ways of being.

The pedagogic process here refers to an experiential and relational endeavour, in which interpersonal relations and our encounters with the social world have the potential to be pedagogic. In order for this potential to be realised and for individuals to be prepared to orientate themselves towards others, rather than away, there are some points to consider. The first is an understanding of neighbourhood or context, and just as it is not helpful to conceptualise either national or individual identities as existing in some bounded, essential or pure state, neither is it helpful or accurate to conceptualise neighbourhoods and localities as closed, homogeneous, with an 'always having been there', uniform indigenous population. Such a conception suppresses recognition of previous migrations and of existing cultural diversity, and is more likely to lead to new migrants being perceived as problematic (Hickman et al. 2012). A more fruitful conception is suggested by Massey's (1994, 2005) concept of place not as an insular and bounded entity/location but rather as spaces of connections. She argues that places are 'made of' social relations and do not pre-exist them, they are porous and constituted relationally as 'products of other places' (Massey 1994: 59). Stressing a strong temporal dimension she suggests that space is always in process, and can be imagined as 'a simultaneity of stories-so-far' (Massey 2005: 9). This enables us to move away from ideas of us and them, migrants and locals, here and there; rather places become spaces of inevitable heterogeneity, flux and interconnected liveliness. Communities and neighbourhoods become transitional spaces characterised by interruption and disjuncture. This conception of place disrupts the binary of 'us' and 'them' implicit in integration discourses; it also challenges the assumptions underpinning integration strategies that places can be imagined as future cohesive communities based on social stability and common values. Instead it suggests a commitment to ongoing open dialogue and exchange, constant negotiation and trial and error towards living with difference.

A few caveats and further explanations are needed here. First, this is not to suggest that differences will be dissolved through mixing, or that contact with others necessarily translates into respect; indeed contact can lead to a cementing of attitudes and values, rather than to challenging them (Amin 2002; Valentine 2008). Valentine's research demonstrates the gap that can exist between individuals' practices in public spaces and the prejudices they hold; that is, everyday practices of civility do not translate into changed attitudes and values. Amin (2002) points to the way that urban spaces are often either territorialised by particular groups and subject to heavy surveillance, or they are spaces of transit, populated by strangers who have no reason to engage with each other. In order to bring about any form of social transformation or intercultural understanding, Amin argues that contact has to be meaningful and involve purposeful activity.

It is within what he terms sites of ‘micropublics’ such as the workplace, colleges, youth centres and other centres of association that the required interdependency is created and common place negotiations are inevitable. Micropublics enable ‘... moments of cultural destabilization, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this to learn to become different through new patterns of social engagement’ (2002: 970). Cultural understanding and change is most likely where ‘people are encouraged to step out of their routine environment, into everyday spaces that function as sites of unnoticeable cultural questioning or transgression’ (2002: 969). However, this is also an unpredictable pedagogy, in which the outcome is not known; as Biesta (2006) suggests, learning always involves the risk of change in unforeseeable and unwelcome ways. The ways in which learning has deconstructive and negative aspects has been illustrated with reference to refugees for whom learning can be about ‘unlearning’, and letting go of much of who and what they were (Morrice 2011, 2014). It is also highlighted in Mojab’s concept of ‘learning by dispossession’ to describe how learning in capitalist social relations can produce alienation and fragmentation of self and community (Mojab 2011).

The role of educators then is to attempt to create such spaces and to bring together strangers in a common activity which disrupts fixed cultural assumptions and identities. Learning here is conceptualised as a ‘response to what is other and different ... as a reaction to a disturbance, as an attempt to reorganise and reintegrate as a result of disintegration’ (Biesta 2006: 27). The educational responsibility lies in providing opportunities ‘for the “coming into the world” of unique, singular beings, and a responsibility for the world as a world of plurality and difference’ (Biesta 2006: 9–10). It is through these pedagogical encounters, based on participatory values, critical debate and engagement whether in community centres, libraries, parks, community gardens, playgrounds or other public spaces, which are most likely to enable the everyday practices and strategies of cultural engagement and exchange with culturally different, unfamiliar strangers. Of importance here is recognition that cultural identities are not only shifting and multiple, but are also only one of many sources of identity formation, including experiences based on gender, class, education, age and consumption. This not only disrupts assumptions of homogeneity of migrant communities, but also opens up the possibilities for common ventures and purpose. Empirical research by adult education scholars suggests practical ways of working with these ideas. For example, Roets et al. (2011) used narrative practices to develop an educative space in which inhabitants of a multicultural neighbourhood in Flanders could acknowledge and explore the ambiguities of living with diversity; an approach which they suggest enabled the questioning of binary notions such as ‘us’ and ‘them’. Similarly, Wildemeersch (2011) suggests how artistic and cultural practices in public spaces can be used to ‘disrupt’ the taken for granted sense of place; rather than emphasising homogeneity and continuity such practices can foster the learning of democratic citizenship through ‘...creating opportunities for the differences to come into presence so that they can be negotiated in a continuous process “in the making”’

(2011: 91). These studies which explicitly engage with intercultural differences augment an established body of research on the contribution of community based and informal learning to social inclusion and issues of belonging (e.g. Foley 1999; McGivney 1999; Tett 2006; Jackson 2010). For example Sue Jackson (2010) has drawn attention to how informal learning in social spaces can enhance a sense of belonging for migrant women, alongside enabling them to develop skills and resources to resist constructions of difference and otherness.

The second caveat is that just like classrooms, places of contact are imbued with power relations and inequalities (real and perceived); they will be differentially experienced by individuals and social groups who will have different capacities to participate. Encounters occur in conditions of material, political and social inequality; they are located in specific discourses, representations and social relations. They are approached through particular identifications, and draw on particular biographical understandings and cemented histories. These will shape the feelings, attitudes and prejudices, and consequently the degree of openness (or closedness) to others. One of the major challenges is that areas with the greatest diversity as a result of migration, are also generally areas with the highest levels of social and economic deprivation, which encourages the perception of competition and conflict over scarce resources (Reicher and Hopkins 2013). Such issues and concerns have to be acknowledged, but importantly, Reicher and Hopkin's report also suggests that poverty is a stronger predictor of social divisions and community tension than diversity, and that once socioeconomic deprivation is taken into account, the inverse correlation between cohesion and diversity decreases or disappears (Reicher and Hopkins 2013). Efforts to unpack the dynamics of poverty and inequality must be locally inflected, globally situated and cognisant of migration patterns. They will, for example, recognise the ongoing historical processes and patterns of employment and unemployment locally, their entanglement with global processes, and how these interact and intersect with successive and multi-layered histories of migration in such areas.

CONCLUSION

Transnational migration is now a prosaic part of everyday living in Western societies such that living with varying degrees of cultural diversity has become a fact of life for all of us. Learning the language and understanding culture are a crucial part of the integration process and European and other Western governments have approached this challenge through focusing their lifelong learning efforts on migrants, and on mandating levels of language and predetermined bodies of knowledge deemed necessary. These efforts can be seen as an attempt to stabilise and secure collective identity in the face of rapid social change and growing public concern, and to foreclose debate about society, and who 'we' are. This position reflects one side of the duality between a state conceptualisation of education as dis-embedded and disembodied, measurable, accountable, having clearly defined outcomes (such as controlling who can

belong and who will be excluded), and based on cognitive and acquisitive understandings of learning. This approach, and the model of learning on which it is based, does not respond to the embodied, spontaneous, evaluative, unpredictable and open-ended pedagogic processes that occur in everyday transnational spaces. It is this other side of the duality which attends to learning, which I have suggested invites an alternative and more productive framing of the challenges posed by transnational migration.

This suggests a research agenda which places everyday pedagogy, understood as an experiential and relational endeavour, centre stage and considers how, and in what spaces, migrants learn to belong and have a sense of ‘fitting in’, and where and how they learn to become alienated and marginalised in their new country. It requires attention to the spaces of commonplace negotiation and a shift away from the pathologising logic which holds individual migrants as the source of social problems. Fundamental to this reframing is a rejection of homogenising and stable versions of culture and cultural identities at national, local and individual levels: identities are not fixed and unchanging at any of these levels, all have been shaped by previous histories of migration, in the case of Britain this not only includes immigration to Britain over the centuries, but also the colonial history of migration and its impact on ‘British’ culture. Nations, places and individuals will continue to be moulded by engagement with other cultures as people move around the globe. The difference is the speed of change and levels of diversity which contemporary migration entails. Herein lies the role and challenge of educators: to open up and to explore spaces which enable moments of ‘cultural destabilisation’ and opportunities for learning to change and see things differently. This requires attention to how we see ourselves, as much as how we see others.

REFERENCES

- Amin, A. (2002). Ethnicity and the multicultural city: Living with diversity. *Environment and Planning A*, 34, 959–980.
- Anderson B. (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London:Verso.
- Andersson, P., & Guo, S. (2009). Governing through non/recognition: The missing ‘R’ in the PLAR for immigrant professionals in Canada and Sweden. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 28, 423–437.
- Back, L., Sinha, S., & Bryan, W. C. (2012). New hierarchies of belonging. *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, 15(2), 139–154.
- Bhattacharyya, G. (2009). *Ethnicities and values in a changing world*. Farnham: Ashgate.
- Biesta, G. J. J. (2006). *Beyond learning. Democratic education for a human future*. Boulder: Paradigm Publishers.
- Biesta, G. (2011). *Learning democracy in school and society. Education, lifelong learning, and the politics of citizenship*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Billett, S. (2010). The perils of confusing lifelong learning with lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(4), 401–413.
- Brah, A. (1996). *Cartographies of diaspora: Contesting identities*. Routledge: London.
- Council of Europe. (2014). *Linguistic integration of adult migrants: Final report on the 3rd Council of Europe Survey*. Strasbourg: Language Policy Unit. Retrieved from

- Project LIAM: <https://rm.coe.int/CoERMPublicCommonSearchServices/DisplayDCTMContent?documentId=09000016802fc1ce>.
- Foley, G. (1999) *Learning in Social Action: A contribution to understanding informal education*. London, England: Zed Books.
- Espritu, Y. (2003). *Home bound: Filipino American lives across cultures, communities, and countries*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Freire, P. (1992) *Pedagogy of hope*. (London: Continuum).
- Freire, P. (1996). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin Books.
- Griffin, C. (2002). Lifelong learning and welfare reform. In R. Edwards, N. Miller, N. Small, & A. Tait (Eds.), *Supporting lifelong learning. Making policy work* (Vol. 3, pp. 123–150). London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Guo, S., & Shan, H. (2013). The politics of recognition: Critical discourse analysis of recent PLAR policies for immigrant professionals in Canada. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 32(4), 464–480.
- Hall, S. (1990). Culture, identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity, community, culture, difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hall, S., & Back, L. (2009). At home and not at home: Stuart hall in Conversation with Les Back. In *Cultural Studies*, 23(4), 658–687.
- Hickman, M. J., Mai, N., & Crowley, H. (2012). *Migration and social cohesion in the UK*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Home Office. (2015). *Revised prevent duty guidance: For England and Wales. Guidance for specified authorities in England and Wales on the duty in the Counter-Terrorism and Security Act 2015*. Retrieved November 21, 2015, from: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/prevent-duty-guidance>.
- Jackson, S. (2010). Learning through social spaces: Migrant women and lifelong learning in post-colonial London. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(2), 237–253.
- Martin, I. (2003). Adult education, lifelong learning and citizenship: Some ifs and buts. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 22(6), 566–579.
- Massey, D. (1994). *Space, place and gender*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.
- McGivney, V. (1999). *Informal learning in the community: A trigger for change and development*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Massey, D. (2005). *For space*. London: Sage.
- Medhora, S. (2015). Christian refugees from Middle East should be given priority, says Eric Abetz. *The Guardian*. Retrieved September 21, 2015, from <http://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2015/sep/08/christian-refugees-from-middle-east-should-be-given-priority-says-eric-abetz>.
- Moosa-Mitha, M. (2005). A difference-centred alternative to theorization of children's citizenship rights. *Citizenship Studies*, 9(4), 369–388.
- Morrice, L. (2011). *Being a refugee: Learning and identity. A longitudinal study of refugees in the UK*. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.
- Morrice, L. (2014). The learning-migration nexus: Towards a conceptual understanding. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 5(2), 149–159.
- Morrice, L. (2016). British citizenship, gender and migration: The containment of cultural differences and the stratification of belonging. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. Retrieved from <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01425692.2015.1131606>.
- OECD (2016), International Migration Outlook 2016, OECD Publishing. doi: 10.1787/migr_outlook-2016-en. Retrieved 14 May 2017, from http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/content/book/migr_outlook-2016-en.

- Perchinig, B. (Principal Author). (2012). *The national policy frames for the integration of newcomers comparative report*. ProSint comparative reports wp2. Retrieved October 1, 2013, from <http://research.Icmpd.Org/1429.Html>.
- Portes, A. (1997). Immigration theory for a new century: Some problems and opportunities. *International Migration Review*, 31, 799–825.
- Putnam, R. D. (2000). *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). 'E pluribus unum: Diversity and community in the twenty-first century'. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30, 137–174.
- Reicher, S. A., & Hopkins, N. (2013). *Future identities: Changing identities in the UK—The next 10 years A review for the UK Government's Foresight project*. London: Crown Copyright.
- Roets, G., Vandenabeele, J., & Bouverne-De Bie, M. (2011). Acknowledging ambivalence in a multicultural neighbourhood: In search of an educational space in narrative practices. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31(1), 33–45.
- Sayer, A. (2011). *Why things matter to people. Social science, values and ethical life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sprung, A. (2013). Adult education in migration societies and the challenge of 'recognition' in Austrian and German adult education. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 45(1), 82–98.
- Tett, L. (2006). *Community education lifelong learning and social inclusion*. Policy and Practice in Education (Vol 4), Edinburgh, Scotland: Dunedin Press. ISBN 9781903765562.
- Traynor, I. (2015). *Migration crisis: Hungary PM says Europe in grip of madness*. Downloaded September 3, 2015, from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/sep/03/migration-crisis-hungary-pm-victor-orban-europe-response-madness>.
- Valentine, G. (2008). Living with difference: Reflections on geographies of encounter. *Progress in Human Geography*, 32(3), 323–337.
- Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 447–462.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024–1054.
- Vertovec, S., & Wessendorf, S. (Eds.). (2010). *The multiculturalism backlash. European discourses, policies and practices*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Wildemeersch, D. (2011). Imagining pedagogy in public space: Visions of cultural policies and practices in a city in transformation. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31(1), 77–95.
- World Bank. (2014). *Migration and remittances*. Retrieved from <http://go.worldbank.org/RR8SDPEH00>
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2011). *The politics of belonging. Intersectional contestations*. London: Sage.
- Zetter, R., Griffiths, D. J., Sliogona, N., & Hauser, M. (2002). *Survey on policy and practice related to refugee integration*. Conducted by Department of Planning, Oxford: University of Oxford.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Linda Morrice is a Senior Lecturer in Education at the University of Sussex where she is currently working on an project *Optimising Refugee Resettlement: A Comparative Perspective* (funded by the Economic and Social Research Council of the United Kingdom). Her research forges an interdisciplinary approach to the lived experiences of refugees and issues of difference and equality. She has a particular interest in life history and social practices such as identity, cultural values and citizenship.

Researching Transnational Migration and Lifelong Learning

Shibao Guo

Abstract This chapter examines opportunities, challenges, and tensions pertaining to lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration. Drawing on transnationalism as its theoretical framework, this analysis is informed by a critical scholarship on lifelong learning which places the concept of democracy and citizenship at its heart of this discussion. The chapter begins with an effort to map the changing context of transnational migration in the age of globalisation and then moves on to analysing the lifelong learning experience of transnational migrants in major immigrant-receiving countries. Through this analysis, the chapter addresses the question of the extent to which adult and lifelong education has upheld its progressive roots in creating socially just and inclusive education environments for adult immigrants.

INTRODUCTION

With the development of modern transportation and advanced communication technologies, it is argued that migration has shifted from *inter-national* to *trans-national*, suggesting that something needs to be overcome (i.e. the national) as in moving beyond methodological nationalism (Faist 2010). According to Lie (1995), the idea of transnationalism challenges the rigid, territorial nationalism that defines the modern nation state. As such, the relatively recent term transnational migration describes the multiple and circular migration across transnational spaces of migrants who maintain close contact with their countries of origin. As Lie notes, ‘transnationalism’ makes it possible for imagined diaspora communities to subvert old conceptions of unidirectional migrant passage

S. Guo (✉)

Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, 2500 University Dr. NW,
Calgary, AB T2N 1N4, Canada
e-mail: guos@ucalgary.ca

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_34

667

and replace them with understandings centred on images of unending sojourn across different lands. On this view, migrants can no longer be characterised as ‘uprooted’, people who are expected to make a sharp and definitive break from their homelands (Glick Schiller et al. 1995). Instead, their daily lives depend on ‘multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation-state’ (p. 48). As a result of transnational migration, many countries are becoming increasingly ethno-culturally diverse. As newcomers, adult immigrants need educational programmes to help them navigate complex paths to citizenship, and to upgrade their language, knowledge and skills to fully participate in the host society. It is therefore the purpose of this chapter to examine opportunities, challenges, and tensions pertaining to lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration.

The discussion that follows is organised into four parts. It begins with a discussion of the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora which provide theoretical underpinning for transnational migration. Next, it analyses the scope and trends of transnational migration, followed by an examination of immigrant’s adaptation experience in their host society. Finally, it ends with a discussion and conclusion focusing on opportunities and challenges for lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration.

THEORISING TRANSNATIONALISM AND DIASPORA

Transnationalism is not a new concept per se. According to Kivisto (2001), the earliest articulation of transnationalism was by cultural anthropologists (i.e. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Christina Szanton Blanc). In its debut in the early 1990s, it offered a novel analytical approach to understanding contemporary migration. Sociologist Alejandro Portes is most responsible for popularising and expanding the use of transnationalism (Portes 1999, 2003; Portes et al. 1999). Portes et al. (1999) propose three criteria for identifying a transnational phenomenon: the process involves a significant proportion of persons in the relevant universe; the activities of interest possess certain stability and resilience over time; and the content of these activities is not captured by some pre-existing concept. When analysing transnationalism, individuals and their support networks are regarded as the proper units of analysis. According to Portes et al., a study that begins with the history and activities of individuals is ‘the most efficient way of learning about the institutional underpinnings of transnationalism and its structural effects’ (p. 220). Contemporary grass-roots transnational activities have developed in reaction to government policies—and to the condition of dependent capitalism foisted on weaker countries—to circumvent the permanent subordination of immigrants and their families. At the grass-roots level, Portes (1999) points out elsewhere, transnationalism offers an economic alternative to immigrant’s low-wage dead-end employment situation, gives them political voice, and allows them to reaffirm their own self-worth.

Transitional activities can be organised into three types: economic, political, and socio-cultural (Portes et al. 1999). The main goals of each type are different. To be more specific, transnational economic entrepreneurs are interested in mobilising their contacts across borders in search of suppliers, capital and markets; transnational political activities aim to foster political power and influence in sending or receiving countries; and socio-cultural transnationalism is oriented towards the reinforcement of a national identity abroad or the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods. Another useful distinction is made between transnationalism ‘from above’ and ‘from below’, initiated, respectively, by powerful states and corporations, and by grass-roots immigrants and their home country counterparts. In commenting on the fear that transnational activities will slow down the process of assimilation in immigrant host nations, Portes (1999) maintains that transnational activities can actually facilitate successful adaptation by providing opportunities for economic mobility and for a vital and purposeful group life. He also points out that the overall bearing of transnational activities on sending countries is positive, both economically and politically. Migrant remittances and business investments promote economic growth, and political activism is most likely to align with the forces of change in promoting democracy and reducing corruption and violation of human rights at home. Portes (2003) further argues that transnationalism provides ‘an alternative path of socioeconomic and political adaptation to the host society not envisioned by traditional models of assimilation’ (p. 887).

Commenting on the above discussion, Kivisto (2001) contends that Portes’ unit of analysis excludes communities and more overarching structural units such as governments. With respect to the three types of transnationalism, Kivisto argues that labour and professional immigrants are missing from his definition of economic transnationalism and mobile capitalist entrepreneurs have become the sole representation. Regarding his political transnationalism, the emphasis on party officials, governmental functionaries, or community leaders excludes community activists and violates his stated intention of keeping transnationalism from below analytically distinct from transnationalism from above. Lastly, his emphasis of socio-cultural transnationalism on the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods tends to preserve immigrant’s nostalgic ‘symbolic ethnicity’.

Another relevant concept closely associated with transnationalism is ‘diaspora’. Early notions of diaspora portray the phenomenon as catastrophic—the traumatic dispersal of victimised groups from an original homeland, and the salience of that homeland in the collective memory of a forcibly dispersed group (Cohen 2008). The Jewish are often seen as the prototypical diaspora, and associated with it are sentiments such as displacement, alienation, and exile. The victim diaspora has also been applied to several other groups, including the Africans, Armenians, Irish, and Palestinians. More recently, Cohen argues, the concept has been extended to include labour, trade, imperial, and cultural diasporas. In delineating a diaspora, Cohen proposes nine criteria, including dispersal from an original homeland, the expansion from a homeland in search

of work or pursuit of trade or colonial activities, a collective memory and myth about the homeland, an idealisation of the real or imagined ancestral home, a return movement or intermittent visits, a strong ethnic group consciousness, a troubled relationship with host societies, a sense of solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries, and the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries. Commenting on Cohen's typology, Anthias (1998, 2001) argues that it is descriptive and inductivist. Anthias summarises some of the problems associated with Cohen's typology as follows: reliance on a notion of deterritorialised ethnicity which references to the primordial bonds of 'homeland'; privileging the point of 'origin' in constructing identity and solidarity; failure to examine trans-ethnic commonalities and relations; and a lack of concern with the intersectionalities of class and gender.

In the age of globalisation, the boundaries between diaspora, territory, and transnational migration are blurred (Guo 2016). As a particular way of representing oneself in space, the process of extraterritoriality involves a heightened awareness of the spatial configuration of the diaspora; individuals' perception of the multi-polarity of migration; individuals' awareness of potential for inter-polarity as a result of their concrete links with people in other countries; and the development of a diaspora culture, which acts to make the spatial configuration an asset (Ma Mung 1998, 2004). Ma Mung contends that the diaspora's relationship to territory is fundamentally different from that of a sedentary society. Unlike the traditional territory, which is often defined by the ongoing presence of a population, the diaspora is uprooted from its original territory. As such, it cannot reproduce 'in the tangible, circumscribed, closed physical space form which it would traditionally proceed' (1998: 37). The diaspora territory is everywhere, and thus nowhere. It is an imaginary, 'fantasised' space. 'The territory is virtual, and virtual alone' (Ma Mung 2004: 219). In the age of transnational migration, the identification with a national or territorial space has been transcended by the notion of extraterritoriality. As Ma Mung (2004) notes: 'National borders dissolve; they are irrelevant. The feeling of extraterritoriality is thus the key to conceiving of the unity of a dispersed, scattered entity. It unlocks national borders' (p. 218).

The concepts of diaspora and transnationalism are helpful in pointing out new paths to the analysis of the complexities of transnational migration. The two concepts share a number of similarities, but also have some differences. According to Satzewick and Liodakis (2007), the two have had similar careers in recent years, each becoming popular in scholarly circles at about the same time. Second, each was presented as an alternative to conceptually ill-equipped traditional studies of immigration and ethnic relations. Proponents of both concepts argue that diaspora and transnationalism put analysts in a better position to capture 'the importance of real and imagined places of origin in immigrant and ethnic groups lives and identities as well as the complex interactions between 'here' and 'there' for individuals, families, and communities that have moved abroad' (Satzewick and Liodakis 2007: 208). Despite having in common popularity and analytical concerns, the two concepts differ in

important ways. Satzewick and Liodakis highlight one of these differences regarding the extent to which they have permeated popular consciousness and wider public discourse. While the popular reach of *diaspora* has reached outside of an immigrant or ethnic nexus, transnationalism has generally not gone beyond the scholarly community and entered immigrant and ethnic community organisations. At the same time, the concept of diaspora has been more sharply criticised than its counterpart, perhaps because of its popular uptake. For example, Butler (2001) warns of the risk of moving towards essentialising ‘diaspora’ as an ethnic label rather than a framework of analysis.

CONTEXTUALISING TRANSNATIONAL MIGRATION

Migration takes many forms depending on, among other factors, whether the moving subject is a manual worker, a highly qualified specialist, an entrepreneur, a refugee, or if the impetus for migration is family reunification. Since the categorisation of admitted migrants varies across country, I will use Canada as an example to illustrate. In Canada, immigrants are admitted under four major categories: the skilled worker class, the business class, the family class, and refugees. Skilled workers are admitted under a point system using prescribed selection criteria based on education, language skills, and work experience. The skilled worker category includes the federal skilled worker programme, the federal skilled trades programme, and the Canadian experience class. The second category seeks to attract experienced business people who are expected to invest in or establish businesses in the host societies. Canada has three classes of business immigrants, investors, entrepreneurs and self-employed persons, each with separate eligibility criteria. Skilled workers and business immigrants are also referred to as economic immigrants. Family class immigration reunites close family members of an adult resident or citizen of the host countries, such as children, parents, a spouse, or common-law partner. Refugee protection is usually offered to those who fear returning to their country of nationality or habitual residence because of war, or due to fear of persecution, torture or cruel and unusual treatment or punishment. Since the mid-1990s, Canada has shifted to a knowledge-based economy and subsequently its immigrant selection practices have placed more weight on education and skills, favouring economic immigrants over family class immigrants and refugees. In 2008, Canada introduced the Canadian work experience programme which allows temporary foreign workers and international students who graduated in Canada to apply for permanent residence. In 2015, the Canadian government launched the express entry initiative designed specifically for skilled immigrants to ensure speedy process of their applications in 6 months or less so that they can contribute to Canada’s economy and job market more quickly (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2015).

At present, it is not clear exactly how many transnational migrants there are. Owing to divergence in national contexts as well as differences between and within migrant groups, it is difficult to capture its complexities. Global

inequality means that transnational migration tends to be from less developed nations to the advanced industrial countries, towards OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) member nations. In order to draw some conclusions on the magnitude of contemporary transnational migration, it is useful to look at the OECD's comprehensive annual report on recent developments in migration in its member countries. According to recent OECD Annual Reports (OECD 2008, 2013, 2015), some of the salient features of today's transnational migration trends in OECD countries include the following. First, migration of both permanent and temporary immigrants from outside the OECD to OECD countries continues to rise, from an average of 790,000 persons per year between 1956 and 1976, 1.24 million per year during 1977–1990, and 2.65 million per year from 1991 to 2003. Numbers in 2014 sharply increased for the first time since 2007 and returned to its pre-crisis level at 4.3 million. Temporary migration is also increasing, but at a slower pace than permanent-type migration, sitting at over 2 million in 2014. Furthermore, asylum seeking in OECD countries reached an historical high in 2014 exceeding 800,000 for the first time since early 1990s, partially due to the deteriorating security situation in Syria and Libya. The levels continue to increase in 2015. The top destination countries are Germany, the USA, Turkey, Sweden, and Italy. On average, migration accounted for 40% of total population growth in OECD countries whose populations are still growing.

Second, migrants from Eastern Europe and Asia continue to dominate. In 2014, the top five source countries were China (10%), Romania (5.5%), Poland (5.3%), India (4.4%), and the Philippines (2.8%). Asian citizens represent approximately one-third of migrants to OECD countries. Migration to European countries continues to be characterised by free circulation within the European Economic Area, which rose by 15% in 2011 and is now four times more common relative to migration from elsewhere (OECD 2013). Third, the migration of highly skilled workers has increased during the past 2 decades, but is becoming more selective in some countries. Many OECD countries have adopted point-based systems for the selection of high-skilled candidates, assigning scores in the areas on their education, skills, and resources. While the general trend continues, some countries (e.g. Australia, Canada, the Netherlands) have introduced more specific targeting measures to address their labour market needs more closely. Fourth, depending on the destination country and the period of time considered, 20–50% of immigrants leave the host country within 5 years of their arrival, either to return home or to move to a third country (OECD 2008). Migrants move again for four major reasons, including failure to integrate in the host country, individuals' desire to return to their home countries, achievement of a savings objective, or the opening of employment opportunities in their home countries (OECD 2008). The 2013 report indicates that flows out of southern European countries most affected by the economic crisis (e.g. Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain) have accelerated by 45% from 2009 to 2011 (OECD 2013). Many countries continue to seek ways of encouraging skilled members of these diaspora to return.

As a result of transnational migration, the foreign-born population of OECD countries as a whole reached 13% of the total population in 2013, representing an increase by 40% more than in 2000. Australia leads this group with 28% of its citizens being foreign born, followed by Canada at 20.6%, the United States at 13.1%, Germany at 12.9%, and the United Kingdom at 12.3% (OECD 2015). It is predicted that the populations of other OECD member states will increasingly resemble these countries in the coming years with respect to both prevalence and diversity.

Castles et al. (2014) identify six trends in contemporary migration. The first is the ‘globalisation of migration’—increasing numbers of countries are affected by migratory movements with entrants from a broad spectrum of economic, social and cultural backgrounds. The ‘changing direction of dominant migration flows’ show that Europeans represent a declining share of immigrants in classical immigration countries (e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the USA), along with an increase of ‘South–North’ migration. The third trend, the ‘differentiation of migration’, indicates that more countries have diversified their intake of immigrants to include a whole range of types. Next, the ‘proliferation of migration transition’ occurs when traditional lands of emigration become lands of transit for both emigration and immigration. The ‘feminisation of migration’, the fifth trend identified by Castles et al., demonstrates that particularly since the 1960s, women play a significant role in all regions and in most types of migration. The last of these trends is the growing ‘politicisation of migration’ suggesting that domestic politics, bilateral and regional relationships, and national security policies of states are increasingly affected by transnational migration. Taken together, these trends provide rich contexts for understanding the challenges and opportunities of lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration.

RESEARCH ON IMMIGRANT ADAPTATION

With respect to immigrants’ adaptation, one prominent issue facing many OECD countries pertains to the fact that immigrants continue to be over-represented among the unemployed. In particular, the economic recession has had a restrictive effect on migration, and subsequently many countries have become more restrictive towards foreign recruitment. Where it hit the hardest is immigrants’ employment situation. On average, immigrants have been more affected by the economic crisis than the native-born with an immigrant unemployment rate of 12.9% in 2012 compared to 8.7% for the native-born (OECD 2013). Immigrant youth and the low-skilled workers have been especially affected by the crisis. In particular, migrants from North Africa in Europe faced a record high unemployment of 27% in 2012. In the United States, Mexicans have the lowest employment rates among the foreign-born population. The 2013 OECD report also reveals that in order to get invited to a job interview, recent immigrants have to send more than twice as many job applications as persons without a migration background who have otherwise

equivalent resumes. Discrimination is manifested in the hiring process and subsequent career advancement.

Taking Germany as an example, the second largest immigrant-receiving country in the world after the United States, the unemployment rate for immigrants reached 22.5% in 2004, twice the national average. For immigrant youth under the age of 35, figures are alarmingly high, with 41% chronically unemployed (Drever and Hoffmeister 2008). In a study that looked at the structural integration of second-generation Turkish migrants in six European countries (Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, and Sweden), Crul and Vermeulen (2003) conducted a cross-national comparison of the immigrant experience in terms of educational attainment and transition from school to work. The study shows that the Turkish population of Europe is about 4 million, 60% of whom reside in Germany. It also reveals that labour migration formed the vast majority of the Turkish entrants to Europe and peaked during the early 1970s. By the 1990s, the children of the earlier generation had reached the age of labour market entry. The study found that, across all six nations, second-generation Turkish young people experience tremendous challenges in their integration processes. High school dropouts and high unemployment rates are of particular note. In France, for example, almost half left high school without a diploma (Simon 2003). In Germany and Sweden, unemployment rates for second-generation Turks were twice as high as the national average (Westin 2003; Worbs 2003). In Austria and Germany, the apprenticeship system was useful to securing labour market positions. Still, many of these were unskilled or semiskilled jobs (Herzog-Punzenberger 2003; Worbs 2003). What seems clear is that the lives of this second generation of Turkish immigrants represent a reproduction of the experience and prospects of the first generation (Simon 2003). Second-class citizenship and limited social mobility may be their lot in life. Simon warns of the serious risk of forming a Turkish underclass. The cross-nation comparisons identified racial discrimination as a common contributing factor to the marginalisation of second-generation Turks in Europe. As Westin (2003) explains, migrants from Turkey are a stigmatised group who are 'consistently conceived as ethnically distant, as the Other' (p. 993). 'In everyday xenophobic discourse', he continues, 'the label "Turk" is used to denote most non-European and Southern European migrants' (p. 993).

One challenge closely associated with immigrants' unemployment and underemployment relates to the devaluation and denigration of their prior learning and work experience. The notion of credential recognition is closely linked to the lifelong learning tradition of Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition, which involves the recognition of formal, non-formal and informal learning acquired through various means. In Australia, a policy 'regime of skills' has aligned migration closely to economic and continuing education policies to solve skills shortages by targeting the recruitment of skilled migrants from countries with developed tertiary education systems (Webb 2015). Skilled migrants, particularly those from culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds, face an ironic situation in which those whose skills are most needed

encounter special difficulties in gaining access to these professions (Wagner and Childs 2006; Webb 2015). As Wagner and Childs observe, immigrant optometrists become taxi drivers; social workers become hospital cleaners; teachers become clerical assistants; and environmental engineers stack supermarket shelves. Unfortunately, this experience is not unique to Australia. Italy's 'brain gain' has become 'brain waste' (Brandi 2001). Brandi reports that more than 40% of Rome's skilled migrants, particularly these from Africa, Asia, and Latin America, work in low-skill jobs. Another country which has been successful in attracting well-educated migrants is Canada. Despite the fact that skilled immigrants bring significant human capital resources to Canada, a number of studies demonstrate that highly educated immigrant professionals experience deskilling and devaluation of their prior learning and work experience after immigrating to Canada (Guo and DeVoretz 2006; Li 2008; Guo 2009, 2013a, b, 2015; Shan 2009a, b; Slade 2012; Maitra 2015). Some immigrants experience major shifts from prior occupations in sciences, engineering, business, and management to relatively low-skilled positions in sales, services, and manufacturing. Deskilling affects skilled immigrant workers, and prevents them from reaping the full benefit of their skills. Even when knowledge and skills are legitimised as valid, the skills and work experiences of internationally trained professionals are often treated with suspicion, or considered inferior. Often it is the 'colour' of the skill associated with immigrants' skin colour rather than the skill itself which causes the deskilling and devaluation and as such (Guo 2015).

In a Vancouver-based study of immigrants from China, Guo and DeVoretz (2006) found that many recent immigrants (72.5%) came to Canada with post-secondary education, including masters' and doctoral degrees. A large number of them could not find jobs commensurate with their qualifications and experience because their Chinese credentials and work experiences were not recognised. Their lack of access to professional occupations resulted in downward social mobility to the extent that some lived in poverty. Bauder (2003) reports similar challenges experienced by highly skilled South Asians in Vancouver, who came with high human capital, but were often excluded from the upper segments of the labour market owing to non-recognition of their foreign credentials. Bauder concluded that professional associations purposefully used the practice of credential devaluation to actively exclude immigrant labour from the most highly desired occupations in order to reserve these occupations for Canadian-born and Canadian-educated workers. In addition to the abovementioned Vancouver-based studies, a number of scholars consistently report similar findings about the deskilling experiences of immigrant professionals elsewhere in Canada (Wong and Wong 2006; Maitra 2015). For Chinese scientists and engineers in Calgary, when their incomes are examined, there is a much lower return to their education and the experience when compared to Whites, pointing to their under-representation in higher paying management positions (Wong and Wong 2006). Like many immigrants of colour, Indian immigrant IT workers in Toronto also faced multifaceted barriers in the Canadian labour market (Maitra 2015). Despite being highly educated

with experience in the IT sector, it had become an exhausting and alienating experience for many of them after applying for jobs for months and years and getting rejected. Many had to resort to transnational networks with staffing agencies, also known as body shops, to find employment in their own areas of expertise. To Maitra, the demands for Canadian experience or credentials have become coded euphemisms for hiding the more overt references for race or gender.

The situation of immigrant women is worse still. A number of studies demonstrate that immigrant women face multiple barriers in adapting to the host society, particularly in accessing the labour market, owing to disadvantages inscribed by gender, class, and race (Mojab 1999; Ng 1999; McCoy and Masuch 2007; Maitra and Shan 2007; Shan 2009a, b; Gibb and Hamdon 2010). Feminist scholars argue that, in the labour force, the category of 'immigrant women' serves to commodify these women to employers (Mojab 1999; Ng 1999). Advanced capitalism simultaneously creates and destroys jobs, and requires both the skilling and deskilling of the labour force. Immigrant women's already weak class positions are reinforced when they are forced into occupations that provide cheap, docile labour to the state under exploitive conditions, often permeated with racism and sexism. Highly skilled professional immigrant women learn to reorient and reshape their skills, experiences, and aspirations in order to secure employment (Maitra and Shan 2007). Shan (2009a) found that the women resort to re-training and re-education as a means to improve their employment prospects. She uses the credential and certificate regime to explain the social process and practices that attribute differential values to credentials and certificates produced in different places. Other strategies may be both conformative and transgressive. Some women resort to strategic tolerance, mobilise their prior knowledge and expertise, and become agents of change (Shan 2009b). Shan further argues that the legitimate space presupposed in situated learning was an entitlement that the women had to earn in Canada. Crucially, adult educators took up these issues and examined how gender, class, and race interacted to shape the experience of immigrant women, particularly women of colour.

Guo (2013a) uses *the triple glass effect* to illustrate the multiple layers of barriers facing immigrant professionals as a result of deskilling of their prior credentials and work experiences, including *a glass gate, glass door, and glass ceiling*. The concept of *the triple glass effect* was developed out of a study of the integration experience of recent Chinese immigrants in Canada with a goal determining the extent to which glass ceiling and related effects may apply to this group in the process of adaptation. Guo (2013a) maintains that immigrant professionals potentially face three layers of glass in their integration process. The first layer, *the glass gate*, denies immigrants' entrance into guarded professional communities. Among the number of players and institutions that may be blamed for the devaluation of immigrants' foreign credentials and prior work experiences

are professional associations and prior learning assessment agencies, which often function as gatekeepers by restricting immigrants' access to high-paying professional jobs. Immigrants' skills and experiences are often deemed deficient and devalued simply because they are different. At the same time, successful licensure does not automatically guarantee a professional job, and immigrant professionals need a professional company to house them. According to Guo, in their attempts to secure a professional job, many immigrants hit the second layer of glass—the *glass door*, which blocks immigrants' access to professional employment at high-wage firms. At this level, employers are the key players. Employers may refuse to offer immigrants professional jobs because they do not have Canadian work experience, or their prior work experience is devalued because it is seen as inferior to the Canadian experience. Alternatively, immigrants may not secure a professional job because of their skin colour or their 'non-standard' English accents. Having a foreign-sounding name (Chinese, Indian, or Pakistani) could mean 40% fewer interviews (Oreopoulos 2009, 2011). The third glass is *the glass ceiling* that prevents immigrants from moving into management positions, often because of their ethnic and cultural differences. Worse still, some immigrants may work on the same job but be paid less than their white colleagues, creating racialised disparities in earnings. Guo concludes that *the glass gate, glass door, and glass ceiling* may converge to produce *a triple glass effect* that creates multiple structural barriers. These barriers contribute to unemployment and underemployment, poor economic performance, and downward social mobility.

It is important to note that not all foreign credentials and prior work experiences are devalued. Drawing on critical race theory, Guo (2015) analyses a body of literature pertaining to labour market transitions of skilled immigrants in Canada and found that knowledge and skill of recent immigrants in Canada has been racialised and materialised on the basis of ethnic and national origins. While knowledge and skills held by majority member immigrants (e.g. British, North, and West European) bring a net earnings advantage, only those credentials and skills held by visible minorities (e.g. Black, Chinese, South Asian) suffer an earnings penalty. They encounter a persistent colour bar that blocks them from high-paying professional jobs commensurate with their experiences and skills. Guo (2015) argues that racialisation remains central to the operation of a hierarchical skills regime with skin colour rather than qualifications as its basis for discrimination. He also maintains that it is the 'colour' of the skill associated with immigrants' skin colour rather than the skill itself which causes the deskilling and devaluation. Racialised immigrants' foreign credentials, job skills, and work experience are devalued and denigrated based on the skin colour to whom they are attached. Patterns of a racialised regime of skill are also embedded in discriminatory hiring practices and subsequent opportunities for career advancement. The soberness of the issue requires us to consider a paradigm shift in recognising and accepting differences as valid and valuable expressions of the human experience, which forms the focus of the following discussion.

TOWARDS RECOGNITIVE JUSTICE IN LIFELONG LEARNING

In delineating lifelong learning, Jarvis (2006) argues that humanity remains an unfinished project that requires all human beings to unceasingly continue learning throughout their lives. On this view, learning is intrinsic to living; being and becoming lie at the heart of our thinking about learning; learning is the driving force of social change. For immigrants, the move to a new country means that they need assistance with language, employment, housing, education, health, counselling, legal and social services. They experience tremendous changes and disjunctural situations that provide an impetus to substantial learning. In this context, learning for immigrants becomes part of the being, living, and becoming of which Jarvis speaks.

Despite the claim that lifelong learning is, like ideas about democracy or equality, a normative and value-laden concept, there is growing unease around the concept. The current criticism focuses on how lifelong learning has been co-opted by the market state to serve its interests. As a handmaiden of the market and a universal toolkit adaptable to all circumstances and problems (Griffin 1999; Crowther 2004), lifelong learning has become a guiding principle for policy initiatives ranging from national economic competitiveness to social cohesion and personal fulfilment (Livingstone 2002). Today, responsibility for learning has been shifted solely to the individual, thus undermining a more general sense of welfare and deflecting attention from the impoverishment of the democratic public sphere. People have been repositioned as objects of policy to be worked upon in order to ensure their compliance with the brave new world of flexible capitalism (Crowther 2004). As Jarvis (2008) notes, lifelong learning has come to be associated with learning throughout the *work* life. Accordingly, the learning society has come to emphasise a narrow conception of scientific rationality and *work-life learning* to the exclusion of both a comprehensive understanding of lifelong learning and a focus on the breadth of human experience and knowledge. As a consequence, Jarvis continues, democratic processes are being stifled and active citizenship shunted to the margins. Feminist scholars, Gouthro (2007) for one, argue that current discourses in lifelong learning are frequently delineated by masculine, competitive values that are reflective of a shift in emphasis from cooperation and shared development to concerns around the impact of the global marketplace. It is argued that lifelong learning has lost its radical, educative dimension and has become profoundly conformist (Rogers 2006). The dominant discourse of lifelong learning is now concerned with technologies of power and new mechanisms of self-surveillance deployed to forge a compliant and adaptable workforce suited to the era of flexible capitalism (Crowther 2004; Edwards 2008; Nicoll and Fejes 2008).

In the age of transnational migration, profound demographic, social, and cultural changes are creating new opportunities for development as well as new challenges for lifelong learning. With regard to its role in facilitating immigrants' adaptation in the new host society, unfortunately lifelong learning has failed to respond positively to integrating cultural difference and diversity into

educational environment (Guo 2009, 2010a, b). On the contrary, it is implicated in the denial of opportunities for immigrants to learn by failing to improve their access to the labour market. By treating difference as deficit and deficiency, lifelong learning denigrates and devalues immigrant's prior learning and work experience. The racialised experience of immigrants, particularly those from developing countries, demonstrates the changing nature of work and learning in the context of transnational migration (Guo 2013a, b, 2015). It also shows how racial and socio-cultural differences have been used to entrench social inequality in immigrants' transitions. As a result, many immigrants suffer from poor economic performance and downward social mobility. Rather than facilitating immigrant's adaptation, lifelong learning has become a serious barrier and a gatekeeper, and by extension a means of social control and subordination. Through processes of deskilling and reskilling, lifelong learning has become a vehicle to colonising immigrants into the dominant norms and values of the host society (Guo 2010a, b). If an inclusive and socially just lifelong education is to be built, the radical roots of lifelong learning for democratic citizenship need to be reclaimed. Therefore, Guo (2010a) proposes the framework of *transnational lifelong learning for recognitive justice and inclusive citizenship* (*transnational lifelong learning* for short). Before proceeding to elaborate on this new framework, it is necessary to revisit the concept of social justice.

In the past decade or so, social justice has become a buzz word for critical lifelong educators. However, many people use the term without fully understanding its meaning and implications. Social justice can be classified into three categories: *distributive*, *retributive* and *recognitive* (Gale and Densmore 2000). *Distributive justice* is best known to us through the liberal-democratic principles of individual freedom and the equal distribution of material and social goods. On this view, social justice is about who gets how much of the social good. For Rawls (1971), fairness is justice, which advocates a culturally neutral state, where citizens deal fairly with each other and the state deals equally with all, regardless of how we conceive our ends. Rawls' 'justice as fairness' was criticised as 'unrealistic', 'unacceptably thin', and 'unfair' because governments cannot be culturally neutral; indeed, all states are culturally biased (Taylor 1994; Tamir 1995; Bloemraad 2000). As Bloemraad notes, one fatal flaw in Rawls' theory is that he predicated his whole discussion on a closed society where members neither leave nor enter. It is clear that there is no explicit place for immigration in his theory. One manifestation of distributive social justice in lifelong learning is the 'sameness' approach which assumes that lifelong learners are all the *same* with the *same* learning needs, and therefore, treating them as the *same* will erase issues of inequity and injustice. This approach seemingly values all individuals equally. In fact, it negates the histories, backgrounds, and experiences of diverse cultural groups, and, thus, represents an assimilationist ideal. Such an ideal means that cultural differences are viewed as deficits and deficiencies; immigrants' knowledge is deemed inferior and hence devalued (Guo 2009). The deficit model leads to solutions such as the implementation of remedial lifelong learning programmes to bring immigrant individuals into line with dominant

norms. This approach ignores differences in capacities, cultures, and values, an illusion that sustains the status of privileged groups and perpetuates oppression and inequality (Young 1995).

Retributive justice favours market-individualism and is based on the claim that individuals deserve and are entitled to differential rewards in accordance with their differential contributions to productive and competitive processes (Gale and Densmore 2000). In educational contexts, desert and entitlement are measured by students' academic merit and is thus ranked and rewarded according to their academic performances. A fatal flaw of this approach lies in the logic of markets which dictates the competition process and perpetuates economic subordination. *Retributive justice* is evident in both transnational migration and lifelong learning. In migrant selection, for example, many countries adopted a market-driven approach, putting in place a set of criteria for admission and exclusion that gives priority to property rights (of those with assets and skills) over moral claims (of those with vulnerabilities and needs) (Jordan and Düvell 2003). As Jordan and Düvell note, these criteria consolidating the hierarchical structure of global economies by reinforcing divergences between the opportunities and lifestyles of a nomadic global elite and those of migrants from developing countries who are seen as natural subordinates. As a handmaiden of the market, lifelong learning has been co-opted by the market state to serve its interests in preparing a more educated and flexible workforce to enhance global competitiveness (Crowther 2004). It privileges practical and scientific knowledge at the expense of theoretical and indigenous knowledge (Jarvis 2007). In this context, learning has become vocational and an extension of work. Furthermore, responsibility for learning has been shifted solely to individuals, undermining common welfare and displacing blame for systemic failure onto individuals. The fairness dreamed of under this meritocracy, however, is never delivered because *retributive justice* privileges those from advantaged social and economic status who also represent dominant cultural norms.

Recognitive or recognitional justice represents a promising alternative to distributive and retributive approaches. It provides an expanded understanding of justice that insists that we must rethink not only what we mean by social justice, but also to acknowledge the place of social and cultural groups within this (Gale and Densmore 2000). It is a radical response to the restrictive conceptions of justice grounded in a narrow focus on material and economic goods. *Recognitive justice* seeks to increase the potency of social justice by extending its scope to include social goods (e.g. opportunity, position, and power) as well as institutional inequities. With its intent to recognise differences and areas of commonality among social and cultural groups, *recognitive justice* advocates three necessary conditions for social justice: the fostering of respect for different social groups through their self-identification; opportunities for self-development and self-expression; and the participation of groups in decision-making through group representation (Gale and Densmore 2000). Since a society without group differences is neither possible nor desirable, recognising the validity of social and cultural groups is essential for their identity, sense of worth, and self-esteem

(Taylor 1994; Fraser 2000; Honneth 2008). Notions of equality and liberation that entail ignoring difference merely perpetuate cultural imperialism and disadvantage groups whose experience, culture, and socialised capacities differ from those of privileged groups (Young 1995, 2008).

CONCLUSION

This chapter examines opportunities, challenges, and tensions pertaining to lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration. It discusses the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora which provide theoretical underpinning for transnational migration. It has made an attempt to map the complexities of transnational migration in a global context, followed by an examination of the experience of immigrants' adaptation in their host society. The analysis shows that lifelong learning has failed to respond positively to the demographic and cultural diversity resulting from transnational migration, and that it has failed to integrate cultural difference and diversity into adult education to create an inclusive educational environment. Rather than facilitating immigrants' settlement and adaptation in a new society, lifelong learning has become a serious barrier and a vehicle for assimilating immigrants into the dominant norms and values of the host society. In light of this, it is time to discuss *transnational lifelong learning for recognitive justice and inclusive citizenship* as an alternative for understanding lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration.

It is the notion of recognitive justice that informs *transnational lifelong learning for recognitive justice and pluralist citizenship* put forward by Guo (2010a). Guo believes that lifelong learning reconceptualised in this way offers the broadened perspective on migration that recognises its transnational flows and concomitant diasporic allegiances and affiliations characterised by transnationalism. It seeks to balance freedom of mobility with protection, recognition and membership. In agreement with Jordan and Düvell (2003), *transnational lifelong learning* holds that individuals should not only be free to choose where to live and work, but that they should be able to do so as bearers of substantial rights to those benefits and services that they need in order to participate as equal and autonomous members in whatever society(ies) they choose to join. Also, following Young (2008), this framework emphasises that granting equal rights to disempowered migrants is insufficient to ensure equal status because the ideal of a culturally neutral state cannot be achieved. Instead, it advocates minority group rights such as language assistance and other subsidies to help migrants overcome obstacles to integrating into the host society. Furthermore, it questions the claim that a universality of citizenship transcends particularity and difference. Consistent with 'differentiated citizenship' (Young 1995) and 'multicultural citizenship' (Kymlicka 2008), this framework proposes 'pluralist citizenship' as an alternative form of citizenship that recognises migrants multiple attachments to specific traditions, values, languages, and other cultural practices and that, furthermore, fosters plural ways of belonging. *Transnational lifelong learning* rejects the deficit model of lifelong learning that seeks to

assimilate migrants to the dominant social, cultural and educational norms of the host society. Alternatively, it proposes to build an inclusive education that acknowledges and affirms cultural difference and diversity as positive and desirable assets. These assets are seen as a means of ensuring the participation of individuals from socially and culturally differentiated groups in social, political, and educational institutions. It challenges Eurocentric perspectives, standards, and values and accepts presently marginalised knowledges as valid and valuable expressions of the human experience.

This discussion is especially important for adult educators as we examine the changing nature of lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration. It provides important conceptual and analytical guidance in understanding how lifelong learning can best facilitate migrants' adaptation in a new society and create a socially just and inclusive learning experience. Furthermore, it generates an important research agenda for future studies to focus on opportunities, challenges, and tensions pertaining to lifelong learning in the age of transnational migration. As many countries are becoming ethno-culturally diverse as a result of transnational migration, it is our moral and social responsibility for adult and lifelong educators to be more inclusive in order to embrace people from different ethnic and cultural background.

REFERENCES

- Anthias, F. (1998). Evaluating 'diaspora': Beyond ethnicity? *Sociology*, 32(3), 557–580.
- Anthias, F. (2001). New hybridities, old concepts: The limits of 'culture'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4), 619–641.
- Bauder, H. (2003). "Brain abuse", Or the devaluation of immigrant labour in Canada. *Antipode*, 35(4), 699–717.
- Bloemraad, I. (2000). Citizenship and immigration: A current review. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 1(1), 9–37.
- Brandi, M. C. (2001). Skilled immigrants in Rome. *International Migration*, 39(4), 101–116.
- Butler, K. D. (2001). Defining diaspora, refining a discourse. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 10(2), 189–219.
- Castles, S., de Haas, H., & Miller, M. J. (2014). *The age of migration: International population movements in the modern world*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2015). *Inviting in-demand, skilled immigrants to Canada*. Retrieved from <http://news.gc.ca/web/article-en.do?nid=927709>.
- Cohen, R. (2008). *Global diaspora: An introduction* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Crowther, J. (2004). 'In and against' *lifelong learning*: Flexibility and the corrosion of character. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 24(2), 125–136.
- Crul, M., & Vermeulen, H. (2003). The second generation in Europe. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 965–986.
- Drever, A., & Hoffmeister, O. (2008). Immigrants and social networks in a job-scarce environment: The case of Germany. *International Migration Review*, 42(2), 425–448.
- Edwards, R. (2008). Actively seeking subjects. In A. Fejes & K. Nicoll (Eds.), *Foucault and lifelong learning: Governing the subject*. London: Routledge.

- Faist, T. (2010). Towards transnational studies: World theories, transnationalisation and changing institutions. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), 1665–1687.
- Fraser, N. (2000). Rethinking recognition. *New Left Review*, 3, 107–120.
- Gale, T., & Densmore, K. (2000). *Just schooling: Explorations in the cultural politics of teaching*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Gibb, T., & Hamdon, E. (2010). Moving across borders: Immigrant women's encounters with globalization, the knowledge economy and lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(2), 185–200.
- Glick Schiller, N., Basch, L., & Szanton Blanc, C. (1995). From immigrant to transmigrant: Theorizing transnational migration. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 68(1), 48–63.
- Griffin, C. (1999). Lifelong learning and welfare reform. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 18(6), 431–452.
- Gouthro, P. (2007). Active and inclusive citizenship for women: Democratic considerations for fostering lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(2), 143–154.
- Guo, S. (2009). Difference, deficiency, and devaluation: Tracing the roots of non/recognition of foreign credentials for immigrant professionals in Canada. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 22(1), 37–52.
- Guo, S. (2010a). Toward cognitive justice: Emerging trends and challenges in transnational migration and lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(2), 149–167.
- Guo, S. (2010b). Migration and communities: Challenges and opportunities for lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(4), 437–447.
- Guo, S. (2013a). Economic integration of recent Chinese immigrants in Canada's second-tier cities: The triple glass effect and immigrants' downward social mobility. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 45(3), 95–115.
- Guo, S. (2013b). The changing face of work and learning in the context of immigration: The Canadian experience. *Journal of Education and Work*, 26(2), 162–186.
- Guo, S. (2015). The colour of skill: Contesting a racialised regime of skill from the experience of recent immigrants in Canada. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 37(3), 236–250.
- Guo, S. (2016). From international migration to transnational diaspora: Theorizing 'double diaspora' from the experience of Chinese Canadians in Beijing. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 17(1), 153–171. doi:[10.1007/s12134-014-0383-z](https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-014-0383-z).
- Guo, S., & DeVoretz, D. (2006). Chinese immigrants in Vancouver: Quo vadis? *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 7(4), 425–447.
- Herzog-Punzenberger, B. (2003). Ethnic segmentation in school and labor market – 40 year legacy of Austrian guestworker policy. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 1120–1144.
- Honneth, A. (2008). Personal identity and disrespect. In S. Seidman & J. Alexander (Eds.), *The new social theory reader*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2006). *Towards a comprehensive theory of human learning*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2007). *Globalisation, lifelong learning and the learning society*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2008). *Democracy, lifelong learning and the learning society*. London: Routledge.

- Jordan, B., & Düvell, F. (2003). *Migration: The boundaries of equality and justice*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Kivisto, P. (2001). Theorizing transnational immigration: A critical review of current efforts. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4), 549–577.
- Kymlicka, W. (2008). Multicultural citizenship. In S. Seidman & J. Alexander (Eds.), *The new social theory reader*. London: Routledge.
- Li, P. S. (2008). Immigration from China to Canada in the age of globalization: Issues of brain gain and brain loss. *Pacific Affairs*, 81(2), 217–239.
- Lie, J. (1995). From international migration to transnational diaspora. *Contemporary Sociology*, 24(4), 303–306.
- Livingstone, D.W. (2002). *The changing nature of work and lifelong learning in the new economy: National and case study perspectives*. WALL Working Paper No. 1. Toronto: WALL.
- Ma Mung, E. (1998). Groundlessness and utopia: The Chinese diaspora and territory. In E. Sinn (Ed.), *The last half century of overseas Chinese*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press.
- Ma Mung, E. (2004). Dispersal as a resource. *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*, 13(2/3), 211–225.
- Maitra, S. (2015). The making of the ‘precarious’: Examining Indian immigrant IT workers in Canada and their transnational networks with body shops in India. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 13(2), 194–209.
- Maitra, S., & Shan, H. (2007). Transgressive vs conformative: Immigrant women learning at contingent work. *Journal of Workplace Learning*, 19(5), 286–295.
- McCoy, L., & Masuch, C. (2007). Beyond ‘entry-level’ jobs: Immigrant women and non-regulated professional occupations. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 8(2), 185–206.
- Mojab, S. (1999). De-skilling immigrant women. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 19(3), 123–128.
- Ng, R. (1999). Homeworking: Dream realized or freedom constrained? The globalized reality of immigrant garment workers. *Canadian Woman Studies*, 19(3), 110–114.
- Nicoll, K., & Fejes, A. (2008). Mobilizing Foucault in studies of lifelong learning. In A. Fejes & K. Nicoll (Eds.), *Foucault and lifelong learning: Governing the subject*. Routledge: London.
- OECD. (2008). *International migration outlook*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.
- OECD. (2013). *International migration outlook*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.
- OECD. (2015). *International migration outlook*. Paris: Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development.
- Oreopoulos, P. (2009). *Why do skilled immigrants struggle in the labor market? A field experiment with six thousand resumes* (NBER Working Paper No. 15036). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.
- Oreopoulos, P. (2011). Why do skilled immigrants struggle in the labor market? A field experiment with thirteen thousand resumes. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy*, 3(4), 148–171.
- Portes, A. (1999). Conclusion: Towards a new world – The origin and effects of transnational activities. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 463–477.

- Portes, A. (2003). Conclusion: Theoretical convergencies and empirical evidence in the study of immigrant transnationalism. *International Migration Review*, 37(3), 874–892.
- Portes, A., Guarnizo, L. E., & Landolt, P. (1999). The study of transnationalism: Pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 217–237.
- Rawls, J. (1971). *A theory of justice*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Rogers, A. (2006). Escaping the slums or changing the slums? Lifelong learning and social transformation. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 25(2), 125–137.
- Satzewick, V., & Lioudakis, N. (2007). *Race and ethnicity in Canada: A critical introduction*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Shan, H. (2009a). Shaping the re-training and re-education experiences of immigrant women: The credential and certificate regime in Canada. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 28(3), 353–369.
- Shan, H. (2009b). Practices on the periphery: Highly educated Chinese immigrant women negotiating occupational settlement in Canada. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 21(2), 1–18.
- Simon, P. (2003). France and the unknown second generation: Preliminary results on social mobility. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 1091–1119.
- Slade, B. (2012). ‘From high skill to high school’: Illustrating the process of deskilling immigrants through reader’s theatre and institutional ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 18(5), 401–413.
- Tamir, Y. (1995). Two concepts of multiculturalism. In Y. Tamir (Ed.), *Democratic education in a multicultural state*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Taylor, C. (1994). The politics of recognition. In A. Gutmann (Ed.), *Multiculturalism: Examining the politics of recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wagner, R., & Childs, M. (2006). Exclusionary narratives as barriers to the recognition of qualifications, skills and experience – A case of skilled migrants in Australia. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 28(1), 49–62.
- Webb, S. (2015). ‘It’s who you know not what’: Migrants’ encounters with regimes of skills as misrecognition. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 37(3), 267–285. doi:[10.1080/0158037X.2015.1007938](https://doi.org/10.1080/0158037X.2015.1007938).
- Westin, C. (2003). Young people of migrant origin in Sweden. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 987–1010.
- Wong, L. L., & Wong, C. (2006). Chinese engineers in Canada: A ‘model minority’? And experiences and perceptions of the glass ceiling. *Journal of Women and Minorities in Science and Engineering*, 12(4), 253–273.
- Worbs, S. (2003). The second generation in Germany: Between school and labor market. *International Migration Review*, 37(4), 1011–1038.
- Young, I. M. (1995). Polity and group difference: A critique of the ideal of universal citizenship. In R. Beiner (Ed.), *Theorizing citizenship*. Albany: State University of New York.
- Young, I. M. (2008). Justice and the politics of difference. In S. Seidman & J. Alexander (Eds.), *The new social theory reader*. London: Routledge.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Shibao Guo is Professor in the Werklund School of Education, University of Calgary, Canada. He specialises in citizenship and immigration, race and ethnic relations, adult and lifelong education, and comparative and international education. Currently, he serves as President of Canadian Ethnic Studies Association and is Co-Editor of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*. His recent books include *Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada* (Sense, 2015), *Transnational Migration, Social Inclusion and Adult Education* (Jossey-Bass, 2015), and *Work, Learning and Transnational Migration* (Routledge, 2016).

Reconfiguring the Learning Space: Skilled Immigrants in Canada

Hongxia Shan

Abstract Existing learning spaces for immigrants in Canada, be they mediated through training programmes or constituted through workplaces, are often constructed based on a deficit assumption about the immigrant Other. To redress this problem, I have previously proposed distributed pedagogy of difference (DiPeD) (Shan, *Canadian Journal for Studies in Adult Education* 27(3):1–16, 2015a) as a way to (re)distribute the responsibility of learning and teaching among people—including immigrants, trainers, organisational leaders and other workplace professionals—and things, particularly cultural artefacts such as texts and technologies. At the centre of DiPeD is an engagement in sociocultural and sociomaterial differences to simultaneously further social justice and advance workplace and professional practices. In this chapter, I expand on DiPeD, drawing on pedagogies of differences and some major proposals derived from the practice-based ontology of learning.

INTRODUCTION

Canada is a country of immigration built on Aboriginal lands. Its immigration policies were traditionally designed to bring in people with Anglo-Saxon and European backgrounds. Since the 1960s, given the diminishing flow of migrants from Europe, Canada has resorted to a series of point-based systems to appeal to economic immigrants (Alba and Foner 2015), or immigrants who are selected for their potential contribution to the Canadian economy given their educational and skilled backgrounds. The percentage of economic immigrants

H. Shan (✉)

Department of Educational Studies, Vancouver Campus,
Education Centre at Ponderosa Commons, 6445 University Boulevard,
Vancouver, BC V6T 1Z2, Canada
e-mail: hongxia.shan@ubc.ca

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_35

687

has since been on the rise with slight fluctuations over the years. In 2014, a total of 165,088 economic immigrants were admitted, constituting 63.4% of all immigrants to Canada (CIC 2014). The major immigrant source regions have also shifted from Europe to Asia, in particular the Republic of the Philippines, India, and the People's Republic of China. Africa and the Middle East have also substantively contributed to the growth of the immigrant flow (CIC 2014). Accompanying this demographic change, however, is a downturn in immigrants' employment outcomes. Newcomers to Canada, especially if they are from non-Western countries, are systematically under- and un-employed (Yoshida and Smith 2008; Buzdugan and Halli 2009).

To optimise their employment opportunities, immigrants engage in continuous learning. They attend various training programmes, some of which are designed specifically for immigrants (Shan 2015b), and invest in Canadian credentials and certificates (Adamuti-Trache et al. 2013; Shan 2009a). They also learn informally through work and workplaces (Mirchandani et al. 2011; Park 2011; Shan 2013). Although training and learning have become instrumental in immigrants' integration into the host labour market, there is strangely little discussion around the pedagogical practices constituting the learning spaces for immigrants. Presumably, existing curriculums, pedagogies, and training practices can be readily extended to work with immigrants. However, critical researchers and practitioners have questioned this very practice (Cervatiuc and Ricento 2012; Slade 2012). As someone researching the area of immigrant training and education, I have received inquiries from workplace trainers asking how to avoid perpetuating Western hegemony while assisting immigrants to learn and thrive in the host labour market. Thanks to such inquiries, I started imagining what I call distributed pedagogy of difference (DiDeD) as a heuristic to (re)distribute the learning and teaching responsibilities among people and things (Shan 2015a). Drawing on pedagogies of difference and the practice-based ontology of learning, DiPeD keeps in view at all times issues of social justice as well as an advancement and expansion of practices. In Shan (2015a), I proposed an overall conceptualization of DiPeD. In this chapter, I further expand DiPeD to show how it may work in practice.

Below, I first review the field of immigrant training and learning. I then briefly introduce critical pedagogies of difference and practice-based learning, two bodies of scholarship that conceptually inform my pedagogical exploration. Following that, I illustrate how distributed pedagogy may look in practice, drawing on related pedagogical proposals and existing research related to immigrants' work and learning experiences. I end the paper with a recap of DiPeD and discuss its implications and limitations.

IMMIGRANT TRAINING AND LEARNING: A REVIEW OF THE FIELD

Although I refer to immigrant training and learning as a 'field', this is a field I constructed based on available research and publications in the Canadian context. It also intersects with other overlapping fields, such as immigrant and

settlement services, and work and learning. Although many immigrants also go back to school to acquire Canadian diplomas and degrees, this review does not directly touch on the sector of higher education, because little is written on the learning needs and experiences of mid-career adult immigrants in higher education.

Immigrant Training and Services

A large literature exists on government-funded training and services for immigrants (Shan 2015b). Some researchers have problematised the role that immigrant training and services have played in the (re)production of social stratification. For instance, Ng (1988), in her study of an immigrant service organisation in Canada, finds that immigrant women are easily channelled to the feminised and low-end sectors of the labour market. Ng argues that accountability to funders, particularly the quantitative emphasis on the number of immigrants connected to jobs, largely orients the work of employment services providers and is instrumental in channelling immigrant women to low-end jobs. To further grapple with the role of immigrant training, Mojab (1998) directs attention to the political economy of Canada as a post-industrial society. Despite the rhetoric that Canada is a knowledge-based economy, Mojab argues that the processes of skilling takes place simultaneously with deskilling. Based on her examination of professional immigrant women's experiences attending training programmes, Mojab shows that the demand for low-skilled labour—coupled with sexism, racism, and a lack of recognition of the women's prior experiences—works to 'integrate' immigrant women but often at the bottom of the labour market.

The under and unemployment of newcomers has led to large annual economic losses to the Canadian economy, growing from almost 5 billion dollars in 1996 to over 11 billion dollars in 2006 (Reitz et al. 2014). In response, the Canadian government has put more emphasis on bridging immigrants to their professional fields of training. To this end, some training programmes have incorporated workplace placement—often unpaid and volunteer opportunities—to allow immigrants to gain Canadian work experiences (CIC 2013). Some of these programmes are moderately successful in moving immigrants out of low-end sectors (McCoy and Masuch 2007), while other programmes are highly acclaimed for facilitating immigrants' entrance to their fields of training (Erel 2010; Friesen 2011). All the while, significant attention has been directed to how these programmes enable immigrants to meet the minimum (cultural) standards of the host society. Successful immigrant training programmes are commended for being instrumental in equipping immigrants with multiple forms of cultural capital and habitus valued in the host society (Erel 2010; Friesen 2011).

Although equipping immigrants with the 'right' capital may enhance their employment opportunities, it may also reinforce them as the deficit Other (Guo 2009). This deficit approach is clearly manifested in how some programmes are

conducted. For instance, in her examination of a bridging programme offered through a school board, Slade (2012) finds high school curriculum designed for adolescents with limited work experience was used to train skilled immigrants. This, she argues, greatly diminishes the skills and knowledge of immigrants rather than enhancing their professional job prospects. If Slade's study suggests cultural condescension within curriculum design, Cervatiuc and Ricento's study (2012) suggests possible cultural imperialism in the pedagogical practices of some language instructors. Through classroom observations and interviews, Cervatiuc and Ricento find that trainers may conveniently take a prescriptive approach to teaching Canadian culture to newcomers. Most of the trainers in their study focused on functional and practical issues and avoided controversial topics, such as women's rights. Only one trainer was found to be engaging in consciousness raising by bringing up issues of discrimination in Canadian society. It can be said that, in their efforts to equip immigrants with the skills and knowledge needed to operate in the Canadian labour market, related training programmes may further entrench the supreme position of Canadian social, cultural, and professional practices. As a result, they may have worked to constitute 'hierarchies of consciousness about human capacity' that uphold whiteness as the normative ideal (Shore 2000, p. 44).

Work and Learning

Immigrant training and service programs are not the only site of learning for immigrants. Immigrants necessarily engage in learning through other social sites. Workplace, for instance, is a major one, although its pedagogical dimension for immigrants is yet to be fully explored. Noticeably, Park's (2011) analysis of the Access and Support to Education and Training Survey (2008) shows that although immigrants are more likely to report unmet training needs, they are less likely to receive employer-sponsored training. A few studies address specifically how workplaces may have constituted learning spaces for immigrants. For instance, Slade et al. (2013) examine the learning experiences of immigrants volunteering in Canadian workplaces. Their study shows that while immigrants learn various kinds of knowledge through these volunteer opportunities, their previous experiences and prior skills and knowledge are often considered irrelevant within the new context. Mirchandani et al. (2010) explores the work and learning experiences of female migrants in the garment industry, retail stores, and call centres, all contingent sectors with unsteady income. The study suggests that workplace training in these sectors is often provided to curtail the women's autonomy, discretion, and control over work rather than expanding their capacities. Another study (Shan 2013, 2015c) focuses on the work-related learning of Chinese immigrant engineers. It finds that migrants often learn to change their ways of communication, patterns of socialisation, and approach to problem solving in order to fit into what is perceived to be an alienating, individualistic, and macho workplace culture.

The above studies should not be taken to mean that learning and training in all contexts is merely a mechanism of reproduction. In Fenwick's (2007) study of educators in the garment sector, she finds that although the workplace educators in the study are philosophically aligned with critical pedagogical agendas such as transformation and collective action, they are often faced with competing demands at work. As a result, they have to constantly negotiate power and politics as they try to mobilise hope and agency among the women garment workers.

PEDAGOGY OF DIFFERENCES AND PRACTICE-BASED ONTOLOGY

To explore how pedagogically we may turn differences into opportunities of learning for all, I look to pedagogies of difference and practice-based learning perspectives for insights. Pedagogies of difference comprise a heterogeneous body of scholarship that is variously informed by critical, feminist, antiracist and postcolonial, and queer theories (Trifonas 2003)—given the space of the paper, I will not discuss these theories per se. Among them, some consider economic distribution as the root cause of inequality. In this regard, critiques have been directed towards global capitalism as it produces vast economic difference alongside moral indifferences (McLaren 1997; McLaren and Gutierrez 1997). Others strive for cultural recognition across differences, which constitutes an altruistic effort to legitimise other knowledges and ways of knowing in order to develop more egalitarian teaching environments and a more equitable society at large (Banks 1997; Gay 2000). Taken together, these pedagogical works focus on how teachers and other cultural workers might approach social differences—particularly those along the lines of gender, race, class, and sexuality—in ways that promote social inclusion and social justice (Trifonas 2003). Although, given their different theoretical orientations, they prioritise certain differences over others, they largely converge in three major proposals. The first is to effect perspective changes in relation to the other, which may require radical determination on the part of teachers, educators, and other cultural workers (Freire 1984; Banks 1997). The second is to build participatory capacity on the part of the learners (Gale and Densmore 2000, 2003). The third and perhaps the most salient is that these pedagogical proposals all ‘move towards a reawakening of an ethical consciousness that opens the negative values of difference in an affirmative way’ (Trifonas 2003: 3).

To a great extent, pedagogies of difference constitute intentional human intervention with the goal of reconstituting existing social and power relations. They are typically considered to pose competing discourses against the instrumentalist and bureaucratic pursuit of excellence, efficiency, and accountability. This however, may not necessarily be the case all the time. In this regard, important insights can be derived from the practice-based ontology of learning, which is differentiated from traditional learning theories in that it centres on social practices rather than individual people as the unit of analysis for learning. It encompasses a range of sociocultural and sociomaterial theories which are

again different in their construction of practice. Sociocultural theories are heavily influenced by Vygotsky's cultural historical study of psychology, which is a 'psychologically relevant application of [Marxist] dialectical and historical materialism' (Vygotsky 1978: 6). Some examples of sociocultural theories include Lave and Wenger's (1991) legitimate peripheral participation, Wenger's community of practice (2012), and Engeström's activity and activity system theories (1999). All these perspectives stress the importance of learning within communities as people engage in object-oriented activities. They also centralize the mediational roles of cultural artefacts, which congeal collective knowing. While sociocultural theories centre on human activities, sociomaterial perspectives also direct attention to the roles that non-human beings play in constituting learning practices. Influenced by complexity theory, actor network theory, and studies of science and technology, sociomaterial learning perspectives are sensitive to the emergent sociomaterial organisation of work and life, which may defy predictability and stretch human imaginations at all times (Fenwick et al. 2011). What coheres these diverse theories is perhaps the common underlying assumption that learning is not merely something that happens to individuals; rather, it is an derivative effect of people's participation in sociocultural and sociomaterial practices.

If pedagogies of difference centre the knowing of the Other as the basis of teaching and learning, the practice-based ontology points to the distributed nature of knowing and learning. When practices are recognised as the site of learning, it becomes simultaneously an ethical and a pragmatic imperative for us to address sociocultural differences. In other words, recognising differences ceases to be an effort to merely affirm the other. Differences are by default the point of engagement for individuals and for the reimagination of the larger sociocultural practices in which we are embedded. Based on this understanding, I proposed DiPeD as an alternative pedagogy to counter the deficit approach underpinning ways in which migrants are often trained and engaged at work (Shan 2015a). Below, I illustrate how DiPeD may look in practice, drawing on neighbouring pedagogies of difference and insights derived from the practice-based ontology of learning as well as research on immigrants' work and learning experiences.

DISTRIBUTED PEDAGOGY OF DIFFERENCES

What I refer to as DiPeD includes the following key ideas: (1) turning differences into strength-based curriculum; (2) engaging differences to advance knowledge and practices; and (3) experimenting with sociocultural and sociomaterial power and order (Shan 2015a). The first proposal is more relevant to trainers designing immigrant training and learning programmes. The second can be useful not only for trainers but also organisational leaders and other workplace professionals interested in leveraging differences to advance work practices. The last should be considered by all individuals and communities working with immigrants on training and learning issues.

Turning Differences into Strength-Based Curriculum

While exploring the conditions conducive to immigrant women's learning within various English and skill development programmes in Canada, Fursova (2013) finds that training programmes are unhelpful when the information and material delivered is too basic and not applicable to immigrants' life circumstances. In addition, immigrants may feel patronised when their skills and capacities are downplayed or go unacknowledged by facilitators. In contrast, when efforts are made to support immigrant women in identifying and validating their skills and knowledge, and group work and knowledge sharing is promoted, they start (re)learning about themselves in the new context, leading to enhanced assertiveness and self-esteem. These research findings speak to the significance of developing strength-based curriculum.

By building strength-based curriculum, I mean creating a learning space where learners' knowledge is acknowledged and made relevant to the learning process. It also means building a learning partnership between learners and teachers based on open inquiries and bold dialogues across differences. Similar ideas can be found in some critical multicultural pedagogical models, particularly the culturally responsive pedagogy proposed by Geneva Gay (2010) and the multicultural education perspectives of James Banks (1979, 2007). Although both Gay and Banks focus on school-based education in the American context, their core pedagogical proposals are equally relevant to immigrant education in Canada. For instance, both of them propose that teaching is only effective when it is relevant to the lived experiences and frames of reference of the learner. In this regard, Gay (2010) specifically suggests that teaching across difference should be done '*to and through* [students'] personal and cultural strengths, their intellectual capabilities, and their prior accomplishment' (p. 26). Instead of merely focusing on the set of vocational and civic skills, teaching should be contextualised in place and time and in relation to people. Instructors thus need to develop positive attitudes towards, as well as knowledge of, heritage cultures, demonstrate caring, build learning communities, communicate with students of diverse backgrounds and use differentiated modes of instructions. With such efforts, teachers should be able to help 'filter curriculum content and teaching strategies through [students'] cultural frames of reference' (Gay 2010: 26).

Banks' (1979, 2007) multicultural education perspective takes a broader view. He proposes content integration, knowledge construction, equity pedagogy, prejudice reduction, and building an empowering school culture and social structure. The first three proposals are particularly relevant to building a strength-based curriculum. Content integration—that is, integrating other knowledge from other cultures into curriculum—is not an end in itself, especially if we see knowing as an ever-evolving process. Knowledge construction is about helping students see the values and assumptions underlying particular claims to knowledge, a process that requires bold conversation among teachers and learners. Equity pedagogy uses teaching strategies to create a learning

environment that helps students from diverse backgrounds attain the knowledge needed to function within a democratic society. Meanwhile, prejudice reduction and the creation of an empowering structure aid in experiments with social order, both the condition and effect of developing strength-based curriculum.

In a research project that Butterwick and I conducted on a mentoring programme, some of the proposals above came to life (Shan and Butterwick 2014; Butterwick and Shan 2015). The mentoring project matched immigrant professionals with Canadians who had similar professional backgrounds in order to facilitate immigrants' entrance to their fields of practices. Mentors and mentee meet once a week for 2 hours for a period of 4 months. Mentors received training about their roles and relevant resources. They were expected to help immigrants learn about Canadian workplace culture, build their professional networks, improve their professional English, practice self-marketing techniques, and identify potential employers. While the programme laid out the general parameters of mentoring, it also required mentors to work with mentees to identify and work on the personal needs and interests of the mentees. As a result, mentors needed to actively listen to their mentees. Drawing on Susan Bickford's politics of listening, we argue that such listening allows for the appearance of the Other in the public space (Butterwick and Shan 2015). The importance of listening is not that speakers and listeners need to see the same phenomenon in the same way. The importance of listening is rather that they see the same phenomenon *together*. In the mentoring programme, listening not only enabled mentees a space to articulate their knowledge and experiences, but it also propelled the mentors to conduct their own learning projects, search for relevant materials and resources, re-examine themselves in relation to the Other, and sometimes re-think their own work and life practices beyond the mentorship programme.

When emphasising the importance for immigrants to contribute to the building of curriculum, I do not underestimate the difficulty that some may face in coming to 'voice.' This is not only because English may not be their first language, but also because participating in the making of their own curriculum may also be a new venture. As a result, much work needs to be done to enable immigrants to come to 'voice'. In this respect, some nontraditional ways of working with immigrants may be helpful. Brigham's arts-informed workshops with immigrant women are one exemplary case (Brigham 2011a). Over a period of seven months, Brigham and colleagues met with groups of immigrant women who were teachers in their home countries. Through writing, storytelling, art-making, dialogue, and critical reflections, the women explored their teaching, learning, and immigration experiences. Sociocultural differences emerged in these arts-informed activities and triggered further discussion around various issues, including what is good teaching in different countries, which constituted the emerging curriculum directing the direction of women's learning activities (Brigham 2011b). Another exemplary case of critical pedagogy comes from participatory action research within public health education

(Farabaksh and Lauzon 2008). In this study, Mexican women immigrants themselves identified their topic of interest: coping with stress associated with parenting. The study then engaged the women in a series of learning activities through the use of metaphors, journaling and the production of a workbook for other members of their community during the programme. Not only did the women learn about what is close to their hearts, they also contributed to learning within their community.

While the three projects mentioned above illustrate notable practices in building strength-based curriculum, I do not suggest that face to face communication and arts-informed methods are the only mediums that can be used to build strength-based curriculum. Other methods, such as the use of virtual space and problem-based inquiry may also be considered to expand the participatory space and enhance the participatory capacity of individuals (Gale and Densmore 2000, 2003).

Engaging Differences to Advance Knowledge and Practices

When working with the late Professor Roxana Ng on one of her projects, I learned the story of a Chinese doctor (through the voice of his wife, also a doctor from China), about his struggles with his professional life (Shan forthcoming). At the time of the study, the doctor was working as a lab technician. In this position, he initially tried to share his previous medical knowledge within seminars and workshops in the hospital where he worked. However, he ceased this practice as he was made to see that he was not in a position to share his views given that he was not a registered doctor in Canada. Yet, when a crisis arose during an operation he jumped to the rescue:

Sometimes, [Bin], my husband can see how doctors here perform bone biopsy. He knows that in China, bone biopsy does not necessarily need anesthesia. We need only a small pin to get a bit marrow and we can get a diagnosis [...]. However, here [doctors] use overall anesthesia. And sometimes, it may take a long time for doctors to do a bone biopsy [...]. He can tell that in Canada this skill is really not good enough. However, he says that he is only a person receiving bone marrow [for analysis] and that he is not in a position to say anything [...]. One time a residence doctor [had a problem performing a bone biopsy and could not get any others to help]. [Bin] could not help it [...] he told the apprentice doctor to place the needle horizontally [given the shape of the bone structure] [...] and then the apprentice doctor got the marrow alright.

To make it to their professional fields, many immigrants have to settle (temporarily or not) with positions far from comparable to what they held prior to immigration. Some others also take up unpaid volunteer positions (Slade et al. 2013). These initial positions could be treated as spaces for immigrants' legitimate peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger 1991) within various professional communities. However, these positions also create an identity disjuncture between who immigrants are, given their professional biographies, and how they are defined by their new positions. This disjuncture prevents

immigrants from articulating knowing beyond these positions. Additionally, local workplaces may lose important opportunities to leverage the experiences of immigrants in order to expand practices at work.

My second DiPeD proposal is to engage differences to advance knowledge and practice at work. While a negative connotation is often associated with differences, in studies of work and education it has long been recognised that people achieve continuity of practices at work despite differences (Star 1989, 2010; Akkerman and Bakker 2011). Sometimes different perspectives are deliberately introduced to effect changes in complex systems (Kerosuo 2001, 2004). In other words, differences do not simply present barriers. They can also break new ground upon which connections can be built and innovation can be achieved. As people engage in differences in a dialogical manner, they may turn differences into a (third) space that gives rise to hybrid knowledge and practice (Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996; Giroux 2005).

To turn differences into a space of learning, Giroux proposes border pedagogy (Aronowitz and Giroux 1991; Giroux 2005). According to Aronowitz and Giroux, border pedagogy is the practice of ‘people moving in and out of borders constructed around coordinates of difference and power’ (1991: 199). First of all, it involves transgressing and redefining existing borders of domination. Second, it also necessitates the creation of space in which ‘students become border crossers in order to understand otherness within its own terms, and to further create borderlands in which diverse cultural resources allow for the fashioning of new identities within existing configurations of power’ (1991: 52). Third, much like Banks’ proposal for knowledge construction, Giroux asks us to ‘make visible the historically and socially constructed strengths and limitations of those places and borders we inherit and which frame our discourses and social relations’ (1991: 53). Border pedagogy is a critical and yet open process through which all involved come to ‘recogni[s]e and analy[s]e how the differences within and between various groups can expand the potential of human life and democratic possibilities’ (Giroux 2005: 26).

Giroux’s border pedagogy, with its encouragement for people to cross borders, centres on the critical project of democracy and empowerment. It is, however, limited in its focus on human action. In my view, Giroux’s work could be strengthened by taking into account not only the sociocultural but also sociomaterial aspects of border spaces. That is, border spaces demarcated by differences are populated with not only people but also physical and material objects—particular cultural artefacts that divide and yet unite people and practices. Akkerman and Bakker’s (2011) review of studies related to boundary (border in Giroux’s language) and boundary objects (cultural artefacts) is a significant contribution in this respect. In this review, Akkerman and Bakker identify four learning mechanisms within the boundary space that are conducive to the expansion of practices: identification, coordination, reflection, and transformation. Although these learning mechanisms are not identified with immigrants in view, they can be used as a reference to re-orient the sensitivity of

trainers, organisational leaders, and other workplace professionals when working with immigrants.

Identification is the process through which the distinction between two practices becomes questioned and destabilised. It is in part about ‘Othering’ or defining in a dialogical manner a particular practice in light of another. It is also about legitimating coexistence, which involves the politics of identities and membership. Reflection is another mechanism that is closely related to identification. It involves perspective making and perspective taking. Perspective making means making explicit one’s understanding and knowledge on a particular issue or subject. Perspective taking refers to making sense of another thought world. These two aspects of reflection are believed to be dialogical, creative, and enriching in nature, with both potentially giving rise to new knowledge, expanding life horizons, and reformulating identity. Akkerman and Bakker’s (2011) identification and reflection could perhaps be imagined in conjunction with Giroux’s (2005) idea around redefining and transgressing borders of domination; the latter highlights issues of power in the negotiation of knowing.

If the onus of identification and reflection is largely placed on individuals, coordination and transformation need to be considered at both the individual and the organisational level. Coordination, according to Akkerman and Bakker (2011), is about finding the procedures to coordinate diverse practices even in the absence of consensus. It requires the establishment of communicative connection, effort to translate between different worlds, enhanced boundary permeability (frequent movements across boundaries), and routinisation (the temporary fixing of procedures of coordination although still open to situated interpretation). In all these respects, boundary objects act as a means of articulation among different practices while allowing for an intersubjective ground that enables different understandings and practices. Transformation may as well start with an event of disruption and confrontation. It will need people to recognise the problem space. As people try to bridge the problem space, something hybrid may emerge, which may take the shape of new tools and signs that need to be crystallised and revisited.

By virtue of their mobility across contexts, migrants often bring comparative perspective to their professional practices (Williams and Baláz 2005). In research on immigrants’ work and learning experiences, it is clear that immigrants are active in identifying differences and reflecting on their encounters with differences (Shan and Guo 2013). In my current study on immigrants’ professional learning (Shan 2016), it is found that as immigrants engage in learning at and through work, they also play a significant role in transferring knowledge to the host society. There is, however, a lack of concerted efforts at the organisational level to systematically leverage the different knowledge and practices that immigrants may bring with them. Giroux’s (2005) border pedagogies and the boundary practices Akkerman and Bakker (2011) identify, that is, identification, reflections, coordination and transformation, can serve to re-orient the sensitivities of workplace professionals.

Experimenting with SocioCultural and Sociomaterial Power and Order

The last proposal is inherent in the first two. By singling it out, I wish to accentuate the importance of being aware of issues of power and experimenting with sociocultural and sociomaterial order. To this end, I suggest the following: repositioning immigrants in learning spaces and transforming teacher-student relationships, building participatory capacity for immigrants and leveraging the pedagogical effects of cultural artefacts.

Immigrants are often positioned as learners in the host society. However, it should be recognised that they can also act as agents in knowledge transfer (Trippel and Maier 2010) and perhaps even boundary spanners (Levina and Kane 2009). These terms are often associated with migrant returnees and elite expatriates by virtue of their mobility and embeddedness within multiple cultural spaces and practice communities. These changes in language imply more than simply affirming the immigrant Other. They may also enable immigrants to emerge as active constituents of the public. The will to reposition immigrants in learning spaces necessitates transformation in the relationship between teachers and the immigrant learners. This point is driven home by Freire. Among others, Freire suggests an ‘ontological vocation’ (Freire 1984: 12), a theory of existence that views people as subjects, not objects or empty vessels to be filled with information. To realise this revolutionary transformation, Freire advocates ‘dialogue;’ that is, ‘the encounter between men [sic], mediated by the world, in order to name [that is, to change] the world’ (Freire 1970/1990: 76). Dialogue references an alternative relationality where people share coequal roles of both teacher and learner in the pursuit of creative and liberatory knowledge (Freire 1984).

Although transforming teacher-learner relationship helps create a space for immigrants to participate in the making of learning spaces, this transformation cannot be fully realised until people’s participatory capacity is developed. In this regard we can derive important insights from Gale and Desmore (2000) who are interested, in particular, in what it means for a teacher to act justly in the classroom. They embrace a notion of recognitive justice that is concerned specifically with what it means to validate group differences. They argue that a recognitive approach involves three conditions for social justice: (1) fostering respect for different social groups through their self-identification, (2) opportunities for self-development and self-expression, and (3) participation of groups in decision-making processes. Of note, self-expression here is broadly conceived. People may express themselves in different ways, not only through oral language, but also with written language, arts, and acts. As such, multiple media of expression could be considered to allow for different forms of expressions to emerge. Further, building the capacity of the learners is not an individualised project. It requires the teachers, cultural workers, and, by extension, workplace professionals to reconsider the social and material context as it limits or affords spaces of participation. In this regard, Banks’ (2007) prejudice reduction and empowering social structure are also of importance. The former is to help

people develop more positive racial attitudes. The latter can be particularly challenging, however, as trainers and service providers themselves may be caught in conflicting interests, alienating working conditions, and problematic institutional systems (Fenwick 2007; Baille Abidi et al. 2013).

Building participatory space and capacity has long been an ideal raised by community-based organisations that promote the participation of immigrants in the design and delivery of immigrant settlement services. In a review of immigrant services I referred to this trend as a mode of participatory governance (Shan 2015b). Yet, so far, immigrants are often the objects of services and training, rather than partners in the development of programmes and practices. This, however, is not to say that immigrant settlement sectors are merely institutions reproducing existing social relations. For instance, Gibb et al. (2008) use the postcolonial lens of liminality to argue that immigrant service organisations may also afford a space through which immigrant women can negotiate identities, create new knowledge, and forge new conceptions of communities. The women-led organisation they examined within their study, for instance, was able to interrupt the instrumentalism of immigrant services programmes by offering unstructured spaces of learning and connecting. The service workers they interviewed also demonstrated critical consciousness toward the deficit and remedial discourse dominant in immigrant services.

Finally, I wish to reiterate the pedagogical significance of non-human things. By centring non-human things, by no means do I wish to decentre human beings, and the roles they play in any learning and teaching project. After all, it is up to the humans to humble themselves in the face of what non-human things might be able to teach. Further, non-human things exist in their incompleteness and nonidentity with themselves; they only acquire their identities as they appear in relation to human beings (Star 1989; Knorr Cetina 2001). In a study that I conducted together with Walter on the community gardening experiences of migrants, we find that things such as waste, seedlings, and free-floating seeds serve as mediators of learning, especially when the migrants are willing to experiment with the presence of the foreign (Shan and Walter 2015). These non-human things, when allowed the space to appear, help cross-pollinate knowledge with roots in different cultures and places.

In professional workplaces, non-human objects, particular cultural artefacts also teach. In my studies of immigrant engineers (Shan 2009b, 2016), engineering codes, standards, workplace protocols and computer software manuals are found to be important learning materials that immigrants are quick at assembling. These materials can be considered as cultural artefacts that congeal the collective wisdom and conventional practices in the engineering profession in Canadian workplaces. They are instrumental for the immigrants to bridge themselves to conventional engineering practices in Canada and to negotiate power at work. For instance, in one of the studies (Shan 2009b), one immigrant engineers shared the following:

Over there [in a company where I worked], you need to write up computation workflows for people to check. That poses more challenge. When people start checking, they will pick out problems. Some people are very nice. But not everyone is. They will ask you different questions. ... you've got to tell people where you get the solutions, why you did the project the way you did it. If you read a lot in your discipline, you will have a broader knowledge. You can get rid of them easily.

All immigrant engineers interviewed shared that there are often different ways of approaching designs. For engineers, their ways of designing could be informed by their prior experiences in different contexts. To prove their designs to be acceptable, they found that referring to engineering codes to be one effective and powerful means of communication (Shan 2009b). Given such a finding, to enlarge the professional spaces for trained immigrants, pedagogical attention can be directed towards cultural artefacts, particularly protocols, codes, manuals, and technological programmes that are routinely used to sustain continuity of practices within professions and particular workplaces. For skilled immigrants, accessing and interacting with these texts and technologies is important for them to be re-embedded within their professions in a different place. These cultural artefacts can also serve to induct immigrants to existing practices in a host society. Meanwhile, they are also artefacts in the making. As immigrants interact with these artefacts, they may also contribute to their continuous development as knowing evolves and unfolds through engagements (Shan 2016).

CONCLUSIONS

Training and learning are instrumental to immigrants' success in a host labour market. Existing learning spaces for immigrants, either structured through designated services and programmes or afforded through workplaces, are often premised on a deficit assumption of the other. That is, the onus is often on individual immigrants to learn to overcome differences so that they can fit into the Canadian labour market. As a researcher in immigration and training/education, I proposed DiPeD as a way to (re)distribute the learning and teaching responsibility among people, such as immigrants, trainers, facilitators, organisational leaders, and other professionals working with immigrants, as well as non-human things, particularly cultural artefacts that are crucial to the perpetuation as well as transformation of professional practices across places. This pedagogy is conceptually built on pedagogies of difference and the practice-based ontology of learning. The former proposes that sociocultural differences should be engaged to enhance the educational and employment experiences of marginalised groups (Trifonas 2003). The latter expands traditional understanding of learning and teaching to the sociocultural and socio-material organisation of work and learning. By bringing together these two distinct bodies of literature to reimagine immigrants' learning spaces, I hope

that DiPeD provides a heuristic to mobilise sociocultural and sociomaterial differences so as to further social justice as well as to expand practices at work.

DiPeD includes three proposals. The first is to build a strength-based curriculum, or to shape the goals, contents and resources of learning by taking into account the knowledge and experiences of immigrants. The second is to engage differences to further practices. This proposal is not merely useful for trainers and facilitators but also relevant for organisational leaders and other professionals interested in harnessing differences for productive purposes. It involves turning sociocultural and sociomaterial differences into a pedagogical space for all stakeholders involved. The third proposal is to experiment with sociocultural and sociomaterial order. It requires the building of participatory spaces and capacity for immigrants. It also requires the recognition that knowing is distributed among people and things. We thus need to develop sensitivity to the teaching and learning capacity of non-human things, particularly cultural artefacts such as texts and technologies. None of these proposals are necessarily re-invented wheels. Some of them are central proposals among various pedagogies of differences. Others are important sensitivities derived from the practice-based ontology. The significance of DiPeD is that it introduces these ideas to immigrant training and education as a way to stimulate re-imagination of practices. None of these proposals is fixed in meaning. They are rather subject to situated interpretation and continuing development. Yet DiPeD should at least help us look at sociocultural and sociomaterial differences in a different light; rather than create barriers, they may serve an important opportunity for both teaching and learning and to the expansion of practices.

This chapter is not merely useful for practitioners working with immigrants on issues of training and learning. It also has significant implications for researchers, particularly researchers in the area of immigrant training, learning and education. Lenses simultaneously allow us to see things and limit our views (Merriam et al. 2007: 131). DiPeD requires researchers to take on an expanded theoretical lens in order to fully appreciate the roles that immigrants play and perhaps amplify the roles that they might play in the host society. Should we theoretically position immigrants as learners, we may only see how they learn as individuals, losing sight of how they might be transferring knowing and doing and effecting changes in a new context. Should we limit our understanding of learning as a sociocultural phenomenon, we would miss an opportunity to enhance the pedagogical effect material objects, particularly cultural artefacts may exert on our working and learning experiences. Finally, if the goal of research is to turn differences into a point of learning and teaching for all, researchers need to rethink their relationality with immigrants in the research process. Rather than positioning immigrants as the objects of study, it is important to see them as the subjects who can teach us about their lifeworld. In the regard, diverse research methods are needed to turn the research process into a creative space for the knowing and doing of immigrants to emerge, and for the researchers to listen to and learn from the immigrant others.

REFERENCES

- Adamuti-Trache, M., Anisef, P., Sweet, R., & Walters, D. (2013). Enriching foreign qualifications through Canadian post-secondary education: Who participates and why? *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 14(1), 139–156.
- Akkerman, S. F., & Bakker, A. (2011). Boundary crossing and boundary objects. *Review of Educational Research*, 81(2), 132–169.
- Alba, R., & Foner, N. (2015). *Strangers no more: Immigration and the challenges of integration in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Aronowitz, S., & Giroux, H. (1991). *Postmodern education: Politics, culture and social criticism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Baille Abidi, C., Brigham, S., Lange, E., & Tastsoglou, E. (2013). Helping to learn and learning to help: Service providers' experiences and perceptions working with refugee claimants in Atlantic Canada. In C. Kawalilak & J. Groen (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 32nd Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) National Conference* (pp. 2–8). Victoria, BC: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education.
- Banks, J. A. (1997). *Educating citizens in a multicultural society*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Banks, J. A. (1979). *Teaching strategies for ethnic studies*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Banks, J. A. (2007). *Educating citizens in a multicultural society* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Brigham, S. (2011a). Internationally educated female teachers' transformative lifelong learning experiences: Rethinking the immigrant experience through an arts-informed group process. *Journal of Adult and Continuing Education*, 17(2), 36–50.
- Brigham, S. (2011b). Braided stories and bricolaged symbols: Critical reflection and transformative learning theory for teachers. *McGill Journal of Education*, 46(1), 41–54.
- Butterwick, S., & Shan, H. (2015). Mentoring newcomers in a workplace connections programme: Listening to self and other. In *Proceedings of the 9th International Conference on Researching Work & Learning*. Singapore: School of the Arts Singapore.
- Buzdugan, R., & Halli, S. (2009). Labour market experiences of Canadian immigrants with a focus on foreign education and experience. *International Migration Review*, 43(2), 366–386.
- Cervatiuc, A., & Ricento, T. (2012). Curriculum meta-orientations in the language instruction for newcomers to Canada programme. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 24(2), 17–31.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). (2013). *Facts and figures 2013—Immigration overview: Permanent and temporary residents*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/menu-fact.asp>.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). (2014). *Facts and figures 2014—Immigration overview: Permanent residents by source country*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2014/permanent/10.asp>.

- Engeström, Y. (1999). Activity theory and individual and social transformation. In Y. Engeström, R. Miettinen, & R. Punamäki (Eds.), *Perspectives on activity theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Erel, U. (2010). Migrating cultural capital: Bourdieu in migration studies. *Sociology*, 44(4), 642–660.
- Farabaksh, R., & Lauzon, A. (2008). Exploring the impact of participatory health literacy programmes: A case study of old colony rural Mennonite women immigrants in south-western Ontario. In J. Groen & S. Guo (Eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) Conference* (pp. 87–93). Vancouver: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education.
- Fenwick, T. (2007). Tightrope walkers and solidarity sisters: Critical educators in the garment industry. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(3), 315–328.
- Fenwick, T., Edwards, R., & Sawchuk, P. (2011). *Emerging approaches to educational research: Tracing the socio-material*. London: Routledge.
- Freire, P. (1984). *The politics of education: Culture, power, and liberation*. South Hadley: Bergin and Garvey.
- Freire, P. (1990). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum Press. (Original work published 1970).
- Friesen, M. R. (2011). Immigrants' integration and career development in the professional engineering workplace in the context of social and cultural capital. *Engineering Studies*, 3(2), 79–100.
- Fursova, J. (2013). *A journey of her own: A critical analysis of learning experiences among immigrant women* (RCIS Working Paper No. 2013/03). Toronto: Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement.
- Gale, T., & Densmore, K. (2000). *Just schooling: Exploration in the cultural politics of teaching*. Birmingham: Open University Press.
- Gale, T., & Densmore, K. (2003). *Engaging teachers: Towards a radical democratic agenda for schooling*. Birmingham: Open University Press.
- Gay, G. (2000). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Gibb, T., Hamdon, E., & Jamal, Z. (2008). Re/claiming agency: Learning, liminality and immigrant service organizations. *Journal of Contemporary Issues in Education*, 3(1), 4–16.
- Giroux, H. A. (2005). *Border crossings: Cultural workers and the politics of education*. New York: Routledge.
- Guo, S. (2009). Difference, deficiency, and devaluation: Tracing the roots of non/recognition of foreign credentials for immigrant professionals in Canada. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 22(1), 37–52.
- Kerosuo, H. (2001). Boundary encounters as place for learning and development at work. *Outlines: Critical, Social Studies*, 3(1), 53–65.
- Kerosuo, H. (2004). Examining boundaries in health care—Outline of a method for studying organizational boundaries in interaction. *Outlines: Critical, Social Studies*, 6(1), 35–60.
- Knorr Cetina, K. (2001). Objectual practice. In T. Schatzki, K. Knorr Cetina, & E. von Savigny (Eds.), *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Levina, N., & Kane, A. (2009). *Onshore immigrant managers as boundary spanners on offshored projects: Partners or bosses?* (Industry Studies Working Paper Series No. 2010/02). Pittsburgh: Industry Studies Association.
- McCoy, L., & Masuch, C. (2007). Beyond 'entry-level' jobs: Immigrant women and nonregulated professional occupations. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 8(2), 185–206.
- McLaren, P. (1997). *Revolutionary multiculturalism: Pedagogies of dissent for the new millennium*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- McLaren, P., & Gutierrez, K. (1997). Global politics and local antagonisms: Research and practice as dissent and possibility. In P. McLaren (Ed.), *Revolutionary multiculturalism: Pedagogies of dissent for the new millennium*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Merriam, S., Caffarella, R., & Baumgartner, L. (2007). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Mirchandani, K., Ng, R., Coloma-Moya, N., Maitra, S., Rawlings, T., Shan, H., et al. (2010) Transitioning into precarious work: Immigrants' learning and resistance. In A. Taylor & P. Sawchuk (Eds.), *Challenging transitions in learning and work: Reflections on policy and practice* (pp. 231–242). Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Mirchandani, K., Ng, R., Coloma-Moya, N., Maitra, S., Rawlings, T., Shan, H., et al. (2011). The entrenchment of racial categories in precarious employment. In N. Pupo, D. Glenday, & A. Duffy (Eds.), *The shifting landscape of work*. Toronto: Nelson Educational Ltd.
- Mojab, S. (1998). De-skilling immigrant women. *Canadian Women Studies*, 19(3), 123–128.
- Ng, R. (1988). *The politics of community services: Immigrant women, class and state*. Toronto: Garamond Press.
- Park, J. (2011). *Job-related training of immigrants* (Catalogue No. 75-001-X). Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Retrieved from <http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-001-x/2011003/article/11539-eng.htm>.
- Reitz, J., Curtis, J., & Elrick, J. (2014). Immigrant skill utilization: Trends and policy issues. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 15(1), 1–26.
- Shan, H. (2009a). Shaping the re-training and re-education experiences of immigrant women: The credential and certificate regime in Canada. *The International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 28(3), 353–369.
- Shan, H. (2009b). *Learning as socially organized practices: Chinese immigrants fitting into the engineering market in Canada*. PhD. Dissertation, University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Shan, H. (2013). The disjuncture of learning and recognition: Credential assessment from the standpoint of Chinese immigrant engineers in Canada. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 4(2), 189–204.
- Shan, H. (2015a). Distributed pedagogy of difference: Reimagining immigrant training and education. *Canadian Journal for Studies in Adult Education*, 27(3), 1–16.
- Shan, H. (2015b). Towards a participatory model of governance: Settlement services in the training and education of immigrants. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education (NDACE)*, 146, 19–28.
- Shan, H. (2015c). Women, gender, and immigrant studies in Canadian adult education: An ethnographic content analysis. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 27(2), 46–63.
- Shan, H. (2016). Knowledge 'transfer' as unfolding practice: Experiences of internationally trained engineers. In *2016 Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE)*. Calgary: University of Calgary.

- Shan, H. (Forthcoming). Deprofessionalisation through immigration: Chinese medical doctors' learning experiences in Canada. In L. Bisaiillon (Ed.), *The impact of public policy on everyday life*. Netherlands: Springer.
- Shan, H., & Butterwick, S. (2014). Cross-cultural and transformative learning: Experiences of volunteer mentors in an immigrant workplace connections programme. In D. Plumb (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 33rd Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education (CASAE) Conference* (pp. 227–232). St. Catherines: Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education.
- Shan, H., & Guo, S. (2013). Learning as sociocultural practices: Chinese immigrant professionals negotiating differences in the Canadian labour market. *Comparative Education*, 4(1), 28–41.
- Shan, H., & Walter, P. (2015). Growing everyday multiculturalism: Practice-based learning of Chinese immigrants through community gardens in Canada. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 65(1), 19–34.
- Shore, C. (2000). *Building Europe: The cultural politics of European integration*. London: Routledge.
- Slade, B. (2012). 'From high skill to high school': Illustrating the process of deskilling immigrants through reader's theatre and institutional ethnography. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 18(5), 401–413.
- Slade, B., Luo, Y. C., & Schugurensky, D. (2013). The experiences of immigrants who volunteer to access the labour market: Pushing the boundaries of 'volunteerism'. In F. Duguid, K. Mündel, & D. Schugurensky (Eds.), *Volunteer work, informal learning and social action*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Soja, E. W. (1996). *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other real-and-imagined places*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Star, S. L. (1989). *Regions of the mind: Brain research and the quest for scientific certainty*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Star, S. L. (2010). This is not a boundary object: Reflections on the origin of a concept. *Science, Technology and Human Values*, 35(5), 601–617.
- Trifonas, P. (Ed.). (2003). *Pedagogies of difference: Rethinking education for social justice*. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Tripp, M., & Maier, G. (2010). Knowledge spillover agents and regional development. *Papers in Regional Science*, 89(2), 229–233.
- Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wenger, E. (2012). *Communities of practice and social learning systems: The career of a concept*. Retrieved from <http://wenger-trayner.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/09-10-27-CoPs-and-systems-v2.01.pdf>.
- Williams, A. M., & Baláž, V. (2005). What human capital, which migrants? Returned skilled migration to Slovakia from the UK. *International Migration Review*, 39(2), 439–468.
- Yoshida, Y., & Smith, M. R. (2008). Measuring and mismeasuring discrimination against visible minority immigrants: The role of work experience. *Canadian Studies in Population*, 35(2), 311–338.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Hongxia Shan is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Studies, University of British Columbia, Canada. She specialises in (im)migration and adult education, work, skill and learning, lifelong education/learning, and gender race and class analysis. Her work has appeared in major adult education journals such as *Adult Education Quarterly* (SAGE), *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults* (ESREA), *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis), and *Studies in Continuing Education* (Taylor & Francis).

Non-permanent Workers and Their Learning in a Developmental State

Sahara Sadik

Abstract Moving beyond binary conceptual understandings of non-permanent work as either emancipatory or leading to precarity, Sadik offers a nuanced understanding of the lived realities of non-permanent workers in Singapore that relates to their struggles negotiating the socio-economic and socio-cultural institutions around them. While these workers now have greater flexibility to drive their careers in new ways, they face particular challenges in an environment where policies, practices, social norms and cues tilt heavily towards supporting workers in permanent work arrangements as part of the complex machinery of the developmental state. Their learning and development thus require the support of new institutions to initiate them into relevant social norms, practices, and cues around non-permanent work, requiring a more expansive understanding of lifelong learning rooted in situated practice.

INTRODUCTION

Globally, non-permanent work arrangements are set to intensify in a neoliberal economic environment characterised by the global movement of capital, shorter business cycles, and the outsourcing of services (Ross 2008; Brown et al. 2011). The decoupling of the worker and his or her skill sets from ongoing or continuous relationships with any one employer, suggests the emergence of a different kind of worker. It raises new questions about how learning and development can take place for this group of workers, with implications on the role of governments, educational institutions, and other stakeholders in supporting workers amidst the changing nature of work.

S. Sadik (✉)

Institute for Adult Learning, Singapore, Singapore
e-mail: nur_sahara@ial.edu.sg

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_36

707

Academic research has given some attention to this growing workforce segment, but the conceptualisation of the non-permanent worker in the academic literature is too polarised. Studies tend to either laud the advent of the contingent workforce as emancipatory in that workers now have flexibility to drive their career in directions of their own choice without the rigidity of working for a single employer at any one time, or lament the rise of this workforce segment as creating a precarious class of workers experiencing reduced benefits, risks of deskilling and unclear career progression (Ross 2008; Forrier et al. 2009; Kalleberg 2011; Standing 2011). The conceptualisation of the same non-permanent worker in two markedly different ways hampers our actual understanding of his or her lived reality. Based on a qualitative research study comprising semi-structured interviews with 97 non-permanent workers in Singapore, we put forth here a nuanced picture of the lived experiences of workers that is highly contextualised in regard to how they see themselves and how they negotiate the socioeconomic and sociocultural institutions around them. In other words, although a global phenomenon, non-permanent work is experienced locally with its set of challenges and opportunities.

Singapore provides a very interesting context. The political economy literature describes Singapore as a developmental state, characterised by the active intervention by the state in the economic and social spheres in a bid to drive economic growth (Doner et al. 2005; Sung 2006). A defining feature of the developmental state is its capacity to continuously reinvent the economy by moving up the value chain. This necessitates continuous economic restructuring and the retraining of workers to benefit businesses. Singapore's two-pronged approach to labour market integration facilitates this training and retraining of workers—first, through early streaming via the pre-service national education system that plans out enrolment targets in high-priority sectors, and second, through the adult education system where enormous investment is made in sectors deemed as offering growth opportunities (Sung 2006). Consequently, a culture of disempowerment among Singaporean workers is observed as an outcome of policy agendas that allow for limited individual agency (Ye 2013). In the context of a highly planned state, non-permanent work is potentially emancipating in that workers now have the flexibility to drive their own careers in new ways. Yet, as the state is set up to support big businesses, the risks of higher precarity would be even more pronounced. Based on the lived realities of the 97 non-permanent workers interviewed in our research, we find elements of both emancipation and precarity linked to their actual understanding of what being a non-permanent worker means, and the challenges of negotiating the socio-political and socio-economic institutions around them that remain geared towards the support of permanent workers through employers.

The chapter will first review the limitations of the current theoretical conceptions of non-permanent worker in academic literature. It will then bring in the socio-material and socio-cultural perspectives on work and learning that hitherto has privileged studying learners in stable, site-specific communities, yet

which offer important tools for a deeper understanding of work and learning for non-permanent workers. The chapter will propose new ways of understanding the non-permanent worker based on the lived realities of non-permanent work in Singapore, and the implications to adult and lifelong learning discourse and policies in general.

LIMITATIONS TO THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF THE NON-PERMANENT WORKER, AND THEIR WORK AND LEARNING

There continues to be a multitude of terms and metaphors to describe the non-permanent worker which suggests the contested terrain undergirding the study of this growing workforce segment. Neutral terms such as ‘contract’ and ‘portfolio’ workers are widely used, but so are loaded terms such as ‘protean’ or ‘boundaryless’ workers that suggest the positive exercise of choice by the worker, and ‘precarious’, ‘bulimic’, and ‘feast-and-famine’ workers that highlight the negative aspects of non-permanent work (Bound et al. 2015). Career theories originating from the human capital perspective tend to laud the advent of non-permanent workers, conceptualising them as being able to navigate the getting and keeping of work to their own advantage through the development of social and mobility capital networks, the management of work-life balance and permeability, and the capacity to maintain current workplace skill and knowledge capabilities (Arthur and Rousseau 1996; Allan 2002; Hall 2004; McKeown 2005). Liberated from the rigidity of working for a single employer, the non-permanent worker is able to exercise choice in regards to where he or she works, putting him or herself in the driver’s seat in regards to his or her learning and development. Sociologists, on the other hand, tend to offer a contrarian perspective, where non-permanent work suggests that the fundamental relationship between worker and employer is one of rupture, exploitation and manifest disadvantage (Brophy 2006; Kallerberg 2011; Standing 2011). Originating primarily within the disciplines of sociology and industrial relations, they tend to argue that advanced capitalism has given new freedoms to capital that is now more mobile to freely trade and employ workers across the globe, and yet with a diminished responsibility to furnish social provisions to workers and citizens. Standing (2011), for instance, puts forth an extreme view in that non-standard work arrangements are giving rise to a new ‘precariat’ class experiencing high levels of exploitation with little dependable benefits and risks of deskilling, and that needs to discover itself as a class of workers to claim its rights. Workers are not just mere victims, but may have adapted themselves well to these arrangements. For instance, workers in the creative sectors are said to be model workers in that they are self-driven, willing to undertake personally financed reskilling and habituated to material insecurity (de Peuter 2011).

There is research that suggests the ‘precarious’ worker may be found in sites that are lower paid and require less formal education, while the ‘contingent’ worker may be found in sites that are higher paid and require more formal

education. Other research suggests a conflation of the two (Ross 2008; Holly and Rainnie 2012). In a study of Australian nurses, for instance, part-time nurses demonstrated lower levels of identity commitment and more negative career success perceptions than full-time nurses (Allen 2011).

The conceptualisation of the same non-permanent worker in two contrasting ways limits our ability to fully understand what non-permanent work patterns really mean, and its impact on the learning and development of such workers. In fact, implicit in the analysis of workers in the creative sector (de Peuter 2011) is that the workers must have derived some form of benefit or satisfaction in non-permanent work arrangements that motivate them to be self-driven in how they develop themselves professionally. This suggests that the binary depiction of non-permanent work as either emancipatory or leading to precariousness may be superfluous.

One plausible reason for the conceptual impasse may lie in the perennial tension in academic understandings of structure versus agency. High agentic involvement is assumed and celebrated in the conceptions of the ‘boundaryless’ or ‘protean’ worker. On the other hand, analyses of the non-permanent worker as precarious tend to give emphasis to structural factors such as labour market segmentation, and institutional rules and regulations. The way forward may be a conceptual framework that enables a rigorous examination of the deft interplay between agency and structure.

The use of sociocultural lenses reveals how learning at work is embedded in production processes and social relations. Socio-cultural approaches emphasise the interdependence of social and individual processes in the co-construction of knowledge (Solomon et al. 2006; Evans et al. 2010; Sawchuk 2011). However, workplace learning theories derived from such approaches have tended to rely on work in stable site-specific communities, whereas non-permanent workers move across multiple locales rather than reside in a single organisation (Grugulis and Stoyanova 2011; Guile and Lahiff 2012). Indeed, the workplace learning discourse tends to advance workplaces as coherent communities with access to experts and peer support, and where developmental pathways and trajectories are typically provided for. Non-permanent workers, on the other hand, tend to move across multiple sites, being simultaneously both an insider and an outsider to the organisations they work with. Some argue that non-permanent workers are denied the opportunity to develop cohesive work-based identities because these workers are not part of workplace interactions in the same way as more permanent workers. Perrons (2003), however, cautions against assuming that non-permanent employment inevitably creates social fragmentation, given the potential for new working arrangements to be developed to foster communal and affective ties. Notwithstanding the current limitations of the workplace learning discourse, it offers important tools by highlighting the importance of understanding work identities and how these are mediated by production processes and social relations for a nuanced appreciation of the experience of work and learning.

NON-PERMANENT WORKERS IN SINGAPORE

In our research on non-permanent workers in Singapore, we interviewed 97 workers across a number of industry sectors and occupations, which included film directors, adult educators, lighting designers, despatch riders, removalists, as well as technical crew. We asked questions that helped us understand their work identities, as well as their work and social contexts. We first conducted data collection and data analysis by sector or occupation so that we could understand the worker in the industry and the social contexts he was in, before analysing the data again across sectors and occupations. This iterative method of data analysis helps us to understand better how the individual and social structures mediate one another.

It must be highlighted that there is no official definition of a non-permanent worker in Singapore. However, if we were to take two likely categories in the data by Singapore's Ministry of Manpower (2014), namely 'Term-Contract Workers' and 'Own-Account Workers', non-permanent workers comprised about 21% of Singapore's resident workforce in 2013. The proportion was likely to be higher if we were to include the foreign workforce that relies on state-issued passes that may last from months to up to 3 years.

Indeed, in many ways, non-permanent work arrangements seem antithetical to the functioning of the Singapore developmental state that began its activities upon independence in 1965, with a strong collaboration between the government bureaucracy and big businesses, while trade unions were deftly managed. Active intervention in the skills formation of the workforce has always been a key feature of the Singapore developmental state, through the tight integration of the national education system and labour market with policies and programmes that overtly signal to workers where the economic opportunities are. Once employed, the training and development of workers is led by employers, who are required by legislation to contribute to the national Skills Development Fund since 1979, from which they can draw funds to subsidise a significant portion of the workers' training (Sung 2006). The state intervenes not just in the economic spheres, but in the social spheres too. The Central Provident Fund that all employers and employees contribute to for the latter's retirement can also be used to fund current housing and medical needs. In effect, work is not just about earning a living, but is also about getting access to the social service provisions of the developmental state (Sadik et al. 2015). The strong partnership between the bureaucracy and big businesses, and the state's use of social provisions to incentivise particular behaviour of citizens, has been pivotal in securing the implicit support, if not compliance, of workers which is fundamental for Singapore to continuously reinvent its economy from the low-cost, labour intensive manufacturing of the 1960s to its current knowledge-intensive stage (Sung 2006).

The limits of the current character of the state's economic activities is evident with the advent of cognitive capitalism where the 'the object of accumulation

consists mainly of knowledge' (Boutag 2012: 57) for which the state finds it difficult to organise workers. More relevant for our purposes here is that the rise of the non-permanent workers puts into question the continued utility of a tight integration among the education system, the labour market, and social service provisions through the employer and the state. Kong (2011) observes that the current set of social institutions in Singapore is not equipped to deal with systemic precarity of non-permanent workers, as regulations tend to benefit those engaged in permanent employment. Our analysis of the experience suggests that the challenges are broader as we outline below.

LIVED REALITIES OF NON-PERMANENT WORK IN SINGAPORE—A NEW WAY OF BEING

The experience based on our research of non-permanent workers in Singapore suggests that fundamentally, being a non-permanent worker entails a new way of being that hitherto is incongruent with the socio-political, socioeconomic and sociocultural set-up of the developmental state. This poses a major challenge to non-permanent workers in Singapore in that the onus is heavily on them to make sense of what being a non-permanent workers entail, whereas social norms, practices and cues tilt heavily towards supporting workers in permanent work arrangements. In this regard, high agentic capacity is expected of the non-permanent worker. Those who are able to make sense of what it takes to be a non-permanent worker early in their careers thrive and succeed to establish themselves in their field. Those who fail to do so struggle or stagnate in their career with a limited scope for learning and development. Of the 97 workers we interviewed, we found that 43 individuals or about 45% of respondents exhibited elements of struggling or stagnating in their career.

Indeed, in reference to the 'contingent' and 'precarious' conceptualisations of non-permanent work in the academic literature, we find elements of both emancipation and precarity evident in most respondents' descriptions of their experience of non-permanent work. Some respondents valued non-permanent work because it gave them access to diverse experiences to build their skills, freeing them from the limited opportunities they would have if they were working with a single employer. Those with lower formal qualifications tended to value non-permanent work because it allowed them to secure higher take-home pay than if they were to settle for a permanent job, while also giving them the opportunity to escape the rigidities of permanent work that is based on a non-negotiable fixed work schedule. For some respondents, non-permanent work was necessary because of the caring responsibilities they had. The main aspects of precarity that were articulated were linked to the uncertainty of income, the lack of medical benefits, and limited participation in the Central Provident Fund, which limited their access to housing and medical provisions. The ability of our respondents to describe emphatically the pros and cons of non-permanent work suggests that binary conceptualisations of the non-permanent worker as

either ‘contingent’ or ‘precarious’ are in fact superfluous. We find that their challenges lie elsewhere, specifically adjusting to a new way of being in the context of socio-political and sociocultural environments that do not give adequate cues and support on how to develop themselves as a non-permanent worker. The following sections explain the challenges and opportunities for work and learning in non-permanent work in the context of Singapore through three aspects we found important for a non-permanent worker, namely a craft identity, entrepreneurialism and understanding present and future trade-offs.

Craft Identity

We found craft identity, referring to a sense of identification with a particular field of work, as a vital part of work and learning for the non-permanent worker. Craft identity is important in that it guides the non-permanent worker to seek deep knowledge and work that hones his or her skills to establish a niche in the marketplace. According to Jay, a leading lighting designer and theatre consultant, a freelancer must have a ‘direction’ and seek jobs that fulfil this direction to the extent that he or she is seen as an expert in that area and be able to command a premium in the market. Without this direction, the risks for mediocrity and stagnation of skills are high. Among our 97 respondents, we find that only 34 individuals or about one-third of respondents entered non-permanent work intentionally to pursue the craft. A substantial majority took up non-permanent work opportunistically, usually because of referrals by family and friends. Although they picked up the skills to perform at work, they lacked awareness or the know-how on how to develop themselves in new ways beyond the routine assignments they were getting. Only a handful of respondents who entered non-permanent work opportunistically were able to subsequently develop a strong craft identity over time that guided their search for jobs that would help them to grow their skills. Ben, a director of British nationality at a local theatre venue, finds this situation perplexing and ‘uniquely Singapore’. Contrasting the local technical crew with those in the UK, he noted that freelancers in the UK entered the industry because they developed a passion or an interest in the theatre world, but this was notably absent among the technical crew in Singapore.

The problem of workers entering non-permanent work without a craft identity may have roots in the two key institutions of the developmental state, namely the national school system and the labour market. The primary focus of the national education system has been to create pipeline of workers that feed into the key sectors that the developmental state is developing. Consequently, the national education system has a long history of prioritising the signalling of economic opportunities rather than the development of passion and interests. For instance, the study of Mathematics and Science has long been prioritised over the Humanities, in that the latter are key to securing good jobs in technical fields that the developmental state is creating (Kong 2011). Indeed, there have been recent changes in regard to the position of subjects such as Literature, but

again this was in the context of the economic ambition of the developmental state to grow the creative sector. This focus on developing its citizens for the labour market also had the effect of preparing citizens for jobs, rather than careers or professions. It is thus not a surprise that the majority of our respondents did not enter non-permanent work purposefully to develop a craft. This is a big liability in the context of non-permanent work, which requires them to seek out particular job opportunities in a way that builds their expertise and standing in the marketplace.

Entrepreneurialism

Our findings demonstrate that craft identity is insufficient if it is not accompanied by entrepreneurialism. Respondents informed us that it was networks that determined who got the jobs rather than capabilities alone. Having diverse networks and participation in informal activities were important for access to exchange of knowledge, discourses and expectations, and ways of doing business. Lata, an adult educator, shared that she had previously put herself in an unfavourable situation where she had over-invested her time in a single training organisation, assuming the work would continue to come even though her colleagues had moved on to other companies and had urged her to do the same. Calls from the organisation had gotten fewer over time, and she had realised then that she should not be ‘putting [her] eggs in one basket’. However, at the time of interview, she was at risk of repeating the same mistake, as she was relying mainly on a single client for assignments. Zaki, a polytechnic graduate and currently a sound technician, wished he could get more challenging assignments but seemed at loss as to how to secure them. He knew it was important to get into networks to secure more high-profile assignments. He had sent emails to potential employers in top theatre venues in Singapore but did not follow up when the latter did not respond.

When we asked respondents who were recent graduates from universities or polytechnics, it was apparent that entrepreneurialism has not been embedded in the curriculum, except for an occasional course on marketing or grant applications. The focus of the curriculum is on technical skills, with scant appreciation of entrepreneurialism as integral to the way of being of a non-permanent worker. One course coordinator in technical theatre we spoke to, saw no problem with attaching a student to a single organisation for 6 months to acquire industry experience, whereas the reality of working in the industry would require the student to seek jobs from a range of organisations. In adult education, courses to train up new adult educators similarly focus on technical skills, with little emphasis if at all, on the reality that adult educators in fact had to operate like a business. Consequently, while many had graduated with the certification, very few were in fact practising. Lata, as a practising adult educator, wished there were formal ways in which she could link up her trainees with other practising adult educators, and help kick-start their freelance work. On the whole, there is a lack of platforms for the initiation of the non-permanent worker into the norms and practices of

working as one, requiring great dexterity on the part of the non-permanent worker to figure this out. Some do, others do not. The comments from Rina, a beginning freelancer, are telling. She said she knew of a few thriving freelancers, but ‘the rest of us are just there.’

Interestingly, our study advances previous findings that no clear link exists to suggest that precarity is more likely in sites that are lower paid and require less formal education compared to sites that are higher paid and require more formal education. For instance, we interviewed qualified adult educators with graduate and postgraduate qualifications who were taking only peripheral, routinized assignments as assessors. At the same time, we found examples of non-permanent workers with just elementary education who might have started out as a casual, but who successfully sought more challenging assignments to become specialists in their field, for instance in rigging. Our analysis here suggests that it is those who have successfully twinned craft identity with entrepreneurialism who are the ones likely to thrive, regardless of their academic credentials.

Future in the Present

The most challenging feature of non-permanent work in Singapore is the stickiness of earlier decisions, which underscores the importance of planning ahead to manage work, finance, and personal life simultaneously towards a sustainable freelance career. This is highly challenging for non-permanent workers, who have to manage their daily negotiations in the labour market both financially and professionally, yet with an eye on the future so that the work they do will allow them to occupy their desired space in the future. On the whole, there appeared to be insufficient awareness of how early decisions will influence their subsequent work trajectory.

Hannah, a freelance video editor-cum-adult educator, is an exception. As a video editor, she was particular about the jobs she chose, using the project interview as a two-way process for her to assess the employer, such that she was able to successfully carve a niche in the market as a video editor with documentary as her forte. Well-plugged into formal and informal professional networks, she was getting a steady stream of local and foreign assignments but is preparing herself for a time when age would take its toll. In the past 4 years, she had been reducing her editing assignments to take on teaching roles to prepare herself for a time when her eyes could no longer take the strain of video editing.

The aspect of planning ahead was important for finances as well. It is worthwhile to quote Ron, a lighting designer, at length on the difficulty of doing so in the context of Singapore:

[You] don’t have [contributions to the Central Provident Fund]. You don’t have medical insurance, you cannot take sick leave and get paid. Whatever you get paid, that is it. I have to buy my own insurance, I have to plan my own retirement, I have to plan for my own travels, insurance. Everything is done on your own. You

are a one man company. A lot of people will not have that kind of knowledge or diligence to make sure that you plan for your future.

Ironically, while the developmental state is an expert in planning ahead, its citizens are finding trouble to do so. Many established non-permanent workers we spoke to emphasise the need for more support to be given to beginning non-permanent workers to shift them towards adopting long-term strategies. It might be as simple as being diligent to file income tax returns annually, as there would be proof of income to get a bank loan in the future to purchase a house, or more complex tasks such as pursuing a Master's programme ahead of time to move into teaching at a later stage in life.

SELF-ORGANISATION AS A KEY TOOL FOR LEARNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF NON-PERMANENT WORKERS

It may well be that a new social contract is needed to address elements of precarity evident in non-permanent work (Kalleberg 2011; Standing 2011). However, while addressing aspects such as provision of benefits is important, it does little in regard to the elements that support the flourishing of workers in non-permanent work arrangements. Based on the experience of non-permanent work in Singapore, the development of a craft identity that is twinned with entrepreneurialism, along with the understanding that the non-permanent worker must make current decisions with an eye on the future, is paramount. Interestingly, we find that non-permanent workers tend to articulate, in an exuberant manner, the learning experiences they have had in the context of some form of informal mentoring and observation of more experienced peers. We can understand this enthusiasm better in the context of the professional isolation they experience as a consequence of their contractual arrangements. This is not unique to Singapore. For instance, in the UK's freelance-dominated TV industry, experienced workers are said to be not available for novices to consult or observe because of the siloed nature of contractual arrangements, thus 'creating a community with a missing middle' (Grugulis and Stoyanova 2011: 342).

What is more pressing is thus the need for opportunities for self-organisation of non-permanent workers through professional groupings that can tilt the balance in terms of offering platforms that initiate the non-permanent worker into the social norms, practices, and cues that support their learning and development. Lata, the adult educator we interviewed, felt that 'something is missing...the lack of sharing'. Professional groupings are important as support structures that act as a bulwark against the isolation that non-permanent workers experience, not just because of their contractual arrangements but also in the context of socio-political and sociocultural systems that have yet to adequately cater to their new way of being. These platforms are about sharing tips and techniques, as well as transmitting work norms and signalling trends.

The self-organisation of non-permanent workers through professional groupings is a challenge in a developmental state that manages workers'

organisations tightly. However, unless this is addressed, the trend of occasional success stories and plenty of stagnation or casualty in non-permanent work, as observed by Rina earlier, will remain. Non-permanent work should not be seen as exceptional despite the preference for permanent work in Singapore's developmental state, given that we can expect more of the workforce to experience higher impermanence in regard to frequent job and career changes. Professional groupings may thus be a necessary new partner of the developmental state in the context of the relative weakening of the government–business nexus in regard to skills formation.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ELSEWHERE

The argument here is that non-permanent work is experienced locally with its set of challenges and opportunities. However, our findings have important implications in regard to the direction of adult and lifelong learning discourse taking place in various parts of the world. The increasing flexibility with which businesses and capital markets operate puts the onus on governments worldwide to grapple with the challenge of furnishing social provisions to workers and citizens in the context of higher volatility in the work environment. A 'lifelong learning' agenda has since emerged that puts the onus largely on workers to engage in learning for the purpose of lifelong employment, while governments strive to put in place institutions, policies, and programmes to support workers and citizens in this journey (Tight 1998; Billett 2010). The evidence from our research on non-permanent workers in Singapore is that lifelong learning is too hollow a conceptual frame to be effective in supporting workers in the context of the changing nature of work. What is important is to understand the situated nature of practice and to place greater emphasis on professional groupings and support them as a transmitter of norms and practices, and the signaller of trends.

CONCLUSION

We have argued here that it is necessary to move beyond binary conceptual understandings of non-permanent work as either emancipatory or leading to precarity. The lived realities of non-permanent workers in Singapore suggest that both emancipatory and precarious elements are inherent in non-permanent work, making such binary conceptualisations superfluous. The main challenge non-permanent workers in Singapore face is in regard to negotiating the socio-political and sociocultural institutions around them, where social norms, practices, and cues tilt heavily towards supporting workers in permanent work arrangements. Consequently, high agentic capacity is expected of the non-permanent worker, which is probably unrealistic and certainly unproductive. The self-organisation of non-permanent workers through professional groupings provides an important platform for the transmission of new norms and practices. It may well be that these professional groupings may emerge as a new partner of the developmental state.

Acknowledgements This paper draws from a research study of the ‘Learning and Development of Non-permanent Workers in Singapore’ led by Dr Helen Bound of the Institute for Adult Learning, Singapore.

REFERENCES

- Allan, P. (2002). The contingent workforce. *American Business Review*, 20(2), 103–110.
- Allen, B. C. (2011). The role of professional identity commitment in understanding the relationship between casual employment and perceptions of career success. *Career Development International*, 16(2), 195–216.
- Arthur, M. B., & Rousseau, D. M. (1996). *The boundaryless career: A new employment principle for a new organizational era*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Billett, S. (2010). The perils of confusing lifelong learning with lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 29(4), 401–413.
- Bound, H., Sadik, S., & Karmel, A. (2015). *Developing non-permanent workers in Singapore*. Singapore: Institute for Adult Learning.
- Boutang, Y. M. (2012). *Cognitive capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Brophy, E. (2006). System error: Labour precarity and collective organizing at Microsoft. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31(3), 619–638.
- Brown, P., Lauder, H., & Ashton, D. (2011). *The global auction: The broken promises of education, jobs and incomes*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- De Peuter, G. (2011). Creative economy and labor precarity: A contested convergence [in special issue: Towards an Autonomist Communication Studies: Assessing Hardt and Negri’s Trilogy, ed. J. Z. Bratich]. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 35(4), 417–425.
- Doner, R., Ritchie, B., & Slater, D. (2005). Systemic vulnerability and the origins of developmental state. *International Organization*, 59(2), 327–361.
- Evans, K., Guile, D., Harris, J., & Allan, H. (2010). Putting knowledge to work: A new approach. *Nurse Education Today*, 30(3), 245–251.
- Forrier, A., Sels, L., & Stynen, D. (2009). Career mobility at the intersection between agent and structure: A conceptual model. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 82(4), 739–759.
- Grugulis, I., & Stoyanova, D. (2011). The missing middle: Communities of practice in a freelance labour market. *Work, Employment & Society*, 25(2), 342–351.
- Guile, D., & Lahiff, A. (2012). *Apprenticeship and freelance work: A de-centred and distributed model of learning to develop media production apprentices’ vocational practice and social capital*. London: Centre for Learning and Life Chances in Knowledge Economies and Societies. Retrieved from <http://www.llakes.org>.
- Hall, D. T. (2004). The protean career: A quarter-century journey. *Journal of Vocational Behaviour*, 65(1), 1–13.
- Hollie, S., & Rainnie, A. (2012). Who cleans up? The declining earnings of cleaners in Australia. *The Economic and Labour Relations Review*, 23(1), 143–160.
- Kalleberg, A. (2011). *Good jobs, bad jobs: The rise of polarized and precarious employment systems in the United States, 1970s–2000s*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Kong, L. (2011). From precarious labor to precarious economy? Planning precarity in Singapore’s creative economy. *City, Culture and Society*, 2(2), 55–64.
- McKeown, T. (2005). Non-standard employment: When even the elite are precarious. *The Journal of Industrial Relations*, 47(3), 276–293.

- Perrons, D. (2003). The new economy and the work–life balance: Conceptual explorations and a case study of new media. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 10(1), 65–93.
- Ross, A. (2008). The new geography of work. *Theory Culture & Society*, 25(7), 31–49.
- Sadik, S., Bound, H., & Karmel, A. (2015). *Haphazard occupational narratives: The work and developmental experiences of non-permanent workers in low-wage occupations in Singapore*. Singapore: Institute for Adult Learning.
- Sawchuk, P. (2011). Researching workplace learning: An overview and critique. In *The Sage handbook of workplace learning*. London: Sage.
- Singapore Ministry of Manpower. (2014). *Labour market, 2013*. Singapore: Ministry of Manpower.
- Solomon, N., Boud, D., & Rooney, D. (2006). The in-between: Exposing everyday learning at work. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 25(1), 3–13.
- Standing, G. (2011). *The precariat: The new dangerous class*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Sung, J. (2006). *Explaining the economic success of Singapore: The developmental worker as the missing link*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Tight, M. (1998). Lifelong learning or compulsion? *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 46(3), 251–263.
- Ye, R. (2013). Youth unemployment in Singapore: An overview. *European Lifelong Learning Magazine*, 1. The Finnish Lifelong Learning Foundation.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Sahara Sadik is Principal Researcher at the Institute for Adult Learning, Singapore. She holds a Master’s degree in Comparative Politics from the London School of Economics & Political Science, and is pursuing the PhD studies at Cardiff University, United Kingdom. Her research interest pertain to the employability of workers amidst the changing nature of work.

The Global Spread of the Nordic Folk High School Idea

Henrik Nordvall

Abstract Educational institutions that refer to Nordic folk high schools as role models exist across the world. In this chapter, the dissemination of ideas and institutions associated with the folk high schools is analyzed. Three ideal-typical dissemination patterns are identified: (1) migration (Nordic emigrants who have founded schools), (2) inspiration (non-Nordic actors who have ‘discovered’ the folk high school idea), and (3) dissemination through persuasion (the dissemination of folk high school ideas by Nordic actors). Finally, the chapter argues that in studying the global dissemination of adult education ideas and institutions, it is crucial to emphasize the contingency of the local translation processes related to the spread of ideas, as well as the presence of global power structures and discourses with origins in the colonial era.

INTRODUCTION

Folk high schools, providers of adult education outside the formal educational system, are common throughout the Nordic countries. They are renowned for providing the opportunity for learning and education without issuing grades or being regulated by national curricula. Folk high schools are often related to civil society institutions such as religious or political organizations with an ownership stake in the schools. Folk high schools are also characterized by an aspiration to build on an egalitarian relationship between teachers and students/participants. Many schools, especially in Norway, are organized as boarding schools where students reside during the academic year (Lövgren 2015). When the folk high schools emerged, originally in Denmark in the mid-nineteenth century, they

H. Nordvall (✉)
Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning,
Linköping University, 581 83 Linköping, Sweden
e-mail: henrik.nordvall@liu.se

were associated with the ideas of the pastor, politician, and philosopher Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783–1872) about the education of farmers. In the Grundtvigian tradition, the spoken word, ‘the living word’, is celebrated as the centre of learning, and contrasted with ‘dead’ academic reading and recitation of written text, and many schools have historically underlined the importance of including elements of singing and folk traditions (Kulich 1964; Larsson 2013). As folk high schools spread throughout the Nordic countries, they took on slightly different forms in Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. There are still considerable similarities, however, such as their emphasis on lifelong learning and personal development, while strategic economic or career goals tend to be secondary in relation to the broader goal of nurturing the ‘whole human’ (Bagley and Rust 2009).

When strong popular movements emerged in the early twentieth century, folk high schools were used for training movement activists and organizers. Many leaders in the labour movement, which played a crucial role in the emergence of the Scandinavian social democratic welfare model, were educated at folk high schools. This was also true for the farmers’ movement, which had more of a liberal political agenda. The close bond between the political movements and folk high schools (and popular education in general), is seen as one reason why substantial state subsidies to this kind of adult education enjoy such strong cross-party support in Sweden (Nordvall and Malmström 2015).

Today many folk high schools, at least in Sweden, have a high proportion of immigrants among their pupils and are often referred to as an important agent of integration in the current refugee situation. Staffan Larsson has argued that folk high schools’ continuing tendency to reform and adjust themselves to new groups of students should be seen as one of their most distinctive characteristics. Their innovative ways of organizing education have often been forerunners to later changes in the formal education system (Larsson 2013).

Despite their quite distinct regional character, related to a Nordic tradition of popular education, folk high schools have received significant attention in the international literature (Nordvall 2010). Both popular educators and researchers have shown an interest in these institutions and referred to them as inspirational examples of how adult education can be organized to promote democracy, empowerment, and community development. Bagley and Rust (2009) point to the Scandinavian folk high school both as a precedent of and an inspirational alternative to the American community college model; a model whose international impact and dissemination have developed into a research field in its own right (Raby and Valeau 2009).

Educational institutions that refer to Nordic folk high schools as role models are found across the world. We find them not only in European countries such as Holland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, and the Baltic States (Bron 1992; Kulich 2002), but also in North America, South America, Asia, and Africa (Zöllner 1994, 1997; Rogers 2000, 2013; Bagley and Rust 2013; Sawano 2013). In Great Britain, Fircroft College in Birmingham, founded in 1909 as

result of inspiration from the Danish folk high schools, might be one of the most evident example (Kulich 1964; Jennings 1982).

This chapter will introduce the reader to the literature by means of a mapping of the global spread of the folk high school idea. The spread of the folk high school outside the European context is outlined based on a literature review, in which the pioneering work by Lilian Zøllner (1994, 1997) and Knud Eyvin Bugge (1995, 2001) is an essential source.

In doing this my ambitions is, on the one hand, to illustrate how the spread could be understood as a result of some general dissemination patterns, and, on the other hand, to suggest that this kind of dissemination should be of interest for further research on how popular education ideas, which are often closely linked to civil society, travel and are locally interpreted. A few examples of how the folk high school idea has spread and taken root in different countries are presented to illustrate these more general points. The idea of mapping the spread of the folk high school and illustrating its various forms was inspired by the arguments of neo-institutional researchers such as Czarniawska and Sevón (2005), in that respect that I emphasizes that globally mobile organizational ideas and concepts are translated in the local contexts in the sense that they are transferred, transformed, and given a new meaning. Consequently, ‘a thing moved from one place to another cannot emerge unchanged: to set something in a new place is to construct it anew’ (Czarniawska and Sevón 2005: 8).

The overview presented in the chapter is limited to educational institutions outside Europe that, according to the reviewed literature, originates from the Nordic folk high school idea. I make no distinction between inspirations from the various Nordic folk high schools (Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, and Finnish) and I have not considered whether the institutions are clearly linked to the folk high school founding ideals of N.F.S. Grundtvig or just encounters with the physical institution and the educational practices held at folk high schools. Thus, when I refer to institutions inspired by folk high schools, I mean schools in which Nordic folk high schools are regarded as a role model, whether Grundtvigian ideas are explicitly applied or not.

Although no clear-cut definition of the folk high school idea is made in this chapter, some elements frequently referred to in the narratives about folk high schools can be singled out. For example, folk high schools have been described as ‘the Nordic countries’ strongest general cultural manifestation and most independent contribution to areas of education and adult education’ (Furuland 1991: 468). The schools’ origins in Denmark, where the first folk high school was formed in 1844, in Rødding, are often cited. Grundtvig’s nationalist ideas about giving ordinary Danish people knowledge of their history, religion, and heritage are usually seen as a central source of inspiration for the folk high schools. This type of school spread not just in Denmark, but got an early foothold in Sweden (1868) and Norway (1864), and a little later (1889) in Finland as well (Larson 1970). Although the forms of folk high schools have differed, both over time and between the Nordic countries, they have often been characterized by elements such as the common occurrence of residential

accommodation; close and informal relationships between teachers and students; the voluntary nature of enrolment, frequently with other objectives than to gain formal qualifications for the labour market; and the original link to the countryside, although today it has become increasingly common for schools to operate in cities. There is also often a close connection with civil society, even if the schools are now largely publicly funded. In Sweden and Denmark, folk high schools came to be associated with the growth of democracy. In Sweden, their original significance for the political education of farmers' sons and for popular movement mobilization is often highlighted. Together, these aspects constitute key elements of what this chapter refers to as the folk high school idea.

Various types of dissemination patterns can be seen in the literature on how institutions related to Nordic folk high schools spread across the world. I have distinguished three ideal-typical forms: *migration* (Scandinavian emigrants who have founded schools), *inspiration* (actors outside the Nordic countries who have 'discovered' the folk high schools and established domestic counterparts), and *dissemination through persuasion* (active dissemination of the folk high school idea by Nordic actors). These three forms will be described in greater detail and illustrated with examples below. It is of course also possible to find further and more detailed categories of dissemination (see e.g. Bugge 1995), but I have found these three sufficient for providing a general picture of the spread of the folk high school idea.

SPREAD THROUGH MIGRATION

Dean Gordon Larson (1970) deals with Nordic folk high schools and the spread of folk high schools in the US, where a number of schools were founded by immigrants from Scandinavia. The earliest American folk high school is Elk Horn Folk High School (1878), which was established by immigrants from Denmark (most of them) and Norway. The Danish Lutheran Church in the United States played a central role, and founding a folk high school coincided with its ambition to maintain and strengthen a Danish cultural and religious community in the new country. The school received financial contributions from supporters linked to Askov's folk high school in Denmark, which was a significant supporter of this and other folk high schools established in the United States around this time (Zøllner 1997).

In the late 1800s, Danish immigrants founded further folk high schools in the US, including West Denmark (Wisconsin 1884), Nysted (Nebraska 1887), and Danebod Folk School (Minnesota 1888). More were added in the early 1900s (Larson 1970). The folk high schools were closely linked to the Danish cultural and religious community. Danish was spoken at the schools, Danish songs were sung, and memories from Denmark were shared during social gatherings. Thus, the folk high school idea was mobilized as a means of strengthening a sense of ethnic/cultural community among what were primarily Danish immigrants. These schools would not prove sustainable in the long term, however. Almost all of the early American folk high schools were closed

down within a few decades. The exception was Danebod, which continued to function as a meeting place, offering some residential education (Bagley and Rust 2013). Even today, certain references to the folk high school tradition can be seen in the activities organized at Danebod, including the Danebod Folk Camp event, which is described in the following way on the school's website: 'The camp has its roots in a folk school philosophy embracing informal, lifelong education that was developed and championed by N.F.S. Grundtvig, a nineteenth century Danish philosopher/poet/clergyman' (Danebod Folk Camp 2016).

In Argentina, we find another example of the spread of the folk high school idea through migration. Zøllner (1997) shows that the development here differs in many respects from that in the US, although this also was a development driven by Danish immigrants. Most migrants to the United States were from rural areas. Argentina attracted mainly urban migrants. The church did not have the same influence over the Danish community in Argentina, and the organizational infrastructure that existed through the Lutheran Church in the US was not present in Argentina. It also took relatively long for a folk high school inspired institution to emerge in Argentina. In 1946, an association was formed, the Centro Cultural Argentino—Danés, with the ambition of revitalizing the links to Denmark and the Danish people. The folk high school Altamira, which was established in the same year by this organization, focused on education in spoken and written Danish, Argentine history, world history, singing, gymnastics, and Danish folk dancing. The school was closed in the early 1960s due to a lack of students. Zøllner (1997) interprets this as a sign of a diminishing interest among the younger Danish Argentines in keeping the Danish language and the Grundtvigian heritage alive. Instead, they were more focused on becoming an integral part of Argentine society. The folk high school as idea and practice thus seems to have had a limited impact in the Argentine context.

Both in the US and in Argentina, the spread and application of the folk high school idea followed the wave of intercontinental migration from Scandinavia to America during the late 1800s and early 1900s. However, migration does not in itself appear to be an explanatory factor as to why the idea spread. The educational institutions that were established with reference to the folk high school idea required the presence of organizations, primarily churches, which were striving to maintain their religious influence within the migrant Scandinavian population or to strengthen an ethnocultural sense of community. It is furthermore a general observation that the folk high schools born of this wave of migration gradually declined and disappeared, both in Argentina and USA.

THE NORDIC FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS AS INSPIRATION

The above examples illustrate a pattern in which the idea spread and folk high schools were established in the wake of Nordic migration. Folk high school-like institutions also spread from country to country as a consequence of outsiders being inspired to establish similar institutions in their domestic environment.

The early spread of the idea within the Nordic countries appears to be characterized by this pattern. Knowledge about the Danish folk high schools spread in Sweden during the 1800s through newspapers, books and personal contacts. Correspondence with the Danish folk high school supporters and visits to folk high schools in Denmark probably contributed to the founding of the early Swedish folk high schools (Maliszewski 2003). The early Polish folk high schools were inspired by both Swedish and Danish predecessors in a similar way (Bron 1992). This pattern is seen again when we consider the intercontinental spread of the idea. Two examples of this, Tokai University in Japan and the Highlander Folk School in the US, are presented below.

Tokai: The Folk High School Idea Transformed into a Private University

Grundtvig and his ideas about folk high schools and popular education became known in Japan in the early 1900s, mainly among Christian intellectuals with an interest in European and American culture and society. Japanese groups also made study visits to Denmark and the Danish folk high schools during the early 1900s. This inspired some Japanese actors to establish educational institutions for which Grundtvig's thoughts were an ideological and educational inspiration. One of the most prominent examples of this is Tokai University. The promoter behind the creation of Tokai was Shigeyoshi Matsumae (1901–1991), an engineer and a famous cultural figure in Japan with a prominent role in the martial art of judo, as well as commitments in education, culture, and politics. After becoming acquainted with Grundtvig's thoughts via the Christian community, Matsumae went on a study visit to several Danish folk high schools in 1934. On returning home, he founded an educational institution following the Danish model on the outskirts of Tokyo. This institution was named Bosei Gakujuku and offered residential accommodation for a smaller group of students. The students were from some of the leading universities and the curriculum included history, Christianity and international issues. Hymns and Danish gymnastics also featured on the curriculum. Several common themes of Nordic folk high schools (boarding, singing, etc.) were thus applied in a Japanese context. Still, some contrast can be seen with the Nordic folk high schools in respect to the recruitment base for students. Instead of farmers and ordinary people in rural areas, Bosei Gakujuku mostly recruited students from universities in the Tokyo area (Zöllner 1994; Mehl 2007; Sawano 2013).

Bosei Gakujuku was closed before the Second World War. After the war, Matsumae started planning a new educational institution based on the folk high school idea. The stated purpose was to establish a university that would counteract the feeling of uncertainty and confusion regarding identity and values which in Matsumae's view was spreading in Japan partly due to the defeat in the Second World War and the fall of the empire. Government permission was granted in 1946 for the establishment of Tokai University, where Matsumae was initially in charge. The school's ideological and educational foundation combined folk high school ideas with other traditions and practices

which were considered character-building, such as judo. This new impulses and innovations from abroad were tied to traditional Japanese activities. Denmark was imbued with an additional symbolic meaning when Matsumae referred to Denmark as a country defeated in war (by Prussia and Austria in 1864), but which recovered and gained an internationally renowned position as a cultural nation whose folk high schools were important in developing a democratic and peaceful society. The idea of the folk high schools thus fitted well into the social and political aspirations that existed in post-war Japan (Zøllner 1994; Mehl 2007).

Since its founding in 1946, Tokai University has gone through an extensive expansion. It is now one of Japan's most highly ranked private universities, and has served as an inspiration for followers in primary and secondary education, including agricultural and judo schools. Foreign branches have been established as well, including Tokai University European Center in Denmark and Tokai University Pacific Center in Hawaii. Tokai thus differs in several respects from the Nordic folk high schools. Its admissions procedure and examinations do not differ much from conventional universities. It does, however, have the ambition to differentiate itself from the mainstream educational system, through the original ideas of Matsumae as well as references to Grundtvigian ideals, which are still made in its mission statement (Zøllner 1994; Tokai University 2016).

A fundamental transformation process appears to have occurred in the case of Tokai. Folk high schools were the specific inspiration in the founding of Tokai University, but their ideas were adapted to the social context in which the institution was established. Tokai has developed into being a part of the formal education system, possibly to secure legitimacy and attractiveness in the national context. The Grundtvigian ideal of the folk high school as an institution characterized by a sharp contrast with the academic approach to knowledge was thus adapted for use as an ideological cornerstone of a university that nonetheless remained within the regular academic system, with grades and exams, etc.

Highlander: The Folk High School Idea and the Struggle for Civil Rights

Much like Tokai University, Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, USA, was founded largely by the efforts of an individual promoter of the folk high schools idea, Miles Horton (1905–1990). Unlike at Tokai, however, Horton's commitment and the development of Highlander were characterized by conflict with the local political system.

Previous research describes Horton's strong social commitment as the result of a childhood marked by unemployment and poverty. Even before he came into contact with the Nordic folk high school idea, Horton nurtured an idea about establishing an educational institution for adults which would encourage people to work for social change. His first contact with the folk high school idea occurred in 1930 when Horton, then a student at the University of Chicago, met Aage Møller, a Lutheran pastor. Møller had been director of the Nysted folk

high school in Nebraska. Horton read up on Danish culture and folk high schools, including the older folk high schools founded in the US by Danish immigrants. In 1931 he visited a number of folk high schools in Denmark. Based on these experiences, Horton and another American interested in folk high schools, Don West, decided to set up a school for adults aimed at social change. They saw a Danish-inspired educational institution as something that could contribute to the solution of the social and economic problems that existed in the state of Tennessee. A private donor gave Horton and West the use of a farm in Monteagle, Tennessee, thus providing them with a material base for setting up their school in 1932 (Horton 1994; Toivainen 1995; Bagley and Rust 2013).

Soon after it started Highlander folk school became part of a popular movement context. Trade union education became one its principal activities. Educational forms at the folk school focused on the students' own experiences, and the teachers worked more as supervisors. This was not only due to ideological principles about how education should be organized, but just as much a result of the fact that teachers lacked a deeper understanding of trade union work and were thus unable to provide much guidance on these issues. This meant that the educational arrangements echoed, in several ways, ideas central to the folk high school tradition in the Nordic countries (Toivainen 1995).

At the end of the 1950s, activities at the school increasingly began to centre on the civil rights movement. Several leaders of the movement underwent training at the school, including the activist Rosa Parks (1913–2005). Highlander's participation in the civil rights movement created a backlash, with accusations in the media and by authorities that the school was a communist education institution and that it was provoking racial tension. This culminated in 1961 with Tennessee state authorities recalling Highlander's license to operate as a school and confiscating its property. As a result, the school moved from Monteagle to Knoxville in Tennessee, and changed its name from Highlander Folk School to Highlander Research and Education Center. Today the Highlander is located in New Market, Tennessee (Highlander Research and Education Center 2016). Over time, and with the new name, the symbolic link to the Nordic model seems to have become weaker. This is probably because such a link is no longer central to the legitimacy of the school. It appears clear, however, that the idea of the folk high school and the Danish example were important in mobilizing initial support for the school (Toivainen 1995; Bagley and Rust 2013).

DISSEMINATION THROUGH PERSUASION

The third and final ideal-typical dissemination pattern addressed here—dissemination through persuasion—refers to a situation in which Nordic actors actively try to spread the folk high school idea to other parts of the world. This has not least been prominent in international aid contexts. As folk high schools and popular education is considered by many to have had a positive impact on democratic and economic development in the Nordic region, it has often been

assumed that they would have a similar impact if implemented in developing countries (Kulich 1964; Simon 1989; Wallin 2000, Åberg 2008). Two examples of this type of dissemination are presented below: the establishment of the Grundtvig inspired schools in Bangladesh funded by Danida, the Danish international aid agency, and the establishment of Folk Development Colleges (FDCs) in Tanzania funded by the Swedish aid agency, Sida.

Gonobidyalaya: The Third World in the Nordic Region's Footsteps?

In the early 1980s five high schools, or rather five educational institutions referring to the folk high school idea as their source of inspiration, were founded in Bangladesh with Danish support. The institutions were given the name Gonobidyalaya, which consists of the Bengali words 'gono' meaning people and 'bidyalaya' meaning school. The initiative to establish the schools can be seen in the light of the contacts that existed between one of Danida's advisers on educational matters, Daniel Pedersen, and the organization that became the owner of the schools—the Bangladesh Association for Community Education (BACE). Besides the desire among Danish promoters to spread the idea, regional educational influences were of importance for the establishment. Bugge (1995) mentions two influential adult educators in neighbouring India. One is the Nobel Prize winner in literature Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941) who was the driving force behind the education centre in Shantiniketan which started as a counterforce to the British educational system. The second person is the primary leader of India's independence movement Mahatma Gandhi (1869–1948), whose ideas inspired the founding of the adult education institution Mitraniketan in southern India. Another part of the local background is the so called Swarnivar movement developed in Bangladesh since the mid-1970s. This movement emphasized the importance of self-reliance of rural people. Key actors in BACE had a background in this movement and the folk high school became attractive as a form of education that emphasized the importance of the rural population's experiences (Bugge 1995).

In 1980, BACE founded the first Gonobidyalaya institution southeast of Dhaka, near the town of Comilla. The following year, BACE applied for and was granted financial support from Danida for the development of further educational institutions of the same type, and four new Gonobidyalaya institutions were set up. The schools were intended to focus especially on socially marginalized children and women among peasants and workers. In 1988 regular contacts between BACE and the Danish folk high schools' nationwide organization were established, which meant that staff from Danish folk high schools travelled to Bangladesh to teach BACE about Grundtvig's ideas, and that key persons at BACE visited Denmark to study folk high schools. There was thus a great enthusiasm on the Danish side to spread the folk high school ideas to Bangladesh. One recurring argument for these efforts was the great similarity between the situation in Denmark during the 1800s and the prevailing situation in Bangladesh in the 1980s (Bugge 2001).

There are today five Gonobidyalayas in five different locations in Bangladesh, and they continue to present themselves as ‘greatly influenced by the Folk High School movement in Denmark’ and ‘non-formal educational institution[s] imparting life-oriented education and following a learner centred, participatory teaching methodology’ (BACE 2016).

Many of the Danish folk high school promoters underline the usefulness of the folk high schools in Bangladesh arguing that ‘they’ are at the same level of development as ‘we’ (the Danes/Scandinavians) were more than hundred years ago. From this notion, it follows that if folk high schools were a path to democracy and prosperity for ‘us’, they can now be the same for ‘them’. This is similar to a notion that Kerstin Wallin came across in her study of Swedish trade union development work in Chile, ‘the comrades in developing countries are facing problems similar to those we had in Sweden at the turn of the century’ and that ‘the Swedish example’ of popular education is a solution for them as well (Wallin 2000: 33). Dahlstedt and Nordvall (2011) argue, from a post-colonial theoretical perspective, that this way of reasoning, which they also found among Swedish popular educators supporting FDCs in Tanzania, is based on a linear notion of development which could be accused of both simplification and eurocentricity. The export of popular education ideas can be traced both to the formation of national identity among Scandinavians and to elements of a colonial legacy related to the idea of a European civilizing mission, i.e. a wish to teach people in the former colonies of the southern hemisphere the right way (Dahlstedt and Nordvall 2011).

It appears that Danish stakeholders in Bangladesh have been driven by a similar commitment to spreading the folk high school idea, as well as having a shared interest with a local actor (BACE) that wished to promote the folk high school idea. The concept of spreading the folk high school ideas as a means of contributing to third world development can also be seen in the following case, the FDCs in Tanzania.

Tanzanian State-Building and Swedish Popular Education

The second example of active dissemination of the folk high school idea is from Tanzania, where 51 FDCs were established between 1975 and 1980 with support from Sida. These are often referred to as ‘the Tanzanian folk high schools’, since the model for them was the Swedish folk high school (Rogers 2000, 2013). Today there are 55 FDCs in Tanzania (KTA 2016).

Sweden has provided extensive assistance to Tanzania and FDCs. Julius Nyerere, president of Tanzania 1964–1985 and leader of the TANU party, which led the Tanzanian liberation from British colonial rule, shared ideological convictions with Swedish social democracy and had good personal relations with two subsequent Swedish prime ministers, Tage Erlander and Olof Palme. Nyerere paid several visits to Sweden and was familiar with the Swedish system of popular and adult education. This had a certain influence on Nyerere’s ideas

about the central role of adult education in the construction of an independent and socialist Tanzanian state (Sellström 1999; Rogers 2000).

The starting point for the establishment of the FDC was a 1971 visit to Sweden by a delegation from the Tanzanian Ministry of Education. This was followed by a request from the Tanzanian government for assistance from Sweden in the construction of schools similar to the folk high schools. The request was granted, and colleges were built with both financial and educational support from Sweden (Rogers 2000).

However, there is also a significant historical background that should be considered, which has certain similarities to the Gonobidyalas example in Bangladesh and which allows us, despite the obvious element of inspiration, to consider the FDC project as an example of dissemination through persuasion. Swedish missionaries had been present in Tanzania since before independence. One of them, Barbro Johansson, played an important role in the establishment of the FDC. According to Sellström (1999), Johansson introduced Nyerere to Erlander and Palme during one of his visits to Europe. She also participated in the establishment of the FDC. It should also be noted that Swedish and Nordic adult educators were present in Tanzania before the FDC project, and they also contributed to the spread of the idea of folk high schools in the region (Kulich 1964; Rydström 1996). Despite their presence, however, it was only after Sweden received an official request for support from the Tanzanian government that the establishment of colleges took off. The rapid pace of expansion was partly due to the fact that the FDCs basically took over already existing educational institutions with premises and staff. In addition to financial and educational support on site in Tanzania, Tanzanian teachers and directors were also given the opportunity of visiting folk high schools in Sweden. Just as in the Gonobidyalaya example, local stakeholders were able to see for themselves how folk high schools in the Nordic region worked (Rogers 2000).

The FDC differs from Swedish folk high schools in certain respects. First, FDCs were a government initiative, owned and initially controlled by the responsible ministry (Rogers 2000). This is in contrast with most folk high schools in Sweden, which are owned by organizations in civil society. Second, the colleges in Tanzania have a more pronounced emphasis on vocational training than what is typical of folk high schools in Denmark and Sweden. Swedish folk high school promoters involved with the FDCs have also pointed out that teaching is more authoritarian in Tanzania. And many of the educational initiatives directed towards the Tanzanian teachers and directors have indeed focused on encouraging a more 'folk high school-like' pedagogy (Rogers 2000; Dahlstedt and Nordvall 2011). Thus we see a contest or negotiation over how to define the folk high school idea, whose protagonists are local actors, aid organizations and Swedish folk high schools present in Tanzania.

An evaluation of a Swedish investment in teacher training at the FDCs also points to weak support for the colleges, from the local communities as well as from the rest of the educational system (Rogers et al. 1997). The same evaluation also indicated that the FDCs did not grow out of local needs and interests,

but could be seen primarily as a result of cooperation between the Tanzanian government and the Swedish popular educators. However, as Rogers (2013) concludes in his review of contemporary FDCs in Tanzania, the fact that colleges—today without support from Sida—are still in operation, more than 40 years after they were introduced, can in itself be considered a form of success.

CONCLUSION

Institutions clearly influenced by the Nordic folk high schools have spread worldwide. In this chapter, their spread has been described as following three ideal-typical dissemination patterns: inspiration, migration, and persuasion. The object of creating such categories is to point out the general patterns and thus contribute to a general overview. However, this does not mean that the categories capture the complexity of each case (which may have elements of all three ideal types). But by making this dissemination visible and analyzing it, we can hopefully structure and develop our understanding of the role the folk high school idea for adult education in a global perspective.

In most of the empirical examples, we could trace the presence of more than one of the three dissemination patterns. Regarding the FDCs, for example, we saw that besides being an export of sorts, they can also be regarded as the result of inspiration (Julius Nyerere) and even migration (the missionary Barbro Johansson and others). In other words, each case is more complex than the discrete categories migration, inspiration and persuasion allow for. Still, these categories can be used for analytical purposes, while more developed theoretical tools are needed to capture the complexity of each case.

An alternative to understanding the folk high school idea as containing a static essence, or some fundamental value that separates ‘authentic’ folk high schools from ‘false’ ones, is to understand the folk high school idea as a myth, in the sense that this concept is developed in neo-institutional organization theory (Nordvall and Åberg 2011). Myths are understood in that context as collective beliefs and social norms created in the institutional environment where the organization is expected to occur. Such myths are important for actors to relate to in order to gain legitimacy (Meyer and Rowan 1977).

As shown in this chapter, the spread of the folk high school idea has produced a multitude of interpretations. Rather than seeing the spread of the folk high school idea as the ‘franchising’ of a coherent educational innovation, the spread could be understood in term of production of legitimacy, identity, and transnational networks (Nordvall and Åberg 2011). ‘The folk high school myth’ is translated and used in various ways, depending on social, cultural, political, and economic factors. Hence the usefulness of the folk high school idea, or the ways in which it can be made useful, varies between contexts. In Scandinavia, if an educational institution is acknowledged as a folk high school, it receives funding from the state and can offer its students access to a considerable network of other folk high schools. In other contexts, where there are no such systems of subsidies or established folk high school communities, the folk high

school idea could be used as a legitimizing example when claiming the right to challenge for example traditionally academic educational ideas. From international aid perspective, it is also evident that institutions claiming kinship with the folk high school idea have been successful in attracting support from Scandinavian countries.

When studying the global dissemination of adult education ideas and institutions—the folk high schools being a case in point—it is crucial to emphasize both the contingency of the local adaptation processes related to the spread of ideas as well as the presence of global power structures and discourses with origins in the colonial era. The strong presence of a will among Scandinavian actors to show the way for development in countries in the global south, indicates a discourse on international solidarity that contains elements from colonial legacies (Dahlstedt and Nordvall 2011). Thus, the often explicitly anti-colonial intentions expressed by Scandinavian popular educators involved in spreading the folk high school idea may very well include elements of cultural imperialism as described by Edward Said (1995).

To understand the adaptation processes taking place, empirical research of local contexts is needed. The spread of educational ideas, or educational transfer, is a common theme in literature on comparative education (Beech 2006; Rappleye 2006). However, one thing that makes folk high schools and other forms of popular education interesting and unique, compared to mainstream research in that field, is the link to processes within civil society and non-formal educational settings. By illuminating the spread of the folk high schools, for example, we can produce valuable knowledge for a wider academic audience by contributing answers to the questions: How and why do educational ideas spread globally outside formal educational structures and/or state policies? What happens when such ideas travel?

When doing research on the global transfer of popular education ideas and institutions rooted in civil society, it is also necessary to consider other dynamics than those that characterize the transfer of educational ideas within formal education. When researching the transfer of ideas between the formal education systems, national curricula, nation–state bureaucracies and organizations for international relations need to be studied. As many of the examples in this chapter illustrate, when looking at civil society it instead becomes crucial to consider the roles of individual activists and promoters, and their informal global networks.

REFERENCES

- Åberg, P. (2008). *Translating popular education*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
- BACE. (2016). *Gonobidyalaya* [Community School]. Retrieved February 18, 2016, from <http://www.bacebd.org/gonobidyalaya-community-school>.
- Bagley, S. S., & Rust, V. D. (2009). The Scandinavian folk high school: Community-based education in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. In R. Raby & E. Valeau (Eds.), *Community college models: Globalization and higher education*. New York: Springer.

- Bagley, S. S., & Rust, V. D. (2013). Folk schools in the United States: A Scandinavian inspiration. In A.-M. Laginder, H. Nordvall, & J. Crowther (Eds.), *Popular education, power and democracy: Swedish contributions and experiences*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Beech, J. (2006). The theme of educational transfer in comparative education. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 1(1), 2–13.
- Bron, A. (1992). Residential adult education: History, concept, evaluation. In J. Field & G. Normie (Eds.), *Residential adult education*. Coventry: Warwick University.
- Bugge, K. E. (1995). Some international varieties of Grundtvig–inspiration. In L. Zöllner & A.-M. Andersen (Eds.), *Enlightenment in an international perspective*. Vejle: Kroghs Forlag.
- Bugge, K. E. (2001). *Folk high schools in Bangladesh*. Odense: Odense University Press.
- Czarniawska, B., & Sevón, G. (Eds.). (2005). *Global ideas*. Malmö: Liber.
- Dahlstedt, M., & Nordvall, H. (2011). Paradoxes of solidarity: Democracy and colonial legacies in Swedish popular education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 61(3), 244–261.
- Danebod Folk Camp. (2016). *What's Danebod?* Retrieved January 5, 2016, from <http://danebodfolkcamp.org/about/>.
- Furuland, L. (1991). Folkhögskola. In *Nationalecyclopedin* (Vol. 6). Höganäs: Bra böcker.
- Highlander Research and Education Center. (2016). Retrieved January 14, 2016, from <http://www.highlandercenter.org>.
- Horton, M. (1994). *Den långa striden*. Linköping: Vuxenutbildarcentrum.
- Jennings, B. (1982). The influence of the Danish Folk High School on adult education in England. *Adult Education*, 56(1), 12–15.
- KTA. (2016). *Karibu Tanzania Association*. Retrieved February 18, 2016, from <http://www.kaributanzania.or.tz/index.php/2014-10-16-09-21-09/karibu-tanzania-association>.
- Kulich, J. (1964). The Danish Folk High School. *International Review of Education*, 10(4), 417–430.
- Kulich, J. (2002). Residential folk high schools in Eastern Europe and the Baltic states. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 21(2), 178–190.
- Larson, D. G. (1970). *A comparison of the spread of the folk high school idea in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and the United States*. Michigan: University Microfilms.
- Larsson, S. (2013). Folk high schools as educational avant-gardes. In A.-M. Laginder, H. Nordvall, & J. Crowther (Eds.), *Popular education, power and democracy: Swedish contributions and experiences*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Lövgren, J. (2015). Norwegian folk high schools redefine their role as value-based institutions. *Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidskrift*, 18, 198–217.
- Maliszewski, T. (2003). On the history of folk high schools in Sweden. In M. Byczkowski, T. Maliszewski, & E. Przybylska (Eds.), *Folk high school —school for life*. Wieżycza: Kashubian FHS.
- Mehl, M. (2007). NFS Grundtvig, Niels Bukh and other ‘Japanese’ heroes. *European Journal of East Asian Studies*, 6(2), 155–184.
- Meyer, J. W., & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalized organizations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology*, 83(2), 340–363.
- Nordvall, H. (2010). Internationell folkhögskoleforskning. In B. Gustavsson & G. Andersdotter (Eds.), *Folkhögskolans praktiker i förändring II*. Örebro: Örebro universitet.

- Nordvall, H., & Åberg, P. (2011). Folkhögskolan som myt: Om global spridning och användning av nordiska folkbildningsidéer. *Pedagogisk Forskning i Sverige*, 16(1), 1–18.
- Nordvall, H., & Malmström, L. (2015). Den folkligt bildade politikern: Akademiska kunskaper och det symboliska kapitalets logik inom den socialdemokratiska riksdagsgruppen i Sverige. *Nordisk kulturpolitisk tidskrift*, 8(2), 233–249.
- Raby, R., & Valeau, E. (Eds.). (2009). *Community college models: Globalization and higher education*. New York: Springer.
- Rapplee, J. (2006). Theorizing educational transfer. *Research in Comparative and International Education*, 1(3), 223–240.
- Rogers, A. (2000). Cultural transfer in adult education: The case of the Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania. *International Review of Education*, 46(1–2), 67–92.
- Rogers, A. (2013). Rhetoric and implementation. In A.-M. Laginder, H. Nordvall, & J. Crowther (Eds.), *Popular education, power and democracy: Swedish contributions and experiences*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Rogers, A., Chadwick, A., & Oglesby, K. L. (1997). *TANDEM project with the Folk Development Colleges in Tanzania 1990 to 1996*. Stockholm: SIDA.
- Rydström, G. (Ed.). (1996). *Adult education in Tanzania*. Linköping: Centre for Adult Educators.
- Said, E. W. (1995). *Culture and imperialism*. New York: Knopf.
- Sawano, Y. (2013). The influence of the Scandinavian model of popular education and lifelong learning in Japan. In A.-M. Laginder, H. Nordvall, & J. Crowther (Eds.), *Popular education, power and democracy: Swedish contributions and experiences*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Sellström, T. (1999). *Sweden and national liberation in Southern Africa*. Uppsala: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Simon, E. (1989). *‘og solen står med bonden op-?': de nordiske folkehøjskoleers idehistorie*. Vejen: Askov højskoles forlag.
- Toiviainen, T. (1995). A comparative study of Nordic residential folk high schools and the Highlander Folk School. *Convergence*, 28(1), 5–24.
- Tokai University. (2016). *About founder*. Retrieved February 12, 2016, from <http://www.u-tokai.ac.jp/english/about/founder.html>.
- Wallin, K. E. (2000). *Folkbildning på export?*. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
- Zøllner, L. (1994). *Grundtvigs skoletanker i Japan, Fillipinerne og Israel*. Vejle: Kroghs Forlag.
- Zøllner, L. (1997). *Grundtvigs skoletanker i USA, Argentina og Chile*. Vejle: Kroghs Forlag.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Henrik Nordvall is an Associate Professor in Adult Education at the Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning, Linköping University, Sweden, and the Director of Mimer—The Swedish Network for Research on Popular Education. His research concerns popular education, social movements, and political mobilization. His current projects concern the educational background of the Swedish political elite and the spread of Scandinavian popular education ideas in Eastern Africa.

Contexts, People and Practices

INTRODUCTION

Like the two preceding parts of this edited collection, this wide ranging final part is sub-divided for thematic coherency and the reader's ease of navigation. Part III is entitled *Contexts, People and Practices*, and considers actors, systems and structures bounding and framing the sites of adult learning and education. The first section covers bodies and practices facilitating these activities, in both national and international settings. The second section considers the impact of cultural, demographic and geographical contexts on the experiences of adult learners, and as with some of the Handbook's earlier contributions, views much of this through a social justice lens, with issues of the transformative potential of adult education and learning frequently to the fore. In the final section—of Part III and indeed of the Handbook itself—the chapters explore the role of digital and other technologies in facilitating learning in a range of social and political contexts, and the impact of aspects of popular culture, creative industries and the arts on adult learning and education.

The first section of five chapters is entitled *Organisations*. It opens with a contribution from Sue Webb, who considers the key role played by two Australian learned societies in shaping the field of study through their associations' journals. Webb undertakes a content analysis of Adult Learning Australia's journal, the *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*; and the Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association (AVETRA)'s official publication, the *International Journal of Training Research*. Considering a 6 year period from 2010–2015, Webb examines the 202 peer reviewed articles in the two journals, and concludes that they can be understood as falling into three broad sectors, and that they are differentiated in terms of either being a site for research and knowledge production, or a site aiding the professional development of adult education practitioners.

In the next chapter, Swedish authors Andreas Fejes and Erik Nylander turn the spotlight onto the academic practices of researchers in the field, particularly

in terms of the pressures felt to publish in English-language journals, and to target those featuring highly in the *Scopus* and *Web of Science* databases. Fejes and Nylander draw upon previous bibliometric analyses, including their own, and explore the impact of the new forms of managerialism within the neoliberal higher education system. They outline the ‘art of strategic submissions’ and then critique their own model in a discussion highlighting the multiplicity of demands upon scholars and how some of the strategic ‘guidance’ proposed can conflict with other aspects of their professional roles.

In the third chapter, Nelly P. Stromquist and Guillermo Lozano turn their attention to the role of popular universities in a broad range of international contexts, in particular Europe. After outlining the role, function and funding methodologies employed to support these institutions, the authors explore their two key functions. These are sometimes in opposition, and sometimes complementary—meeting the learning needs and preferences of people in a given local context, and offering a potentially emancipatory role in promoting social change.

In her contribution to the Handbook, Anika Turunen considers the roles of Nordic study circles, and their impact on the practice of citizenship in the Finnish and Swedish contexts. Turunen employs ethnographic fieldwork in three distinct and contrasting settings (a carpentry circle for older participants, a philosophy circle and a study circle for the learning of basic English). The research throws up a number of dilemmas, notably the sometimes contradictory desires for openness and inclusion on the one hand, and for excellence and subject mastery on the other.

In the final chapter of the first section, Julia Preece considers the context and spaces for learning generated by African higher education institutions and their community engagement projects. In considering the example of South Africa in particular, Preece highlights some of the challenges facing that nation in developing its policies towards lifelong learning. She examines the role community engagement schemes at universities can contribute to what she calls ‘socially robust’ knowledge that reflects locally contextualised systems of ‘bottom-up’ problem-generating and problem-solving during knowledge production processes.

The second section, comprising four very different contributions, is entitled *Learners*. It starts with a contribution by Brian Findsen, who takes a critical perspective on the sub-field of educational gerontology, perhaps better known as ‘learning in later adulthood’. Findsen highlights how this is a growing area of academic interest, perhaps as an inevitable consequence of the ageing population witnessed in much of the developed world. His chapter explores how issues of globalisation and neoliberalism have impacted on this group, resulting in significant complexity perhaps unknown to an earlier generation. Findsen concludes his chapter with a discussion of salient emergent issues for this specific sub-group of adult learners.

The next chapter, from Siu Ling Maureen Tam, continues the exploration of older learners’ experiences, but this time from the specific Confucian

perspective of learning. Tam draws upon a cross-cultural study of elderly people in Hong Kong and Australia, in which she explores their attitudes to both learning and ageing, attitudes which she contrasts the Eastern and Western ideas of lifelong learning. She shows how 'lifelong learning' is a context-specific, culturally-determined, and value-laden term. The chapter concludes by highlighting the importance of age in an understanding of learning, and then establishes the relevance of the Confucian view of lifelong learning to older learners of Chinese heritage.

Jovita M. Ross-Gordon provides the next chapter, in which our attention is turned to the issue of people with disabilities engaging in adult and lifelong education. Ross-Gordon's contribution begins with an outline of how adult education literature has tended to frame the notion of disability within medical or economic models. She then contrasts the approach from the area of disability studies which employ perspectives using social and sociocultural lenses to understand disability and adult learning. The chapter concludes with a discussion of her own perspective on disability and impairment, and proposes an integrative model to aid our understanding of the field.

The fourth and final chapter of the *Learners* section comes from Matthew A. Eichler and Racidon Bernarte, and focuses on another under researched sub-field of adult education, the Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex and Ally (LGBTQIA) communities. Eichler and Bernarte draw upon notions of the transformative potential of adult learning, but in a different manner from that of scholars elsewhere in this Handbook. They explore the complexity of LGBTQIA lives in different (and shifting) national contexts, and examine the interrelated nature of adult learning and personal identity for members of the LGBTQIA communities in rapidly evolving social and cultural landscapes.

The third section of the Handbook covers *Technologies, Objects & Artefacts*, and at six chapters is the longest of the three.

Seng Chee Tan's chapter is the first of three on older learners and technology. He approaches the issue of technological integration for adult education and lifelong learning from a learner-centric rather than a technology-centric direction in a rapidly changing digital environment, arguing that educators must seek to harness the most appropriate technology for the given needs of the learner, rather than take the technology and see how it might be harnessed for that purpose. Tan's contribution offers three alternative approaches for the technology enhanced older learner, 'knowledge as acquisition', 'learning as participation' and 'learning as knowledge'.

Next, Sarah Speight takes a critical look at the impact of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) since their emergence in North America in 2008. She approaches MOOCs from three thematic analyses, their political economy, their pedagogy and their relationship to adult education and lifelong learning. Speight notes a shift in how MOOCs are understood, from an initial emphasis on their potential to widen access to adult and higher education, to an arguably

less emancipatory positioning as entry routes into a fee-paying certified form of learning, where postgraduate learners appear to be the biggest beneficiaries.

Rebecca Nthogo Lekoko and Keitseope Nthomang's chapter looks to the needs of older learners in Africa, and Botswana in particular, and how cost-free open education resources can be employed to enhance the lifelong learning participation rate for the growing over-65 population. Lekoko and Nthomang consider how, by using forms of indigenous approaches to education, older adult learners can, in common with their younger peers, be developed as an asset contributing strategically to the continent's development.

The final three chapters broadly focus upon the potential for adult education and learning of different aspects of culture and the arts. Robin Redmond Wright considers the potential for adult learning through engagement with popular culture. Redmond Wright argues that the ubiquity of popular culture and its widespread availability across a number of platforms means we must recognise and understand it as an arena of considerable educational potential for adults. She draws upon both theoretical and empirical studies from a range of disciplinary fields to explore these everyday learning spaces. The chapter concludes with a discussion of current and future research trends and their potential in aiding an understanding of popular culture and adult learning and education.

Christine Jarvis's chapter explores how adults' everyday encounters with popular fictions can be understood as forms of critical adult education. Using the work of three creators of contemporary popular fiction, and adopting an interdisciplinary approach, Jarvis demonstrates the potential of this form of cultural artefact as a worthwhile educational project. Jarvis examines how an understanding of the educational potential, purposes and strategies of popular fictions can illuminate their use as a site of critical educational curriculum. She also notes that while exactly what the popular fictions can teach, and how they can do so, may change, their potential as sites of learning remains a constant.

The last chapter of the Handbook is from Canadian scholar Patricia A. Gouthro, and explores how the arts provide researchers and educators with the opportunity to work with adult learners in generating creative and transformative learning opportunities. Gouthro explores how the arts can be employed to foster creativity, and to challenge the neoliberal notion of learning being primarily about earning. She draws upon critical Habermasian and transformative learning theory more broadly in arguing the need for educators to expand their understanding of the benefits of teaching creativity to adult learners.

Adult Education Learned Societies: Professionalism and Publications

Sue Webb

Abstract Webb explores the research directions of adult education and lifelong learning through the publication practices of two Australian learned societies. This chapter draws on thematic content analysis of recent publications in the journals of Adult Learning Australia and the Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association. The analysis draws on the lens of the sociology of professionalism to highlight fragmentation in the field between educational sectors (adult and community education, vocational education and training and universities) and between the sites for research and knowledge production and the sites for the professional development of practitioners who teach adults in the field. Some implications for how researchers and learned societies might continue to build and sustain the research knowledge base and the professional development of practitioners are developed.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an overview of the current state of research and research directions in the field of adult education and lifelong learning in Australia explored through the publication practices of learned societies and analysed through the lens of the sociology of professionalism. Acknowledging that adult education and lifelong learning is a broad and diverse field, which has different meanings and traditions in different parts of the world, this chapter locates the discussion of the field in Australia within the traditions of Anglophone countries, such as the UK, New Zealand and Canada, in which the public funding of learning for adults has prioritised market-led models of human capital devel-

S. Webb (✉)

Faculty of Education, Monash University, 29 Ancora Imparo Way, Clayton,
Victoria 3800, Australia
e-mail: susan.webb@monash.edu

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_38

741

opment (Verdier this volume). This chapter draws on empirical thematic content analysis of recent publications in journals run by the only two learned societies in Australia that focus on the adult learning and learning for adults in the vocational education and training (VET) sector. This chapter argues that as national funding policies have constructed the educational spaces for adults to learn increasingly narrowly by funding only the thin learning of skills to *make a living* or what is often referred to as the new educational order of lifelong learning (Field 2000), so too the roles of practitioners have been narrowed and de-professionalised (Guthrie 2010). Arguably, this context has had implications for the funding of practices for thicker understandings of lifelong learning *for living*. The evidence from the publications of learned societies suggests these changes impact on universities as knowledge producers and the research that is published. This chapter recognises that given the long tradition of policy borrowing and sharing across national systems, particularly within Anglophone traditions with respect to their post-compulsory education systems and social inclusion policy and practices (Gale 2011), a focus on Australia contributes to discussions of the future directions of this field in countries where thin understandings of lifelong learning prevail.

THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT AND ITS LEARNED SOCIETIES

In Australia, according to the Kearns' (2005) report for the learned society Adult Learning Australia (ALA), the field of lifelong learning is poorly understood. Kearns (2005:11) contended that developing lifelong learning 'requires mainstreaming the role of adult and community education (ACE) in holistic strategies which integrate social capital, educational, and economic objectives' but its progress 'has been hampered by the absence of a developed and co-ordinated knowledge base'; 'it has not been a research priority'. Arguably, one reason for this is that the field is fragmented; it operates in bounded spheres of activity often in institutions, workplaces or communities characterised by different missions and different funding arrangements, including both private and public sources of funding and regulatory control and funding from either the Federal national level or the local level of individual States and Territories. Therefore, in Australia as with other federal systems, such as Canada or conjoined country systems such as the UK, national learned societies need to be mindful of these policy/practice differences in interests and activities when supporting their members and encouraging research and publication through their journals.

This chapter though is not aiming to provide an analysis *of* policy and the conceptualisations of the field constructed in policy texts, nor the diverse practices in different national spaces, instead it aims to discuss empirical research *on* the field using qualitative thematic analysis of texts to identify conceptualisations developed by researchers and practitioners through the journals of their learned societies. Yet, I will argue that the national contexts in which learned societies operate set parameters for academic practices and employment within

universities for those who research in the field of adult education and lifelong learning, which has implications for the development of research. In this regard, this chapter will consider the impact of recent changes in Australia in the provision of education-focused teaching programmes (both undergraduate and postgraduate) aimed at the adult educator or lifelong learning professional and discuss the implications for sustaining and coordinating the knowledge base of the field.

The main purpose of this chapter is to explore the social construction of the field of adult education and lifelong learning as a professional field underpinned by a research knowledge base, and the role of learned societies and their publications in this process in Australia. Drawing on the sociology of professions (Evetts 2010) and the work of adult education researchers in identifying what boundary features, objects and practices define a professional field (see Merriam and Brockett 2007), the role of learned societies in constructing the field through acting as gatekeepers for peer-reviewed publications and the role of universities in constructing knowledge pathways to professional qualifications to practice will be examined. This chapter will explore the aims and publication practices of the following learned societies: ALA and the journal the *Australian Journal of Adult Learning* (AJAL); and the Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association (AVETRA) and the journal *International Journal of Training Research* (IJTR). Whilst there is another journal of relevance to the field, *Studies in Continuing Education*, which is edited and hosted by an Australian university, this journal is not considered because it is not linked to a learned society. Moreover, the other two major educational learned societies for education in Australia do not have any special interest groups or networks focused on adult learning, adult education or lifelong learning. These societies are Higher Education Research and Development (HERD) and the Australian Association for Research in Education (AARE). However, before presenting and discussing the empirical work, this chapter will briefly outline the current policy context and provide an overview of the historical development of non-university education for adults and the university-based professional development of educators in this sector, because at present universities are the main locus for research in this field.

THE CURRENT POLICY CONTEXT FOR ADULT LEARNING

Various reviews and reports advising the Australian Government on the state of tertiary education and workforce participation have identified a number of weaknesses in the education and skill levels of adults. For example, the Bradley Review (2008) identified the need to expand participation in higher education particularly for those from low socio-economic status backgrounds, those from regional and remote areas living outside capital cities and indigenous people. Yet, in spite of the demand-led expansion from 2009, people from these target groups are still under-represented (Gale and Parker 2013) and more often along with mature students, they are less likely to complete (Edwards and McMillan 2015).

In contrast, the VET system is predominated by students from low socio-economic status areas and is viewed as doing the ‘heavy lifting’ with regard to the participation of under-represented groups and adult learners (Burke 2015). However, the transition of learners from the VET system to higher level programmes equivalent to those provided by universities is weak, thereby undermining current policy strategies to prepare adults for new types of employment in knowledge-based industries (Workforce Development Agency 2013). In the Future Focus report (Workforce Development Agency 2013), the following strategies were identified in order to build Australia as a knowledge economy:

- A need to increase workforce participation;
- Need to improve the language, literacy and numeracy levels of 6 million of the population;
- Need to increase high-level qualifications and tertiary education participation by at least 3% per annum;
- Improve workplace productivity (and leadership through work-based learning);
- Need to improve the quality of the VET sector;
- Improve the professional development of the VET teaching workforce.¹

Arguably, these recommendations set out an agenda for adult education and lifelong learning research and practice. Yet, research literature reviewing the specific field of VET, which in Australia includes the provision of community-based adult education, suggests the sector is not in a good shape to address these policy concerns (Wheelahan 2015). Since 1992 Australia’s VET system have shifted from a localised state-based system to one that is nationally coordinated through the Commonwealth government (Bowman and McKenna 2016). The sector now comprises a mix of public and privately funded programmes offered by public providers and private for-profit providers with the aim of increasing market competition within the sector to improve opportunities for skills development and learning for productive participation in the Australian labour markets (Guthrie et al. 2011). The logic driving these policy directions is often explained in terms of increasing the labour market responsiveness of the VET system (Atkinson and Stanwick 2016). Yet, the consequence of the deregulation of student fees and increased market competition for VET funding between private and public providers has been to reduce the role of the public providers of VET from 75% of VET in 2008 to 27% in 2015 (Burke 2015), increase the role of the private sector, particularly as large employers become private training organisations (Knight and Mlotkowski 2009) and undermine the VET sector’s role in improving equity and social mobility (Wheelahan 2016).

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATORS AND RESEARCHERS IN AUSTRALIAN ADULT EDUCATION

In order to appreciate further the institutional context in which professional educators and researchers work in this field in Australia, a brief discussion of the history of the adult or post-compulsory education sector in Australia will be provided. From a starting point in the late nineteenth century, the expansion of tertiary education in Australia was aligned with the need for skills and knowledge for industrial development. The origins of many of the current regional universities, dual sector universities and technical mission group universities can be traced back to adult vocational education institutions, such as the Ballarat School of Mines and the Melbourne Working Men's College. Similarly, the foundation of the research-led universities originated in part-time university continuing education (Fleming 2012). As Harris (2015) notes these origins suggest that adult education precepts underpinned the development and continued expansion of tertiary and higher education even into the early 1970s as evidenced by the Kangan Report's referencing of the UNESCO awakening of adult education as a field in 1974.

The Kangan Report also marked a major turning point in the professional development of the field by identifying a role for higher education in knowledge production, education and research (Chappell 2001). The report argued for a review of the preparation of teachers in the VET sector (who prior to this had been mainly in the technical school sector or the forerunners of the technical and regional universities) and constructed as primarily having the vocational knowledge and little need for pedagogical knowledge (Chappell 2001).

By 1978, the Fleming Report had required all teachers in the Technical and Further Education (TAFE) sector to undertake an undergraduate diploma. This qualification requirement for practitioners intending to teach adults stimulated the significant expansion of the Colleges of Advanced Education (and their ultimate development into universities), enhanced opportunities for professional development of the adult education field and provided a locus for academic research (Harris 2015). According to Guthrie (2010) by 2008, 20 universities were active in this field of adult and vocational education teacher development and research. However, since 2002 the mandatory pedagogical qualification for VET teachers in Australia has been the Certificate IV in Training and Assessment (Smith and Keating 2003), which has resulted in a reduction in demand for university-level qualifications in adult education and the closing down of many university programmes (Smith et al. 2015).

Alongside this displacement of university education from the professional development of adult educators, Robertson (2008) has argued that the behaviourist curriculum and competency-based training focus of the VET providers has created the cultural context for an expansion of competency-based awards for the VET teachers. These tendencies have continued unabated in a climate of increased budgetary constraints and the increased autonomy of the VET sector (Smith and Keating 2003; Smith et al. 2015). Furthermore, since the main VET

professionals' qualification has become a competency-based award, Robertson (2008) and Chappell and Johnston (2003) have identified problematic effects of this development on the status of VET teaching and the ability of VET teachers to address the needs of diverse adult learners, given the absence of any formal access to theoretical and conceptual knowledge in the competency-based awards. Similarly, others such as Brennan Kemmis and Atkins (2014), Wheelahan and Moodie (2011) and Smith et al. (2015) have all questioned the use of the Certificate IV as the minimum entry threshold for sustaining quality within the VET sector. Additionally, the separation of university academics and practitioners working in the field of adult and vocational education is perceived to be detrimental to 'constructive dialogue' between researchers and practitioners and undermining of the development of 'new knowledge, practices and policies' (Smith et al. 2015: 12). Smith et al. (2015: 12) (as members of the Australian Council of Deans of Education Vocational Education Group) have also argued that it is important to maintain 'a critical mass of universities offering degrees in VET teacher education and a critical mass of academics [...] who specialise in VET and adult education to ensure the sector continues to be informed by national and international research.

PROFESSIONS AND PROFESSIONAL KNOWLEDGE

The changing relationship and increased fragmentation developing in Australia between university-based researchers and non-university-based practitioners may account for the uncoordinated knowledge base that Kearns (2005) has argued have weakened the development of holistic adult learner-centred life-long learning in Australia. These changes also resonate with the concerns that Merriam and Brockett (2007) have voiced in the context of the USA about the importance of professional knowledge and the role of universities in shaping and constructing a profession. They argue that typically the essential characteristics of a profession include the following: bounded forms of professional knowledge building, in which universities play a central role in knowledge production; the certification and qualification of people to practice, which also often involve universities; workplace autonomy in relation to decision-making about professional practices; and practices that are self/peer-regulated through professional associations. Merriam and Brockett's (2007) purpose in considering these ideas drawn from the literature on the sociology of professions was to highlight the increasing weakness of the adult education field (especially in the USA) as the boundaries of practice and entry to these locations have become increasingly varied and fluid, ranging from adult community contexts and popular/social movements to tertiary colleges, work-based learning, human resource development and so on.

Similarly, Evetts (2009) has identified reductions in the autonomy of certain new professional groups in the public sector, such as education. She maintains that new public management has shifted a professional's autonomy away from the peer control of their professional groups, and subjected professionals to

increased managerial controls, regulations and audit. Arguably, the more open a profession is to new types of entrants and practices, the harder it is to prescribe the knowledge base of that profession and the practices of professionals. Interestingly in contrast to Australia, in Europe, where openness and deregulation of the adult education and VET sector has also led to claims of casualisation and de-professionalisation, some European member states have responded by calling for greater ‘academisation’ of the VET teaching profession through an increased role for higher education in determining the qualifications and knowledge base for practice (Parsons et al. 2009).

Alongside this consideration of higher education in providing access to professional knowledge and certification or license to practice in a field, is also the role of higher education in knowledge production. Publications are indicative of the knowledge base and the processes of knowledge production within a knowledge field. As concern grows worldwide and within countries about the quality and strength of research power, there is a growing interest in content analyses and bibliometric studies of knowledge fields and an understanding of the economy of publications and citations (Larsson 2009). For example, Boshier and Pickard (1979: 47) in analysing publications in the USA-based journal *Adult Education Quarterly* between 1968 and 1977 stated that ‘the existence and use of a unique body of knowledge (primary literature) is one of the hallmarks of an emerging discipline’.

Recently, Larsson (2009) also argued that as universities and governments strive to justify the allocation of public resources to universities and individuals, so measures of publication worth are increasingly reliant of the inclusion of particular journals in databases such as Web of Science (developed by Thomson Reuters) or Scopus. Learned societies are often involved in the discussions of what ‘counts’. In the case of Australia, Smith (2014) reports the role of the AVETRA and the work of the AARE in identifying the top journals in their field and the subsequent ranking adopted by the Australian government to assess research, the Excellence in Research Framework for Australia (known as ERA 2010). Interestingly, this exercise placed the journals of the Australian learned societies lower than the main journals in which Australians have been encouraged to publish by the rewards structures of the government and their institutions. Following consultations with learned societies and the higher education sector, the final ERA ranking in 2010 raised the rank of the journal associated with the learned society ALA, the *Australian Journal of Adult Education*, to the top category. However, the other journal associated with the learned society AVETRA, the *International Journal of Training and Development*, remained placed in the second category rank. Whilst Smith’s (2014) account of the role of learned societies in debates about the rankings of journals suggests that such societies have much to contribute to understandings of the importance of different journals in developing the knowledge base of a field or subdiscipline, the fact that the Australian government abolished the use of such rankings in late 2010 in favour of the metrics of Web of Science and Scopus, undermines the opportunities for learned societies to influence the debate about what ‘counts’.

Not surprisingly, in the face of these governmental and institutional pressures to ‘count’ only those journals indexed in databases such as Web of Science and Scopus, many Australian researchers have opted to publish in the journals prioritised by their institutional reward systems.

Bibliometric analysis conducted by Fejes and Nylander (2014) of the three main journals *Adult Education Quarterly*, *International Journal of Lifelong Education* and *Studies in the Education of Adults* between 2005 and 2012 has consistently pointed to the predominance of authorship from four Anglophone countries, with Australians forming the third largest group of authors and the Anglophone authors dominating the most cited publications. Whilst Fejes and Nylander (2014) found some differences between the journals, they confirmed earlier studies (from Taylor 2001; Archambault et al. 2009) that identified the Anglophone dominance from the USA, the UK and Australia and a transnational flow between these countries, although authors tended to publish within their country located journal. Similarly, studies of journals from within two of the smaller Anglophone countries, Canada and Australia, have shown a predominance of local authorship from the national space (Harris and Morrison 2011; St. Clair 2011). Although, in the context of Canada, Rachel and William (2005) noted that between 1993 and 2003 there was greater visibility of non-US and Canadian institutions in the journals they analysed.

AUSTRALIAN LEARNED SOCIETIES AND JOURNALS

This chapter now turns to focus on the two learned societies that specifically aim to support adult education or vocational education in Australia, namely ALA and the AVETRA. These two learned societies have a long history of publication activity in adult and lifelong education and learning equal to that of other similar journals in the field in North America and the UK (Harris and Morrison 2011). The ALA has been in existence for more than 50 years, and it has published a journal and held an annual conference since 1961. Whilst, AVETRA is a relatively new organisation first established in 1997, the activities of the community of scholars engaged within the organisation and its journal can be traced back three decades.² By comparison, Harris and Morrison (2011: 18) note that in North America the *Indiana Journal of Adult Education* started in 1939, *Adult Education Quarterly* in 1950, and in the UK, ‘*Studies in the Education of Adults* began in 1969, *Studies in Continuing Education* (Australia) in 1978, while the *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education* and the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* both commenced only in 1981’. Clearly, the two Australian learned societies and their journals have been vital parts of the adult education and VET landscape over several decades and their role in knowledge production warrants consideration.

The journal of ALA, the *AJAL* is published three times a year. It claims to promote a space for critical thinking and research on theory, and the history and practice of ACE broadly understood as ‘lifelong and life-wide learning for all Australians’ (see ALA website www.ajal.net.au). Whilst the main focus is on

Australia, papers from other countries and contexts are welcome. And in recognition of the broad focus, each issue has two sections; one that includes articles that have been through a double-blind peer review process and the other has articles that are accepted by the International Editorial team without blind peer reviewing. The 28 person editorial board though overwhelmingly comprises Australians and New Zealanders with two South Africans, two Canadians, two British and one from Hong Kong.

The journal of AVETRA, the *IJTR* was originally called the *Journal of TAFE Research and Development*, and in the mid-1980s was published by the National Centre for Vocational Education Research (NCVER), a research agency in receipt of national government funding. By 1992, a broader focus was adopted and the name changed from one that identified a specific educational sector (the TAFE sector) to a conceptual focus and the journal became the *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Vocational Education Research*. A decade later in 2002, it ceased to be published by NCVER and responsibility transferred to the learned society AVETRA. At this point, the journal changed its name again to the *IJTR*, the title change indicating a presumed desire to expand its reach beyond Australia and New Zealand. Currently, the editorial board reflects this more international focus by comprising the following members 22 people from Australia and New Zealand, four from the UK, one from Switzerland, one from Sweden and one from Germany.

Similar to the ALA journal, the AVETRA journal is published three times a year, contains both double-blind peer-reviewed articles for the interest of researchers, educators, trainers, policy-makers, skills capacity planners, and undergraduate and postgraduate students in VET, as well as articles about practice that are single, blind reviewed.

Harris and Morrison (2011) have provided a valuable analysis of 50 years of publication of the *AJAL* in which they chart the dramatic rise between 1961 and 2010 of female authors (from 10% to 59%), an increase in the proportion of international authors (from 14% to 30%), a small increase in the proportion of university authorship (from 64% to 77%), and a concentration of authorship from one state, New South Wales, which is surprising given the spread of universities across all States and Territories. In relation to the type of knowledge being produced over this period they also identified a prime focus on the following themes: students/learners (25% of the articles), philosophy/theory (20% of the articles), vocational education (19% of the articles), lifelong learning (18% of the articles), adult/community education (17% of the articles) and teaching (17% of the articles). Yet, in spite of these achievements in building a knowledge base for the field from an Australian viewpoint, Harris and Morrison (2011) conclude their review on a rather cautious note about the future of the discipline in Australia. Given the concerns of Harris and Morrison (2011) and the precarity of university professional development programmes for the sector brought about by the economic turn in the sector away from adult learning, understood broadly, to a narrower skills understanding of learning as VET, that

can be provided and assessed through competency-based training packages, this chapter turns now to an analysis of the two journals of these two associations since 2010.

METHODS AND ANALYSIS OF PUBLICATIONS FROM TWO AUSTRALIAN JOURNALS

This chapter builds on the growing literature that has undertaken content analysis of publication activity in this field of adult and lifelong education and learning. Therefore, the purpose of the empirical research presented here is to add to understandings of the state of adult education and professional knowledge and research in Australia by analysing the journals of the two learned societies: ALA and the AVETRA. Since the two selected journals, *AJAL* and *IJTR* have not been referenced in the major citation databases of Web of Science nor Scopus a full bibliometric analysis involving the usual citation analysis was not possible. Nevertheless, in designing the study, the bibliometric methodology and research questions and framework developed by Fejes and Nylander (2014) were considered along with the earlier content review of the *AJAL* completed by Harris and Morrison (2011).

The time period of the sample of journal articles was established to map the most recent period since 2010 and also coincided with the end of the period that Harris and Morrison (2011) had studied for their 50 years of contents analysis of the *AJAL*. The two journals had 29 publications within the period 2010–2015 comprising 13 issues from AVETRA's *IJTR* with 96 articles, and 16 issues from ALA's *AJAL* containing 220 articles. In total, 316 articles were published in the two journals in this time period of which 202 were peer-reviewed. The 114 non-peer-reviewed articles were either book reviews, conference reviews, general commentaries or editorials and were excluded from the analysis. This left within the sample of peer-reviewed articles to analyse, 123 articles from *AJAL* (comprising 56% of all articles published in the journal in the period) and 79 from *IJTR* (comprising 82% of all articles/pieces of writing published in the period).

The research questions for this study aimed to identify the publication's profile and content of the most recent 6 years of journal articles in order to explore what these data can reveal about the knowledge base and concerns of the field.

Research Question 1: What Are the Geographical Institutional Affiliations of the First Author?

This question was asked in order to establish the degree of internationalisation of these Australian-based journals and whether there are a particular Anglophone predominance and transnational flow between Anglophone national spaces as has been established in previous research (Fejes and Nylander 2014).

The first author only was selected to record institutional affiliations because the choice of the first author is significant and analysis of the data is overly complicated where there are several multi-country authored papers. The country of the institutional affiliation of the first author has been chosen as the proxy indicator of the geographical position of the author because the nationality of authors is difficult to establish from the journal information. Furthermore, when the institution the author writes from has a number of national presences, the country the author is based in has been used to identify the location, even if it is not the main campus of the institution.

Research Question 2: What Type of Institution Is the First Author from?

The type of institution the first author is writing from has been analysed as it helps form an idea of the field, the location for the development of a knowledge base and understand who is actively researching and publishing in these journals. The majority of institution types are clear if they are nationally recognised universities, whilst those including specialist colleges have been categorised as tertiary education and the other categories found included government bodies, either departments of government or directly set up and funded agencies. There is a little crossover with non-governmental bodies but the organisations own self-definitions were used when there was a lack of clarity. Private providers generally are marked as individual consultants running for-profit-making businesses not in a relationship with the state to provide funded education but the growth in third-party provided services makes this definition and the boundaries between it and other providers a little porous and so the organisation self-definition is referred to. Therefore, the institutional categories used were: University; Tertiary Institution; Government Body; Non-governmental organization (NGO); and Private.

Research Question 3: What Keywords Are Used?

This question sought to trace what is being privileged in the peer-reviewed research and what absences are in the published research? By identifying the keywords chosen by authors to indicate the scope of their articles, the major themes and knowledge base of the field as captured by the publication process of the journals can be drawn out and comparisons between the two journals can be made. This contents analysis was not within the scope of the Fejes and Nylander (2014) analysis but its consideration adds to an understanding of the environment in which adult learning research operates. Additionally as Harris and Morrison (2011) claim, ‘publications reflect the knowledge base of a discipline’ and therefore are informative about a given field of study’. Therefore, given the relationship between the two selected journals, and the learned societies’ activities in organising annual conferences, thematic analysis contents of the publications can also enlighten the field about previous and current research activity and its future directions.

The content analysis was facilitated by the fact that all journal content for the 6 years 2010–2015 was available online. An inventory of all articles was constructed, initially including both referred and non-referred as outlined above, and as with the decisions made by Harris and Morrison (2011: 24), an ‘article was defined as a reasonably substantial paper, thereby excluding editorials, comment pieces, book reviews research abstracts and eulogies’. Evidence of peer reviewing was also used to determine which articles were included and which were excluded from the list that was analysed, which resulted in the practice pieces in *AJAL* being excluded along with book reviews and editorials. Again similar to the findings of Harris and Morrison (2011) the most difficult task was identifying the major themes of the articles and categorising these since keywords were not introduced into the *AJAL* articles until 2012, although they were used throughout the whole period in *IJTR*. Therefore for the articles in *AJAL* for 2010 and 2011, keywords were identified from the abstract by two researchers worked independently to review the thematic categorisations. The final keyword list resulted in 400 discrete items for *IJTR* and 34 items for *AJAL*.

FINDINGS

In this section, the discussion focuses on findings in relation to the three questions posed above: the geographical institutional affiliations and distribution of the first authors; the types of institutions in which first authors are located; and the keywords that predominate. Across the study period 2010–2015, overwhelmingly both journals have provided a publication space for authors from Australia. In the *AJAL* 74.8% ($n = 123$) of its peer-reviewed articles were published by Australians or people affiliated with Australian institutions, whilst just slightly fewer, 72.2% of articles in the *IJTR* ($n = 79$) were published by Australians. Adding in the authors from New Zealand does little to alter these figures since 3.3% of authors in *AJAL* were from New Zealand and 2.5% in *IJTR*. The second largest group of authors to publish in each journal was somewhat different though. In the *AJAL* 6.5% were from Canada and 4.1% Taiwan, whereas in contrast the next largest groups published in *IJTR* comprised Sweden 5.1% and Germany 3.8% though these proportions should be considered cautiously given the small numbers involved see Table 1.

Table 1 Geographical distribution of affiliated first authorship among all peer-reviewed articles published in two adult education journals 2010–2015

Country	<i>AJAL</i> * (n)	<i>AJAL</i> (%)	<i>IJTR</i> ** (n)	<i>IJTR</i> (%)	Total	Total
Australia	92	74.8	57	72.2	149	73.8
All others	31	25.20	22	27.85	53	26.23
Grand total	123	100.0	79	100.0	202	100.0

*AJAL** = Australian Journal of Adult Learning

*IJTR*** = International Journal of Training Research

Compared to Fejes and Nylander (2014) study there was a notable absence of articles from the USA (0.8% or one article was published in *AJAL*) and a relative absence of articles from the UK (1.6% or 2 articles were published in *AJAL* and 2.5% or 2 articles in *IJTR*). These findings suggest an even greater Anglophone and country-specific focus than the journals analysed by Fejes and Nylander (2014). The results are more akin to St. Clair's (2011) findings in Canada. Moreover, given the aims of the two journals in seeking to welcome publications from outside Australia the analysis of *AJAL* shows that between 2010 and 2015 fewer international authors published in this journal than 6 years ago when Harris and Morrison (2011) analysed *AJAL*. This longer view comparison is not possible for *IJTR*, but 77.2% of all articles published were from three Anglophone countries (Australia, New Zealand and the UK).

In relation to the institutions of first authors, the trends noted by Harris and Morrison (2011) for authors to be increasingly based in universities continued between 2010 and 2015 and the proportions increased. In the period prior to 2010, 77% of authors published in *AJAL* were based in universities (Harris and Morrison 2011), whereas between 2010 and 2015 the proportion had risen to 83.7%, and in *IJTR* the proportion was 92.4%. In other words, it would seem that universities are the main locations for the development of the knowledge base for this field and research activity is increasingly concentrated there, particularly in relation to vocational education. Of further interest in relation to the institutions of these first authors is that of the 26 universities in Australia where authors were located, 20 of these taught an undergraduate or postgraduate degree or course in adult education or vocational education or similar. See Table 2.

However, since completing the analysis of these two journals a survey completed by AVETRA has identified that a number of these academic programmes have been closed or the named pathways in adult education or vocational education have been subsumed into other broader educational programmes (Smith et al. 2015).

The final finding in relation to keywords suggested clear differences in thematic concerns between the two journals and provided some indication of a

Table 2 Institutional distribution of first authorship among all peer-reviewed articles published in two adult education journals 2010–2015

<i>Type of institution</i>	<i>AJAL* (%)</i>	<i>IJTR** (%)</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total (%)</i>
Government body	2.4	0.0	3	1.5
NGO	8.1	3.8	13	6.4
Private	4.1	3.8	8	4.0
Tertiary institution	1.6	0.0	2	1.0
University	83.7	92.4	176	87.1
Total	100.0	100.0	202	100.0

*AJAL** = *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*

*IJTR*** = *International Journal of Training Research*

trend in relation to changes in the thematic content of the journal associated with ALA. Using the thematic categories developed by Harris and Morrison (2011), the top 20 most frequently used keywords from the 34 different items found in *AJAL* were assigned to categories as follows: students/learners (26 instances, 21.1% of publications); ACE (22 instances, 17.9% of publications); VET (11 instances, 8.9% of publications); Philosophy and Theory (13 instances, 10.6% of publications); and Teachers/teaching (six instances, 4.9% of publications). Whilst exact comparison with the earlier analysis by Harris and Morrison (2011) is not possible because the journal has introduced a new keyword function since 2012, nevertheless these findings indicate that *AJAL* continues to publish articles that cover a broad spectrum of themes within adult education, although there has been some shift away from the areas of philosophy/theory and VET compared to 6 years ago. In contrast, and not surprisingly given its title, *IJTR* is predominated by the keywords VET or vocational education (there were 32 instances out of 400 keywords identified in the 79 articles) in other words, 40.5% of the articles used this phrase as a keyword. Of the other keywords found, the frequency count of each was very low, for example seven words had no more than three counts each; 27 words had two counts, and the other 364 keywords appeared only once. Interestingly too, given Robertson's (2008) concerns about the hollowing out of pedagogical concerns from the VET sector associated with the reduction of the qualification requirements for VET teachers to competency-based training undertaken outside the university sector, there were only four instances in which pedagogy was used as a keyword or put another word, this theme was covered in only 5% of the articles in this 6 year period.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter begins by considering what might be the relationship between learned societies and their publication strategies and profiles and the knowledge base of the sector. In addition, the chapter has considered the policy context in which the two learned societies for adult and vocational educational and training operate in Australia. This chapter has drawn on the literature that has argued that this field of practice is poorly understood and fragmented (Kearns 2005) and that the changes introduced to the qualifications required for professionals to practice in the field have not only de-professionalised teachers and educators by severing their connection with universities and the production of the knowledge base for the field (Chappell 2001; Robertson 2008; Guthrie 2010), but have also potentially weakened universities as the base for this knowledge production (Smith et al. 2015).

However, the analysis of the publications of learned societies suggests that the impact of these policy changes on the knowledge base in Australia maybe less pessimistic, although there are some areas of concern. As Smith (2014) has shown, learned societies can have some influence on shaping the national debates about the rankings of journals. Yet, as others have contended, the

growth of new public management (Evetts 2009) is resulting in a shift in control of professional knowledge and practice away from the peer control of professionals to management controls through the use of measurement and audit; and in this context the voices of those from learned societies are likely to carry less weight than the metrics derived from the Web of Science and Scopus.

The analysis of the peer-reviewed publications in the two adult education journals from Australia confirms the findings of the literature. The articles published between 2010 and 2015 are predominantly authored by people from Anglophone countries, but this dominance is even greater than that found in the analysis by Fejes and Nylander (2014) of the three main journals in the field. The articles published in *AJAL* and *IJTR* also reflect Australian research interests and authors in the main, which is a finding more similar to that of St. Clair (2011) on Canada and Harris and Morrison (2011) on the first 50 years of *AJAL*. Moreover, the field is fragmented, supporting the concerns raised by Kearns (2005) that a fragmented field is a weak field with a weak knowledge base. For example, *AJAL* publishes very different articles to *IJTR* with the former having a predominance of articles about learners and learning in a wide range of settings and the latter mentioning pedagogy infrequently and predominantly using the keywords 'VET'. In many respects, this contents analysis of 6 years of publications suggests that there has been a separation of concerns between the two learned societies. Research about vocationally focused forms of lifelong learning has become less important to the adult and community sector, whilst the VET sector is increasingly focused on this issue, but not on curriculum, pedagogy and equity (Robertson 2008; Wheelahan 2015). Furthermore, the separation of the certification and licensing of who is permitted to practice or teach in the field of adult and vocational education from the role of universities is likely to have consequences for the status of practitioners in the sector and the potential for universities to build and sustain a knowledge base that can address the broader concerns of the field (Harris 2015).

One concern is that the predominance in a journal of localised national authorship and the scant inclusion of a range of international dimensions or articles from authors from other parts of the world may be indicative of the weak knowledge base which was identified by Kearns (2005). Whilst the analysis has not been able to examine whether or not the citations in the publications are local or international, this would be a fruitful focus for future research in order to examine the extent to which the publications are building on and contributing to strengthening the scientific field. Of further importance, given the concerns expressed about the de-professionalisation of the field of practice in Australia (Robertson 2008; Guthrie 2010; Smith et al. 2015), is the relationship between the generation of a knowledge base through research and publications, and the role of universities in mediating the relationship between knowledge and practice through encouraging further research and the transfer of knowledge through qualifications and continuing professional development. Evidence

from the publication's analysis demonstrates that first authors are predominantly based in universities and indicating this concentration of publications from researchers in universities has increased since Harris and Morrison's (2011) work. However, if the teaching programmes in universities that define and develop the knowledge base for this sector continue to close as reported by Smith et al. (2015), the employment of researchers and academics could be undermined. Alternatively, the locus of research in this field might shift to other disciplinary spaces away from Education. If this trend occurs there is the further danger that the interconnections between the production of knowledge in this field, the professional development of the sector and the awarding of qualifications to practice will be further dislocated.

To conclude, this chapter has argued that the conceptualisations of the field provided by policy have been significant in separating Australian researchers into learned societies that identify with specific sectors and different organisational forms of adult education, community education and vocational and work-based education, rather than facilitating their participation in broader education and social science learned societies. Analysis of the content from the last 6 years from the two journals: the *AJAL*; and the journal *IJTR* has highlighted differences in the thematic content and therefore the knowledge being generated through the two journals in line with the organisational fragmentation of the field. Arguably, this segmentation of knowledge generation along with the predominance of authors from Australia is promoting sector and country-specific discourses. At a time, when bibliometric analyses are highlighting the transnational flow of research, albeit mainly between Anglophone countries (see Fejes and Nylander 2014), the limited number of publications from authors from other countries in *AJAL* and *IJTR* may have implications for the direction of the field in Australia.

In looking to the future, if the fragmentation identified between sectors and researchers and practitioners continues, it is likely that the financial drivers that sustain university teaching programmes will be further undermined as one generation of researchers nears retirement, and if new loci are not developed for a new generation of researchers, the knowledge base of the field and quality of its research will be put at risk. Smith et al. (2015) have also raised this alarm and identified learned societies as one organisational base from which to contest these trends. Evidence of the publication analysis provided in this chapter, however, suggests that fragmentation is well underway and learned societies might need to do more to influence the loci of research and teaching and sustaining of the knowledge base, particularly in universities and find new ways to bridge knowledge building practices. Arguably, in order to ensure that adult education and lifelong learning are well developed, and the sector is not further de-professionalised it will be important for a new generation of researchers to try to overcome the sectoral fragmentations often imposed by policy structures and funding mechanisms.

NOTES

1. Currently, the Australian Skills Quality Authority regulates the VET sector; and National Skills Standards Council (NSSC) sets standards, but no organisation oversees professional practice and its development.
2. There is continuity between the current learned society AVETRA and its journal (IJTR) and the organisation the National Centre for Vocational Education Research (NCVER) that published its predecessors because AVETRA was set up with funding assistance from NCVER and the Australian National Training Authority Research Advisory Council (see AVETRA website <http://avetra.org.au>).

REFERENCES

- Archambault, E., Campbell, D., Gingras, Y., & Lariviere, V. (2009). Comparing bibliometric studies obtained from web of science and scopus. *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology*, 60, 1320–1326.
- Atkinson, G., & Stanwick, J. (2016). *Trend in VET; policy and participation*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Australian Journal of Adult Learning Website (home page). Retrieved July 18, 2015, from <https://www.ajal.net.au/>.
- Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association Website (home page). Retrieved December 18, 2016, from <http://avetra.org.au>.
- Boshier, R., & Pickard, L. (1979). Citation patterns of articles published in Adult Education Quarterly 1968–1977. *Adult Education*, 30(1), 34–51. doi:10.1177/074171367903000103.
- Bowman, K., & McKenna, S. (2016). The Development of Australia's National Training System: A dynamic tension between consistency and flexibility. occasional paper. *National Centre for Vocational Education Research (NCVER)*, Adelaide.
- Bradley, D., Noonan, P., Nugent, H., & Scales, B. (2008). *Review of Australian higher education: Final report (Bradley Review)*. Canberra: DEEWR.
- Brennan, K., Kemmis R., & Atkins, L. (Eds.). (2014). *Teaching in the VET sector in Australia*. Terrigal: David Barlow Publishing.
- Burke, G., (2015). Australia: Finance, quality and participation in postsecondary education. In M. Crossley, G. Hancock, & T. Sprague (Eds.), *Education in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific* (pp. 61–89). London: Bloomsbury.
- Chappell, C. (2001). Issues of teacher identity in a restructuring VET system. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Vocational Education Research*, 9(1), 21–41.
- Chappell, C., & Johnston, R. (2003). *Changing work: Changing roles for vocational education and training teachers and trainers*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Edwards, D., & McMillan, J. (2015). *Completing university in a growing sector: Is equity an issue? ACER Report*. Retrieved October 10, 2015, from http://research.acer.edu.au/higher_education/43/.
- Evetts, J. (2009). New professionalism and new public management: Changes, continuities and consequences. *Comparative Sociology*, 8(2), 247–266.
- Evetts, J. (2010). *Sociology of professions. Continental and Anglo-Saxon traditions* (L. G. Svensson, Eds.). Sweden: Daidalos.

- Fejes, A., & Nylander, E. (2014). The Anglophone International(e): A bibliometric analysis of three adult education journals, 2005–2012. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 64(3), 222–239. doi:10.1177/0741713614528025.
- Field, J. (2000). *Lifelong learning and the new educational order*. Stoke on Trent: Trentham Books.
- Fleming, J. (2012). The expanded developmental periphery: Framing the institutional role of university continuing education units. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 32(3), 335–352.
- Gale, T. (2011). Student equity's starring role in Australian higher education: Not yet centre field. *Australian Educational Researcher*, 38, 5–23.
- Gale, T., & Parker, S. (2013). *Widening participation in Australian higher education, report submitted to HEFCE and OFFA*. Leicester: CFE Phoenix Yard. Retrieved from www.cfe.org.uk.
- Guthrie, H. (2010). *A short history of initial VET teacher training*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Guthrie, H., Stanwick, J., & Karmel, T. (2011). *Pathways: Developing the skills of Australia's workforce*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Harris, R. (2015). Quality in the Australian VET sector: What has been happening? *International Journal of Training Research*, 13(1), 16–34.
- Harris, R., & Morrison, D. A. (2011). Through the looking glass: Adult education through the lens of the Australian Journal of Adult Learning over fifty years. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, 51, special edition, 17–52.
- Kearns, P. (2005). *Adult learning Australia: Report on future directions for lifelong learning in Australia (Achieving Australia as an inclusive learning society)*. Canberra: Adult Learning Australia.
- Knight, B., & Mlotkowski, P. (2009). *An overview of vocational education and training in Australia and its links to the labour market*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Larsson, S. (2009). An emerging economy of publications and citations. *Nordisk Pedagogik*, 29, 34–52.
- Merriam, S. B., & Brockett, R. G. (2007). *The profession and practice of adult education, an introduction*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Parsons, D. J., Hughes, J., Allison, C., & Walsh, K. (2009). The training and development of VET teachers and trainers in Europe. In *Modernising vocational education and training. Fourth report of vocational education and training research in Europe: Background Report Volume 2*. Cedefop, European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training Reference Series 70 (pp. 73–156). Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities.
- Rachal, J. R., & William, D. W. V. (2005). Institutional and individual publication productivity in selected adult education journals, 1993–2002. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 19(1), 1–20.
- Robertson, I. (2008). VET teachers' knowledge and expertise. *International Journal of Training Research*, 6(1), 1–22.
- Smith, E. (2014). Voices from a small discipling: How the Australian vocational education and training discipline made sense of journal rankings. *International Journal of Training Research*, 12(3), 227–241.
- Smith, E., & Keating, J. (2003). *From training reform to training packages*. Tuggerah: Social Science Press.

- Smith, E., Yasukawa, K., & Hodge, S. (2015). Australian VET teacher education: What is the benefit of pedagogical studies at University for VET teachers? *TVET@Asia*, 5, 1–15. Retrieved July 23, 2015, from http://www.tvet-online.asia/issue5/smith_etal_tv5.pdf.
- St. Clair, R. (2011). Writing ourselves into being: A review of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 23(2), 27–44.
- Taylor, E. W. (2001). Adult Education Quarterly from 1989 to 1999: A content analysis of all submissions. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 51(4), 322–340. doi:10.1177/07417130122087322.
- Wheelahan, L. (2015). The future of Australian vocational education qualifications depends on a new social settlement. *Journal of Education and Work*, 28(2), 126–146.
- Wheelahan, L. (2016). ‘College for all’ in Anglophone countries—meritocracy or social inequality? An Australian example. *Research in Post-Compulsory Education*, 21(1–2), 33–48.
- Wheelahan, L., & Moodie, G. (2011). *The quality of teaching in VET*. Canberra: DEEWR.
- Workforce Development Agency. (2013). *Future Focus, 2013 National Workforce Development Strategy, Department of Industry, Innovation, Science, Research and Tertiary Education*. Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Sue Webb is Professor of Education at Monash University, Australia, and previously Professor of Continuing Education and Director of the Institute for Lifelong Learning at the University of Sheffield, United Kingdom. A Joint Editor of the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis), her research focuses on social inequality in access and participation in further/higher education and through migration. Her latest publications include *Geographical and place dimensions of post-school participation in education and work* (NCVER, Australian Government, 2015).

Adult Education Research: Publication Strategies and Collegial Recognition

Andreas Fejes and Erik Nylander

Abstract In recent years, researchers throughout the world have come under increased pressure to publish in English, direct their scholarly work to internationally acclaimed journals indexed in the dominating databases (i.e. Scopus and Web of Science) and render their work citable among peers in other countries. In this chapter, we summarize some recent bibliometric studies that have mapped out what kind of research that have been published and cited in three leading journals related to adult—lifelong education and learning—and which researchers that has been given recognition. We argue that the strong political waves of managerial reform have made academic career trajectories and promotions more dependent upon publications and citations, thus necessitating a discussion about the most effective publication strategies for submission. At the same time, we acknowledge the multiple professional demands of adult educational scholars and highlight the ways different definitions of scholarly impact might stand in conflict with one another.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this text is to map out what is given recognition with the research field of adult education and to discuss some publication strategies of relevance to early career scholars. In focus is the question of what and who is being recognized among peers, an important dimension in the quest to enter a certain community whether it be academia, contemporary jazz music or a football club.

A. Fejes (✉) · E. Nylander
Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning,
Linköping University, 58183 Linköping, Sweden
e-mail: andreas.fejes@liu.se

E. Nylander
e-mail: erik.nylander@liu.se

More specifically we will, in this chapter, use bibliometrical analysis of citation patterns in key journals in order to give a panoramic view of the field of adult education in terms of (i) what kinds of questions that are raised; (ii) what kinds of tools and methods are adopted, and (iii) what kinds of research dominates. Although exploring these themes might come across as rather commonsensical to anyone who has been engaged in the field of adult educational research for a long time, we think that it is an important exercise, and not only for early career scholars. The main reasons why we have chosen to address a wide range of adult and continuing education research by use of bibliometrical analysis is that relations, priorities and position-taking among scholars might risk becoming naturalized and routinized for those already active in the field, and appear rather opaque and intangible for those trying their best to enter it.

In this chapter, we will try and step back from our normal role of researchers in order to characterize some of the unavoidable questions underpinning the scientific production within the field of adult educational research. We will base our account on the bibliometrical studies and provide descriptions of how the field is shaped through various contributions published and cited in its leading academic journals. First, we outline how bibliometric measurement both can be seen as a public policy instrument used to assess and govern academic remuneration and career progress as well as a proxy for academic recognition among peers. Second, we summarize recent bibliometric studies on three leading journals in the field of adult education in order to engage in a discussion about what the key characteristics are in terms of authorship as well as the content of research in the published articles. Last, we discuss some implications of our results and argue that adult education scholars today aiming at academic careers, need to both play the publication game and raise their critical awareness of it.

BIBLIOMETRIC MEASUREMENT AS POLICY INSTRUMENT

Being published in peer-reviewed journals is of increasing importance within contemporary academia. In the last years, policies in many western countries have created new conditions under which we as adult education scholars work, which have consequences for how the field is shaped today and in the future. Since the early groundbreaking work of bibliometricians such as de Solla Price's (1965, 1975), bibliometric and scientometric measurement has been dragged into the highly controversial and political issue of how the reward system of the modern university will function. What will be the basis of 'quality' assessments of universities?; and how will money and merit be distributed fairly across the different disciplines? Apparently, lacking any other comparative measurements, governments and management boards have begun to turn towards the standardized outputs of publications and citations. For example, the recently introduced research excellence framework (REF) in the UK draws on citation analyses as part of the research assessment (Martin 2011; Brown 2014). Another more radical version of this governing tactic is currently enacted in

Sweden, where the government divides a share of its research funding to higher education institutions based purely on a performance matrix of articles published and cited in journals listed in Web of Science (Ministry of Education 2007). A third version, combing collegial assessment and production matrixes, is the so-called ‘Norwegian list’ in which both articles and books are counted, but differently so depending on where it is published (Larsson 2009).

The emergence and institutionalization of these new economies of publications and citations tend to favour the format of articles published in journals that are indexed in databases such as the Web of Science and Scopus (Fejes and Nylander 2014). The database that is currently positioned as the most important is Web of Science, which is run by the private company Clarivate Analytics. However, bibliometric studies have confirmed that the content of Scopus and the Web of Science is, by and large, similar (Archambault et al. 2009). The majority of journals within the field of education indexed in both Scopus and Web of Science are published in English, and come mostly from Anglophone countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom. Hence, this distribution of indexed journals force researchers in countries where this publication economy becomes prevalent, to publish their research in English, a language which is often not their first language or ‘native tongue’. On the other hand, such a trend may be considered positive to the extent that it allows researchers in linguistic and geographic peripheries to be plugged into strong academic communities of the Anglophone world and render their research available to a much broader audience than would otherwise be the case.

At the time de Solla Price wrote his seminal analysis (1965, 1975) of the citation and publications within the academia, these were—quite rightfully we think—treated as signs of internal recognition among academic colleagues and peers. With the emergence of standardized evaluations schemes tied to indexed registries of citations and publications, these symbols are increasingly used as external tools to manage and hierarchically order scientific production. One way to understand the introduction, dissemination and enactment of these standardized evaluation schemes across much of the higher education landscape in the western world is to see them as examples of a broader shift towards “public policy instrumentation” (Lascoumes and Le Gales 2007). Contrary to the perceived objectivity, neutrality and impartiality of these kinds of standardized evaluation systems might then be conceived as governance strategies and steering devices aimed at exerting control and steering researchers’ behaviour.

This chapter will not dwell too much about the political currents and governing rationales that has led governments to launch these evaluation systems as a means to regulate and promote scholarly activities. Instead, we are concentrating on making use of bibliometrical data in order to grasp how the major publication venues of adult education research are constituted and what implications that might have for early career researchers. Towards the end of the chapter, we will widen the discussion to understand the multifaceted range of demands, and sometimes quite contradictory expectations, facing contemporary adult educational researchers. We will also make a brief return to the wider

question of public policies in higher education and how we think they ought to be simultaneously questioned and strategically adopted to. Next, we will say something about how we conceive peer-reviewed journals to hold a special position in the creation and recreation of an adult educational research field.

UNDERSTANDING RESEARCH THROUGH PEERS

Our use of bibliometrics connects with some previous adult educational research (for instance Taylor 2001; Larsson 2009; Rubensson and Elfert 2015). However, we here use bibliometric studies characterizing the field of adult education research in order to problematize the important role of publishing in the contemporary academia. In characterizing the research field we will draw inspiration from canonical work within the sociology of science. To start with we draw inspiration from the bibliometric research tradition that has set out to study the publication patterns and impact of scholars as they are organized in various disciplines or research fields (Garfield and Sher 1963; de Solla Price 1965;). Although the collegial recognition of peer-reviewed articles differs greatly between academic disciplines, across countries and over time (Hicks 2013), we think that citations in indexed peer-reviewed journals hold as venues, where the signs of collegial recognition within the field of adult education research can be observed and scrutinized. Second, we glean from the Bourdieusian tradition of sociology of science in that we treat adult education as an academic subfield where these symbolic forms of recognition are simultaneously struggled over and agreed upon through research practices (Bourdieu 1989, 2013; Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001; Heilbron 2015). In accordance with Bourdieu's field theory, we see scientific practices as historically and relationally structured. We will here seek to demonstrate what kind of problems, tools and methods that have been taken to dominate the field of adult education research practice in recent years (Bourdieu 2013).

An important aspect of the shaping of a research field is the gatekeeping function of journal editors and reviewers (Lamont and Huutoniemi 2011; Hirschauer 2015; Pontille and Torny 2015). The peer-review processes and journal publications can represent an important space of possibility for contemporary scholars as well as exercise substantial scholarly constraints. As journals are governed by editorial decisions it is obviously part of the job description of editors and peer-reviewers to act as intermediary gatekeepers, controlling the discursive influx to the particular scholarly field (Lewin 1947a, b). In order for early career scholars to have their submitted articles published and eventually cited in peer-review journals, one can say that they need to pass several stages of critical inquiry. At first, they need to create a manuscript that passes their supervisor's and local peers' critical scrutiny. It also needs to be deemed of relevance by the editor of the journal chosen for submission, before entering the next stage of peer-review, where possible resubmission and final acceptance awaits. After being published, the next symbolic boundary to be crossed is to

become cited, which within bibliometric studies are treated as a sign of scholarly recognition as this furthers their circulation of ideas or research findings.

As is well known in some locations, publications in peer-reviewed journals are often an explicit requirement for finishing a compilation thesis and thus receiving a PhD. As the doctoral thesis itself forms the de facto minimum barrier of entry for a career within contemporary academia, the peer-review processes can thus be very decisive for early career scholars and their professional progression. Furthermore, publications and citations tend to constitute an important element of tenure track evaluations and have gotten increased emphasis in appraisal interviews as of late. As contributions to leading journals can warrant recognition among colleagues across scholarly space (for instance across geographical, and disciplinary borders), it can also become an itinerary ticket for researchers seeking a career in countries other than their country of origin, or those who seek to convert from one research field to another.

Thus, understanding of current policy trends in combination with the gatekeeping system of journal publication becomes essential for early career researchers in adult education. It is also a way to understand the full scholarly structure of the research field. In the following, we will focus on *who and what* that has been allowed to pass through the intermediary gatekeeping functions in three key journals in adult education. This will then serve as a basis for a discussion on how it might be possible to enter the field as an early career scholar, as well as some critical questions one needs to be aware of when embarking on this task.

WHAT AND WHO IS RECOGNIZED IN THE FIELD OF ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH?

The bibliometrical study referred to in this chapter was based on all articles published 2005–2012 in three adult education journals indexed in Scopus, one of the databases commonly used in order to define ‘quality’ within the current publication economy. The three journals are: *Adult Education Quarterly* (AEQ), *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (ILJE) and *Studies in Continuing Education* (SICE). The first published in the US, the second in the UK and the third in Australia.

In order to understand these journals, we looked at the articles that have been published and cited. Briefly summarizing how this was done we started out by categorizing all the articles published in these journals between 2005 and 2012 based on various demographic and institutional variables as well as the geographic site of enunciation. To facilitate comparisons we limited ourselves to the first author listed on each publication. Further, the 19 most cited articles in each journal were selected for analysis in terms of author characteristics as well as in terms of content (n57). This design allowed comparisons between the selected journals as well as what had been given recognition within the time-frame. In the following, we will refer to the results from this study. For more

elaboration on methodology, limitations, as well as the fuller discussion of our results, see Fejes and Nylander (2014, 2015).

What Kind of Research Is Recognized by Gatekeepers and Peers?

Our analysis suggests that out of the 57 most cited articles in the journals (Fejes and Nylander 2015), the qualitative research paradigm dominates completely, with a specific focus noted for research drawing on interviews and narratives, sometimes in combination with observations but most often not. Only four articles in the top-cited sample could be categorized as solely drawing on quantitative methods. Such results are partly in concordance with previous research (Taylor 2001; Harris and Morris 2011; St. Clair 2011) insofar as those studies found that qualitative research has become more common and quantitative research less common over the years. Despite the decrease in quantitative research, previous studies indicate that it is still quite common. Taylor (2001), for example, found that quantitative and qualitative research was equally common at the end of the 1990s. A focus on the top-cited articles, however, indicates that quantitative research methods are much more endangered than previous review descriptions have been able to convey. Our analysis further illustrates that, even though a wide array of theoretical perspectives are used in the articles, three perspectives dominate the field: sociocultural perspectives, critical pedagogy and post-structural perspectives.

Who Are Recognized by Gatekeepers and Peers?

Our bibliometrical study illustrates the dominance of authors from four Anglophone countries: the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia (Fejes and Nylander 2014). Out of all articles published in the three journals under scrutiny between 2005 and 2012, 66% of all first authors were from one of the above-mentioned countries. There is also a clear dominance of scholars from these countries in the editorial boards. This might not come across as a very surprising finding as these journals are indeed published in locations where English is the dominant language spoken. More surprisingly, perhaps, is the finding that the dominance of these four countries is even more prevalent if we focus on the top-cited articles as compared to the full range of publications. The four Anglophone countries here represent an astonishing 87.8% of the top-cited articles in the same time period. Such a result indicates that scholars publishing in these journals to a higher extent cite Anglophone authors more than others. The results also imply that researchers working in countries where English is the second language tend to cite Anglophone researchers from these four countries to a far greater extent than the researchers from the Anglophone Empires of Academia (the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia) do to researchers situated elsewhere.

This finding is somewhat in accordance with Bonitz et al. (1997) who reported on similar 'Matthew effects' in a comparative study of citations in

various countries and across a range of different scientific disciplines. The difference between Bonitz et al. (1997) report on a macro-level citation pattern in the exact sciences and our own very limited sample of the publication and citation patterns within the field of adult education research, seem to be that our field is much more centred around a core of Anglophone countries (United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia) than is the case of the 'hard' sciences. The differences between adult education and the sciences might be taken to indicate that is not primarily the material conditions for contributing to scientific debates and discoveries that contribute to the geographically stratified pattern here (compared to Arunachalam and Manorama 1989; Alatas 2003). In fact, researchers from highly developed countries, such as Belgium, France and Germany seem to be as peripheral in the universe of Anglophone adult educational journals as researchers from former English colonies such as Botswana and South Africa (Fejes and Nylander 2014). However, the fact that English-speaking former colonies are subordinated alongside scholars from non-Anglophone nations, could also be raised as a caution to those who want to interpret these results as having to do with the linguistic advantages of scholars from United Kingdom, the United States, Canada and Australia, that is, from having English as the first language. Perhaps as important for understanding the dominance of western Anglophones is the position these scholars obtain within the field of adult academic publishing, at least when as here taking as our vantage point three peer-review journals indexed in Scopus. The fact that national scholars have an advantage when publishing in journals that originate from their own country, with collegial connections to editors and advisors on the editorial boards and so on might not strike everyone by surprise. However, the result is important to bear in mind, not least since these journals are often thought of as 'international' in scope and range. Somewhat paradoxically, the tendency to see these journals as 'international' seem to be stronger in external non-Anglophone locations than in the countries that dominate the game and where English language is the self-evident norm.

Our result further shows that dominant scholars are often located in adult education departments or departments closely related to adult education (Fejes and Nylander 2015). Although this is the case for the sample of top-citations, those who are contributing to the field at some point in their career, without really belonging to departments and institutions that specialize in it, are vast in numbers. So the overall rate of trans-disciplinary connections is probably higher in this field as compared to many other research fields. There is also a rather wide representation of authors in different stages of their career among the top-cited sample. This might be taken to indicate that the contributions to the field are not very clearly correlated to the researchers' hierarchical position within academia. However, turning to those five papers that have attracted the most citations within our sample, only one of them was authored by a doctoral student (that time together with more established authors) and all of them were written by Anglophone scholars. So even if the journals of adult education show some signs towards scholarly inclusiveness there are still rather intricate

correlations between different sites of enunciation, titles and number of citations. The actors within this field seem to be relatively open to include scholars in different stages of their careers, but the work of early careers scholars still might not be as attractive to cite as that of the seniors colleagues. If the work of senior scholars still has a tendency of becoming more cited, this can of course have to do with their work being more developed, but it can also have to do with senior scholars being more known, and thus one turns to the known when citing colleagues or more cited by other influential key players (Lindgren 2011).

DISCUSSION: ON THE ART OF STRATEGIC SUBMISSION(S)

Based on these results what kind of strategies should early career scholars in adult education adopt in order to maximize their chances to gain scholarly recognition within this research field? In this discussion, we sketch out some potential answers to this question given the recent publication and citations patterns in the indexed journals. Our discussion starts out from the assumption that a growing number of early career scholars around the world are becoming attached to the evaluation measurements of peer-review articles written in the English language. As early career scholars approach and seek access to the leading journals knowledge about what has been published and cited are important in order to make well-informed decisions about one's publications and in the longer run, one's career.

Publication Strategies for Early Career Scholars

For those scholars and research leaders who, rightfully or not, think it is important to play along in the current 'state of affairs' concerning publication and citations there are some clear-cut, albeit rather blunt, priorities one can formulate based on our results. Some of these have more general applicability, whereas others are more specific to the field of adult education as based on our own study. More generally, this transformation encourages scholars to:

1. Publish in the format of articles.
2. Publish in the English language.
3. Publish in journals acknowledged and indexed in the main databases.

More specific suggestions can be formulated for scholars seeking access to journals in adult education, at least based on the publications that have been given scholarly recognition between years 2005 and 2012:

4. Conduct qualitative studies, preferable by doing interviews, narrative analysis and so on. Draw on a sociocultural perspective, critical pedagogy or post-structuralism.
5. If non-Anglophone, publish together with a scholar from the UK, USA, Australia or Canada.

6. Publish together with a senior well-established and well-known colleague in the field.

Strategies Regarding Content

All of the above points could potentially increase the chances of being accepted for publication and eventually cited in other indexed peer-review journals in the research field. However, there is no guarantee that previous citation patterns hold for future developments; one objection to this being a good lead for future forms of collegial recognition would be that your colleagues might reward novel research initiatives rather than those which continue along previous tracks. Furthermore, in describing the dominant trends we inevitably reproduce the patterns that we are describing. Nevertheless, our study illustrates a dominance of certain methodological and theoretical perspectives, indicating that the field, as represented through these three journals, champions certain research in comparison to others.

For instance, if conducting quantitative research these journals might not be the right place to seek publication. One possible explanation for the noticeable lack of quantitative research throughout our sample might be that adult education scholars conducting quantitative research publish elsewhere. Another possible explanation is that the gatekeepers and leading researchers in the field are dismissive towards such research or simply not knowledgeable enough to assess its quality or pass it to colleagues that is. No matter the reason for our results, it raises an important question for early career scholars. Does the lack of quantitative studies in the key journals in the field constitute a problem for early career scholars who wish to conduct quantitative research?

Our tentative answer to this question would be 'yes'. Those scholars whom today uphold the professorships in adult education have, to a large extent, embarked upon their academic careers during a time when the qualitative research was emerging and establishing itself as a dominating trend within the field (the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s). Thus, there is a risk that these leading professors, who often fought hard to make qualitative research legitimate, do not have sufficient knowledge about quantitative research, nor encourage such research among their doctoral students (for example by not providing supervision or doctoral courses on quantitative methods). Thus, it could be hard for doctoral students interested in conducting quantitative studies to find suitable supervision at their institutions or even receive meaningful feedback at adult educational conferences.

A similar question could be raised towards the dominance of sociocultural theory, critical pedagogy and post-structuralism as overarching theoretical traditions. Will scholars who engage with other kinds of theoretical perspectives than these three, find these journals as a possible output, and will the gatekeepers let them in?. Our results indicate that this is actually the case. Half of the most cited articles in the journals were written from a theoretical perspective

other than the three just mentioned. To some extent there seem to be a theoretical pluralism in what has been published and cited in these journals. Yet one could still speculate that positioning oneself in the mainstream, that is, drawing from one of the main theoretical perspectives listed above, would increase your chances of receiving favourable responses from gatekeepers and peer-reviewers as scholars in the field can be expected to have more knowledge about these perspectives than, to the field, more marginal perspectives?

Strategies Regarding Authorship

With the evident dominance of Anglophone scholars, several questions regarding strategies for early career researchers could be raised. For non-Anglophone emerging scholars, one strategy that might increase chances to be accepted for publication and later on being cited is to publish together with a colleague from the US, UK, Canada or Australia. By doing a joint publication instead of a singularly authored piece, the article will probably be better equipped to address an Anglophone audience, the language will be considered of more refined quality and so on. In addition, these potential co-authors are likely to have published several papers in the ‘international’ journals before, something that greatly facilitates for your arguments to be integrated in the current debates and be deemed of relevance by reviewers. As we have seen what is classified as ‘international journals’ by non-Anglophone speakers has, through our examinations of the adult educational research field, often been remarkably biased towards the Anglophone research communities (see for example Fejes and Nylander 2014). So going international in this field seem to mean becoming acquainted with new national traditions, customs and frameworks (rather than entering into some global or cosmopolitan space), at least so for non-Anglophone writers.

Similarly, as our result indicated, those who are most highly cited are established researchers (that is not early career scholars), and thus co-authoring with a more established scholar might increase the chance to be published and cited. As the established scholar might be well rehearsed on publishing articles and might already be known to the gatekeepers in the field the likelihood of being cited is expected to increase if you are able to land publications with more experienced peers. Another reason why this might be a useful strategy is that established scholars are already well networked and included in ‘invisible colleges’ (Larsson 2009), something that is likely to bring both citations up and connections for future collaborations. However, our result also indicated that the three journals we investigated seem to be relatively open to publish the work of scholars in different stages of their careers. So, as early career scholar, one should not be too wary towards submitting single authored papers to these journals even if left to your own devices.

We have now outlined some advice on what early career researchers might need to do in order to adapt to the current publication and citation trends in academia more generally, as well as in adult education research more specifically.

However, there are several problems related to these kinds of policies and the consequences they have on us as intellectuals and academics, what we research, whom we communicate with, what we prioritize and so on. In the final section, we will outline some of these problems.

CRITIQUING THE PUBLICATION AND CITATION GAME

We are currently witnessing a strong transformation process within the academia. There are common traits in this development, such as neoliberal reforms and the widespread implementation of public policy instruments to measure or assess the researcher's work. Though it is understandable that politicians and administrators adopt ways to make the intangible value of academic output more transparent and comparative, it has proven to be a particularly difficult sector to subsume under standardized forms of evaluation and assessment. The shift towards using bibliometric techniques in the service of policy instrumentation contains a series of questionable assumptions. One of the core assumptions is that the value of research can be estimated fairly by considering the place in which it is published, as well as how often a publication is cited (Karpik 2011). Because research funding is distributed partly based on how much you publish in what are construed as 'top-ranked journals' and on how often other articles in those journals cite your articles, the emergence of this new economy obviously produce new behaviour among researchers (see Power 1999, for a discussion on 'audit culture').

There are also clear differences in how these emerging economies are set up and who is benefiting from them. To begin with the publication and citation output that is measured start out from indexed databases that consist mainly of English-speaking journals published in Anglophone countries. Inevitably, whether they like it or not, this means that the gatekeepers that govern access to those journals have emerged as key players within the adult education research field. From the point of view of non-Anglophone researchers the rules of the game change overnight the moment their national government decide to distribute money and other forms of remuneration, and above all research time, based on the volume of work published and the number of citation gathered in the journals indexed in databases such as Web of Science or Scopus. So, what, if anything, is the problem with this development? Is it not great that research become more international in character and that scholars across the globe get a chance to contribute to leading journals in their respective field?

Maximizing Your International Citations or Being of Relevance (Locally)?

For the heterogeneous group, we here call non-Anglophone researchers, submitting and strategizing about their publications and maximizing their 'impact' in foreign peer-review journals, might prove beneficial for their individual career trajectory, in seeking employments in off-shore universities or in the struggles to

be nominated for a tenure track employment. Yet, in the final analysis, such narrowly defined dogma of maximizing scholarly output and impact might risk lessening the priority of having any substantial impact locally, as well as downplaying other virtues and values that the scholarship in adult education ought to carry. For this group, the imperative to publish in English language and journals locked in under financial licences that even the librarians have a hard time grasping, risk distancing them further from the language and experiences of local adult educational teachers and participants.

However, if practitioners and teachers have a hard time accessing these articles, it is probably due to several factors combined. To start with, research articles are often not written for practitioners, and if the articles, in addition, are written in English academic language, it furthers the risk of excluding or distancing those who are not seeking knowledge in foreign or second languages. Further, practices of adult education vary greatly between countries and there are great differences in the intellectual academic traditions to take into consideration here (Fejes and Nylander 2014; Heilbron 2015). Thus, when shaping an argument *for* an English-speaking scientific audience, concepts central to the understanding of the historical and cultural practice of adult education in a specific location have to be translated. Such translation is not always possible, or rather, the meaning is often 'lost in translation'. Thus, there is a risk that even though a non-Anglophone practitioner might read a research article in English, about adult education in his or her own country, the argument becomes less clear than it would have been in his or her first language.

The Swedish case as of 2015 might be taken as a rather extreme example. In the current performance matrix system, no value at all is given to the production of books or academic literature written in the Swedish language. Contrary to the wide array of dimensions that is included in the REF assessment in the British system, which itself is rather problematic (Martin 2011), the Swedish evaluation procedure is singlehandedly matrix-based and thus outsourced to a North American company (Clarivate Analytics). One might feel inclined to ask how that arrangement corresponds to other scholarly demands that are quite rightfully placed on us as adult education scholars, such as providing relevant research for teacher training programmes or the quest to participate in local democratic struggles and debates.

According to Brown (2014), even the British assessment system (REF), tends to sharpen the cleavages between institutions oriented towards research and those oriented towards teaching. Even though teaching is arguably one of the fundamental ways by which research comes to have impact, it is not considered as a symbol of impact within REF's evaluation and assessment scheme, thereby diminishing its status. As Brown (2014) also points out the REF assessment practices actually encourage new forms of value calculations among scholars, as well as contribute directly to the development of novel forms of employment contracts (teaching only) and great deal of performance anxieties among aspiring scholars. In the Scandinavian countries, the model of higher education can be described as a binary system right from the get-go (Kyvik

2004). The cleavages between teaching and research tasks has often corresponded to an overarching institutional division of labour between, on the one hand, a small number of research-oriented universities and, on the other, a great number of regional Högskolor. Whereas, the older Universities have done most of the research, the regional Högskolor has been indispensable for teaching. As the current shift towards performance indicators is operationalized to evaluate research practices based on the publications and citations in English journals, the institutional divisions between these two kinds of higher educational institutions is likely to increase over time (see Reymert et al. 2015 for the case of Norway).

Resist the Anglophone Mainstream?

One might be inclined to argue that scholars in the adult education research field should resist the temptation of trying to enter the current publication game at all, as this game potentially further the scholarly divide between published work and the real practices and practitioners of those being researched. However, this radical stance of criticality seems itself to correspond to vested interests and positions-taking within the national fields of research production and publication. Thus, from a more panoramic view of the research field the question becomes: who are in a position to resist the publication game? Is this national resistance perhaps ultimately a line of conflict that relates to different scholarly generations and the ways agents in the field have invested and learned to perceive academic capital differently?

Within the educational research field in Sweden, there is no shortage of well-established scholars who are very vocal about their own resistance against the on-going transformations of academia. Curiously, such self-proclaimed resistance often corresponds to academic trajectories centred on publishing books, enlightenment literature, publishing in national journals and in native languages. Naturally, if one has made a career by publishing in a time when the publication economy looked different, one might not be used to publish in English and in the format of articles, thus providing fertile ground for a position that speaks critically about the emergence of this 'new' neoliberal economy, the implementation of a virtual currency based solely on articles and so on.

At the other end of the spectrum of how scholars have adapted to the transformations of current academia, other researchers have done what scholars always do, namely to play the game in a way that challenges 'the old guard', and enhance their own career trajectories. So, while it can be argued that some aspiring researchers are simply placed in a location where the publication economy is more or less fully operational others, we argue, choose to play this game precisely because it challenges national elites and status quo, especially so in disciplines in or with close proximity to the humanities. In this dialectics of scholarly contestation, which for non-Anglophone research communities often tend to cut between 'old' and 'new' forms of academic capital, it is often the role of 'the old guard' to dismiss the banality of the transnational investments

made by up-and-coming generations of scholars, while it is the important for emergent scholars, well published in English research journals, to expose their critique as conservative and nationalistic.

Words of Caution

In sum, one should be cautious in interpreting our conclusions above as career advice as for ‘how-to-act’ always and everywhere. There are several arguments contradicting these tendencies and suggestions. Above all it might be better to take a different position research-wise than what is currently evolving as the mainstream among peers. Rather than, say, drawing on sociocultural theory, writing about learning at work, citing those who are usually cited in this field—that is predominantly Anglophone scholars—it could be better to introduce something more novel, drawing on theory seldom used in the field or adopting quantitative research methods. One of the risks with going fully mainstream is that future citations are still likely to be directed to the very same articles that you yourself have been referencing, that is largely works that has been canonized within the Anglophone academic universe. It is also important to consider what consequences there might be if one decides to focus on co-authored research gathered within a particular national space with Anglophone scholars and their audience. Since adult education systems are shaped by national historical and cultural conditions, it is good to remain tentative to the ways in which the content of this research might become reshaped when placed dialogue with persons from elsewhere, not least places and persons that hold dominating positions within the realm of English-speaking communities.

In order for research, in general, and the adult education research community, in particular, to become ‘truly’ international, we think that there is a need to scrutinize both the local historical and cultural circumstances that shape national adult education practices, as well as the research field itself and its current biases and power relations. This has to be done in relation to various factors and not stop at the linguistic and institutional dimensions that we have outlined here. However, we hope that our contribution can be taken as the starting point to further analyse and discuss what biases that might exist within the field.

First, our bibliometrical studies (Fejes and Nylander 2014, 2015) illustrated a scholarly divide in terms of a strong Anglophone dominance of scholars located in four core countries, in contrast to adult educational scholars of ‘the rest of the world’. Adding complexity to this problematic, one might feel inclined to ask what other geographical and spatial divides there might be. Further empirical investigations are needed in order to give a substantial answer to these questions. However, our studies clearly indicate that scholars from Africa, South America and Asia, as well as countries in Southern and Eastern Europe, are not as well represented as scholars from some northern European countries. This finding might mean that we ourselves, as Northern European and Scandinavian scholars, although relatively marginal when comparing us with the Anglophone

core countries, speak from a locus of enunciation that is fairly privileged by truly global standards.

An important backdrop to this development is the size and power inscribed in the different language regimes, where the small western language regions seem to have been fairly quick to adopt English both within and outside the academia. As for the Swedish case, the English language is in fact currently, by far, the most common language used in dissertations and it is predominantly within the humanities we (still) find scholars who have remained unaffected by this bilingual policy (Gunnarsson and Öhman 1997; Salö and Josefsson 2013). Another reason why smaller language regions turn towards the Anglophone world might be the relative lack of journals in their particular knowledge areas. A second interesting dimension to analyse further, based on our findings, is what happens to the patterns of scholarly recognition when researchers change their positions and move in space geographically. For instance, when students from different parts of the world conduct their PhDs at Anglophone universities or senior researchers acquire positions within dominating Anglophone institutions. Does this affect the visibility in the ‘key’ journals as well as in citation patterns? One thing is sure: further comparative research is needed.

REFERENCES

- Alatas, S. F. (2003). Academic dependency and the global division of labour in the social sciences. *Current Sociology*, 51(6), 599–613.
- Arunachalam, S., and Manorama, K. (1989). Are citationbased quantitative technics adequate for measuring science on the periphery? *Scientometrics*, 15(5–6), 393–408.
- Archambault, E., Campbell, D., Gingras, Y., & Larivière, V. (2009). Comparing bibliometric studies obtained from Web of Science and Scopus. *ArXiv eprint arxiv:0903.5254*. Retrieved from <http://arxiv.org/pdf/0903.5254.pdf>.
- Brown, A. J. (2014). Being REFable: strategies and tactics in meeting the challenges of the research quality assessment process. In B. Cunningham (Ed.), *Professional life in modern UK HE*. London: IOE Press.
- Bonitz, M., Bruckner, E., & Scharnhorst, A. (1997). Characteristics and impact of the Matthew effect for countries. *Scientometrics*, 40(3), 407–422.
- Bourdieu, P. (1988). *Homo academicus*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2013). *Algerian sketches*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P., & Wacquant, L. (2001). *Towards a reflexive sociology: A workshop with Pierre Bourdieu*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Fejes, A., & Nylander, E. (2014). The Anglophone international(e): A bibliometric analysis of three adult education journals, 2005–2012. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 64(3), 222–239.
- Fejes, A., & Nylander, E. (2015). How pluralistic is the research field on adult education? Dominating bibliometrical trends, 2005–2012. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 6(2), 103–123.
- Garfield, E., & Sher, I. H. (1963). New factors in the evaluation of scientific literature through citation indexing. *American Documentation*, 14(3), 195–201.

- Gunnarsson, B.-L., & Öhman, K. (1997), *Det internationaliserade universitetet. En studie av bruket av engelska och andra främmande språk vid Uppsala universitet*. Uppsala: TeFa 16. 'Gunnarsson and Öhman (1997)'. ->
- Harris, R., & Morrison, A. (2011). Through the looking glass: Adult education through the lens of the Australian journal of adult learning over 50 years. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, 51, 17–52.
- Heilbron, J. (2015). *French sociology*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Hicks, D. (2013). One size doesn't fit all: on the co-evolution of national evaluation systems and social science publishing. *Confero: essays on Education, Philosophy and Politics*, 1, 67–90.
- Hirschauer, S. (2015). How editors decide. Oral communication in journal peer review. *Human Studies*, 38(1), 37–55.
- Karpik, L. (2011). What is the price of a scientific paper? In J. Beckert & P. Aspers (Eds.), *The worth of goods: Valuation and pricing in the economy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kyvik, S. (2004). Structural changes in higher education systems in Western Europe. *Higher Education in Europe*, 29(3), 393–409.
- Lamont, M., & Huuoniemi, K. (2011). Comparing customary rules of fairness: Evaluative practices in various types of peer review panels. In C. Camic, N. Gross, & M. Lamont (Eds.), *Social knowledge in the making*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lascoumes, P., & Le Gales, P. (2007). Introduction: Understanding public policy through its instruments. *Governance*, 20(1), 1–21.
- Larsson, S. (2009). An emerging economy of publications and citations. *Nordisk Pedagogik*, 29, 34–52.
- Lewin, K. (1947a). Frontiers in group dynamics: Concept, method and reality in social science; social equilibria and social change. *Human Relations*, 1(1), 5–40.
- Lewin, K. (1947b). Frontiers in group dynamics II: Channels of group life; social planning and action research. *Human Relations*, 1(2), 143–153.
- Lindgren, L. (2011). 'If Robert Merton said it, it must be true': A citation analysis in the field of performance measurement. *Evaluation*, 17, 7–19.
- Martin, B. R. (2011). The research excellence framework and the 'impact agenda': Are we creating a Frankenstein monster? *Research Evaluation*, 20(3), 247–254.
- Ministry of Education. (2007). *Resurser för Kvalitet* [Resources for quality]. Stockholm: Ministry of Education.
- Pontille, D., & Tornay, D. (2015). From manuscript evaluation to article valuation: The changing technologies of journal peer review. *Human Studies*, 38(1), 57–79.
- Power, M. (1999). *The audit society: Rituals of verification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Price De Solla, D. J. (1965). Networks of scientific papers. *Science*, 149, 510–515.
- Price De Solla, D. J. (1975). *Science since Babylon*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Reymert, I., Hjellbrekke, J., Aamodt, P. O., & Frolich, N. (2015). *Skillelinjer i universitets- og hogskolesektorn*. NIFU: Et eksplorerende notat.
- Rubenson, K., & Elfert, M. (2015). Adult education research: Exploring an increasingly fragmented map. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 6(2), 125–138.

- Salö, L., & Josefsson, O. (2013). Parallelspråkighet på svenska universitet. In F. Gregersen (Ed.), *Vor parallellt: Om parallellspråkighet på Nordens universitet*. Nordiska ministerrådet: TemaNord.
- St Clair, R. (2011). Writing ourselves into being: A review of the Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 23 (2), 27–44.
- Taylor, E. (2001). Adult education quarterly from 1989–1999: A content analysis of all submissions. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 51(4), 322–340.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Andreas Fejes is Professor and Chair of Adult Education Research at Linköping University, Sweden as well as one of the Founding Editors of the *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults* (www.rela.ep.liu.se). His current research concerns citizenship education within and beyond adult and popular education; Marketization of adult education; and the bibliometrics of adult education research. One of his recent books (with Magnus Dahlstedt) is *The confessing society: Foucault, confession and practices of lifelong learning* (Routledge, 2013).

Erik Nylander is a Senior lecturer in Education at Linköping University, Sweden. His research concerns the relationship between social origins, education and work. He has previously contributed to a wide range of scientific fields including educational- and cultural sociology as well as studies on the formation of adult education as a research field.

Popular Universities: Their Hidden Functions and Contributions

Nelly P. Stromquist and Guillermo Lozano

Abstract Relatively unknown in the non-formal education field, popular universities nonetheless play a significant role in lifelong learning. This chapter describes their purposes, funding, programme content, and intended beneficiaries. Open to all, regardless of income, age, and previous schooling, these entities represent a variety of educational philosophies, historical traditions, and knowledge provision. On an aggregate, they serve millions of people of all ages—but primarily adults, many of whom are women; they are particularly active in European countries and rely primarily on local government support. Two knowledge strands are identified in their provision of services: the prevailing offers a wide array of knowledge and skills that address specific community needs and participants' preferences; the less salient strand aims to provide emancipatory knowledge to promote social change.

The notion of serving adults outside the formal venues provided by traditional universities has been present in many progressive minds for a long time. These ideas seem to have emerged in different parts of the world, in contexts that have fostered both similar and differentiated objectives. Historically, education for adults has sought social transformative ends. This tends to be the case in Scandinavian countries, where folk schools aimed to incorporate rural populations into the emerging national state, not for mere assimilation but as preparation for citizenship. Initially known as folk schools in Nordic countries

N.P. Stromquist (✉)

College of Education, University of Maryland, 3942 Campus Drive,
College Park, MD 20742-1165, USA
e-mail: stromqui@umd.edu

G. Lozano

University of Paris VIII, Saint-Denis, France
e-mail: lozano.guillermo@sfr.fr

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_40

(Carlsen and Borga 2013), over time some of these institutions have expanded, adapted, and renamed themselves as popular universities so today, for example, folk schools and popular universities coexist in Sweden. In Latin America, popular universities date back to a powerful, region-wide student movement to shift the traditional university from its previous colonial structure to one more democratically governed. Known as the Cordoba Movement of 1918, this effort included the provision of knowledge and skills to low-income populations in areas surrounding the university (Del Mazo 1957; Liebman et al. 1972; Alves de Freitas 2011). This took place through the creation of ‘outreach activities’ for the universities, known as *extensión universitaria*.

Although relatively numerous, particularly in European countries and parts of Latin America, popular universities have been the objects of very limited research. We still know little about their full range of objectives, modes of organisation, curriculum, the populations they serve, and the societal impact of such institutions. This article aims to present a preliminary mapping of popular universities worldwide, based on several data sources: (1) information available through their websites and collected by Guillermo Lozano, co-founder of the Social Laboratory on Research on Popular Education at the Cooperative University of Paris¹; (2) responses to a survey consisting of open-ended questions sent to popular universities with websites and administered in 2015; and personal interviews held with adult educators in Spain, France, and Sweden. In all, this mapping covers websites of popular universities in 41 countries (27 from Europe, 11 from Latin America, 2 from North America, 1 from Asia, and 0 from Africa). The survey produced a total of 36 institutional replies (22 from Spain, 13 from France, and 1 from Portugal). Website data supplied some basic descriptions about the popular universities while the survey questions deepened our understanding of the core features we examine below.

This chapter focuses on institutions that label themselves ‘popular university.’ This decision excludes a number of organisations that share the basic philosophical approach of popular universities (see below), particularly those that function in Nordic countries under the name of *folkehøskole* (higher people’s schools) and about 14 institutions and centres throughout the world that follow the teachings of Paulo Freire regarding adult education. Given the lack of a central registry and the entirely voluntary manner of reporting, the information available on popular universities is uneven, which results in knowledge gaps on their functioning and impact. It cannot be ascertained at this point the extent to which popular universities exist in African and Asian countries. Despite these limitations, this chapter offers some useful information that might serve as an introduction to the theme and, perhaps, motivate others to conduct a deeper study on popular universities.

Given the widespread nature of popular universities and the limited understanding we have of them, this chapter seeks to make popular universities more visible in order to gain a greater understanding of their contribution to adult learning. The narrative is primarily descriptive; it proceeds by first dealing with the definition of popular universities and how the various organisations justify

the terms ‘popular’ and ‘university.’ The chapter then examines core features such as their objectives, philosophical approach, sources of financial support, content knowledge, intended beneficiaries, and national networks. It concludes by assessing the contribution of popular universities to their participants and surrounding communities, and by placing their existence in the wider context of lifelong learning.

WHAT IS IN A NAME?

Popular universities comprise two terms rich in meaning. By ‘popular,’ many such institutions are extending the term to mean people from all walks of life who can be served by the university regardless of income, gender, social class, age, religion, and level of formal education. The term ‘university’ has been appropriated to mean knowledge people need in their lives and which may or may not evince sophistication. By ‘university’ what emerges in the most common definitions is the provision of all types of courses, the common denominator being that they respond to needs and desires of the community. One definition offered by a Spanish respondent to our survey, which captures the tone of many other respondents, states: ‘The popular university was created by citizens for the people and by the people.’ As Dockès and Corcuff (2016) at the Popular University of Lyon (France) expand, a popular university not only is open to everybody but also offers courses in which there are ample dialogue and questioning by all participants, thus escaping the hierarchy and rigidity of formal education. Often repeated by the survey respondents is that the popular universities provide the participants social spaces for conviviality with others as well as the opportunity to express themselves. A definition, coming from a French respondent, proclaims the right to enjoy learning and appreciate life, observing that a suitable name could also be ‘the university of leisure time.’

These definitions are congruent with the knowledge and skills that the popular universities provide. Among the Spanish and French popular universities, for which we have more data, there is a wide array of course offerings: from literacy to photography, from cooking to theatre, from memory care to agroecology. The most popular courses are those in arts and crafts, followed by access to computer technologies, cultural appreciation, personal development (self-esteem, public speaking, and conflict resolution), physical and mental fitness, and languages. In addition to courses, popular universities organise cultural events reflecting both community and universal culture and field trips on topics that include local history, architecture, ecological awareness, and exposure to gourmet cuisine and wine testing.

FUNCTIONING

Three fundamental contemporary aspects shape popular education today: (1) longer and healthier lives in industrialised societies; (2) increased access to new information technologies, which has greatly contributed to broadening

access to knowledge and information, including scientific knowledge; and (3) greater need for more democratised access to knowledge in the wake of a growing 'knowledge society.'

Not surprisingly, a wide variety of arrangements can be found among popular universities. Particularly in the European context, it is frequent to find that these institutions operate in close collaboration with the municipalities in which they are located and consequently their educational programmes and related activities serve concrete community needs. In Latin America, a concern is expressed for serving populations with low-income levels. In Japan, using mostly local government funding with complementary support from the national government as part of its lifelong learning policy, popular universities function with the objective of resolving daily problems in the municipality and propose solutions through the exchange of experiences. These community learning centres *cum* popular universities in Japan, called *kominkans*, have been in existence since 1949.

In some cases, tensions have emerged regarding the mission of the popular university. Several survey respondents consider the mission of popular universities is to provide an education with strong political and critical character, and even represents the political party to which many of the students belong. In contrast, other respondents consider that popular universities, while offering such a critical component, should concentrate on addressing the needs of its beneficiaries, which usually include recognition of prior learning, provision of job-related skills, and provision of certificates and diplomas required by the surrounding labour market.

Popular universities serve primarily adults, but they include participants of all ages. Often, they provide services for women, many over 60 years of age. Some popular universities explicitly include youths, mainly to enable them to complete their secondary schooling and to provide them with labour skills. A common format seems to be no provision of grades or certificates, with educational offerings provided in weekly sessions of about 2 h per session. In addition, popular universities organise regular cultural events, including artistic festivals, theatre, and lectures by various intellectual figures.

Among Dutch and Belgian popular universities, there are universities that centre on the formation of instructors as well as the formation of instructors of instructors, suggesting a concern with the creation and use of particular pedagogies when dealing with participants in these universities.

Popular universities tend to have small staffs and modest facilities, usually operating in spaces provided by the municipality. They serve a wide number of beneficiaries, from fewer than 200 to over 5000 per year, with the majority serving about 500 annually through the courses they offer. Open activities, such as arts festivals and conferences include larger numbers of beneficiaries. For most of their work, these universities rely on volunteers—persons with expertise in the courses they teach or university graduates.

FUNDING

Most popular universities are funded by local and regional governments; this is the case of the Spanish popular universities and the *kominkans* in Japan. In contrast, others are funded by voluntary donations from individual members of the popular university or from adult education associations in their region, as is the case for the autonomous universities of France.

Most popular universities enjoy considerable autonomy in their functioning. While funding in a large number of cases derives from the municipality, strong cultural traditions give popular universities a high degree of discretion in the actual utilisation of funds. This pattern is quite evident in the cases of Swedish and Spanish popular universities.

Since 1990, it has been possible in Japan to open private centres seeking to provide fee-based adult education, which is seen by some popular educators as depriving economically fragile groups from having access to learning. Active in the private approach is the Tokai University Education System, designed by Shigeyoshi Matsumae (1902–1991), an educator who followed the philosophical conceptions of Kanso Uchimura, in turn inspired by Danish popular universities. Private popular universities can also be found in other countries, one such example being the Popular University of Guatemala, which provides literacy programmes to farmers and workers. Founded in 1922, it was declared a ‘cultural patrimony of the nation’ in 2007.

In various countries of Latin America, one finds state-supported indigenous education through governmental organisations, such as the National Indigenous Institute of Paraguay. It is not clear at this point whether similar support is provided in other parts of Latin America to popular universities seeking to serve indigenous populations.

In Europe, students pay very low fees, from around 0.70 to 6 euros per course hour. Exceptionally, particularly for courses with advanced technological or cultural content, fees can be as high as 230 euros per course. The majority of popular universities offer some free courses; all offer discounts for specific populations such as seniors, the unemployed, students, and those facing financial difficulties.

PROGRAMME CONTENT

A great variety can be found in the sets of courses and activities offered by popular universities, depending on historical, cultural, economic, and political contexts. The Spanish popular universities tend to address immediate community needs and preferences expressed by local participants. Among the French popular universities, two expressions can be detected: one emphasises programmes addressing cultural activities and social relaxation; the other, comprising a small number of popular universities, seeks to engage in interdisciplinary efforts, blurring the lines between the social sciences, philosophy, literature, and other disciplines through both courses and conferences (Le Lay

2007). The former are more prevalent in small cities and communities while the latter function in larger cities, in close proximity to traditional universities. An example of the latter type is the Popular University of Lyon² founded in 2003.

The Danish and Swedish popular universities, in their origins, sought to foster citizenship and social integration among its rural population. Today, these universities serve youths and adults through a wide range of courses, including formation in practical professional fields. Among European popular universities, there is a clear concern to serve adults' needs through a wide variety of courses. In countries still in transition to more democratic governance, political themes receive greater attention. For example, the Popular University of St. Petersburg centres on working seniors, temporarily unemployed, immigrants, and ethnic and cultural minorities and aims to promote the development of democracy. Romania's National Association of Popular Universities seeks to influence political parties and civil society regarding the importance of adult education as a means to democratic development. The Tokai University System in Japan offers 44 programmes in 12 disciplines. It also has a professional school, the School of Law. Popular universities in the Netherlands offer courses, activities, and special projects decided in consultation with communities and civil society organisations.

Emancipatory Knowledge

Strongly linked to the notion of popular universities has been the provision of knowledge for the creation of a more just society, with inclusion of all social classes and the recognition and respect for the common good. This was at the root of residential schools that prepared young people living in the rural areas of Denmark for participation and leadership in civic life in the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century. This model, designed by F. N. S. Grundtvig, was a major inspiration for adult educators throughout the world. Grundtvig had in mind two models of adult education: the Danish High School or what he called 'the school for life' and the university, or 'the school for passion,' with the former emphasising the 'here and now' and the latter 'the universal' (Broadbridge et al. 2010). Grundtvig failed to make the university a reality but he was certainly a strong advocate for a people's university with no entrance exam and free from the domination of Latin. While the term folk-school has prevailed, the content and objectives of programmes inspired by Grundtvig go beyond the regular high school curriculum.

In Poland, popular universities played a significant role in the provision of emancipatory knowledge for the creation of an independent state. Thus, the Flying University (*Uniwersytet Latający*) operated clandestinely during the period of Russian oppression. Active in 1885–1905 and then again in 1977–1981, it worked to defend democracy. From 1957 to about the fall of the Soviet regime, there were several popular universities run by the Peasant Socialist Youth Union, which readied adults for employment, preparing them for a profession and upgrading their qualifications (Bron-Wojciechowska 1977).

Today, the Polish popular universities are very concerned with issues of sustainable development.

In France, the first popular university was founded in 1899, following the great debate on the Dreyfus Affair which reflected a strong anti-Semitism in the country, and which led progressive persons such as Georges Deherme to conclude that the French people needed to have greater levels of education. As a result, popular universities were founded in 1906, but they failed to attract many students due to the high intellectual content of their programmatic content. Much later, in 1986, the Association of Popular Universities was founded, comprising at that time 134 institutions oriented towards lifelong learning courses. On the other hand, a group of 'alternative' popular universities also in France, which has attracted about 30 members, is engaged in work to rescue the political character of popular universities.

Given the surge of immigrant groups in Europe today, its popular universities are offering them language courses, but little information could be found as to whether these courses seek to integrate the immigrants into their new society merely through language access or to raise their awareness about their rights and obligations as citizens.

Popular universities in Uruguay identify their key aims as the 'political and ideological formation of youths and social and political fighters against imperialism and capitalism.' Thus there is sometimes a blurring of the line between popular universities and social movements. The ATD Fourth World People's University, for instance, is part of a movement founded by Joseph Wresinski in France in 1971. The movement works in 34 countries, including six cities in the US. Its acronym ATD initially stood for '*Aide à Toute Détresse*' and, as it expanded, it changed the meaning of its acronym to mean 'All Together in Dignity.' The People's University seeks to promote dialogue among people from all walks of life and argues that we can learn from people who face poverty every day. The People's University also runs family and community projects.

Some popular universities pursue emancipatory knowledge, often defined as knowledge that challenges vertical forms of teaching. This characterises a number of popular universities in France that are engaging in non-traditional pedagogical methods. Yet others seek to provide religious knowledge. *Universidad Popular Autónoma del Estado de Puebla*, Mexico is a Centre for the Study of Science and Religion, privately funded and linked to social development in several municipalities of this state. An exceptional case in terms of its functioning and its commitment to the provision of anti-hegemonic knowledge that questions today's dominant neoliberal ideologies is the Social Movements University located in Portugal and founded by sociologist and activist Boaventura de Sousa Santos. It operates exclusively through workshops and conferences conducted throughout the world.

As popular universities have encountered globalisation and as some countries have experienced notable demographic changes, such as an increasing population sector over 60 years of age, emancipatory knowledge has given room to

new forms, often combining critical political discussion with more offerings having practical applications and individual expression. For instance, among the Popular Universities of Vienna, their Jewish Institute for Adult Education seeks to combat religious stereotypes through education, and their Rosa Mayreder Popular University (named after a famous freethinker, writer, artist, and feminist personality) centres on feminist issues, while a Dismantling and Recycling Centre offers courses on the environment. At the same time, and its Film Popular University centres on the promotion of film production. Other popular universities in Austria, such as the Popular University on Austrian Archives centres on knowledge related to astronomy, computer science, and languages. Popular universities such as the Alfredo Fazio Popular University of Belgrano in Argentina offer courses in radio training and dance.

In Belgium, some universities engage in action research and provide advice for educational projects as well as forming future adult educators; this is true of the Popular University of Liege. Others engage in action research against exclusion and poverty, through reflection and the exchange of experiences, as does the ATD Fourth World People's University.

Some emancipatory knowledge seems to emerge through courses that at first sight seem to reproduce gendered social patterns. For instance, among popular universities in Spain, cooking courses for women are common. Programme providers participating in our survey, however, observe that women take those courses not just to cook better but, following some cost-benefit calculations, they seek to provide better diets for their families so that their children are healthier and thus avoid medical expenditures as well as ensure their children face fewer obstacles to learning.

Extensión universitaria (or outreach programmes)—a modality used by some Latin American universities and taking form as 'popular universities' in the region—seems to have derived from ideas begun in England in the late 1800s for the purpose of the university. Liberal professors such as James Stuart (Cambridge) and William Sewell (Oxford) proposed a university education for the less favoured social sectors. Outreach programmes started in Cambridge in 1973 and by 1891 they had greatly expanded through Great Britain, when there were 464 outreach programmes attended by some 45,000 students (Tiana Ferrer 1991). Some of these programmes became popular universities at the beginning of the twentieth century. At that time, most courses dealt with history, political economy, literature, arts, and natural sciences.³ The idea of the university extension was adopted in countries such as France, Italy, and Spain. It is possible that these influences arrived in Latin America through immigrants and visitors the region had. The university student movement that started in Cordoba (Argentina) in 1918, produced a set of demands, one of whose objectives sought, 'an emphasis on university extension, particularly courses for workers that would lead to the development of fraternal bonds with the proletariat' (Alves de Freitas 2011).⁴ While the university students were successful in securing major changes in the Latin American university and instituted

practices that made advanced knowledge accessible to persons outside the university, we could not find documentary sources to describe the current character of these outreach programmes in Latin America.

INTENDED BENEFICIARIES

Workers and farmers have historically been the prime concern of public universities. Over time, popular universities—at least in the European context—reflect an increasing participation of women, highlighting the increasing democratisation of education. Attention to immigrants has been relatively weak. With the greying of the population in advanced industrialised countries, older persons have also become a significant concern.

Workers

With the substantial shrinkage of labour unions in many parts of the world, attention to workers has diminished, although this focus still exists. The Popular University of Brussels has served workers for many years. Its motto is ‘a place of knowledge open to all.’ It validates previous learning and offers training programmes for workers with low qualifications. It also organises online conferences and cultural activities, runs ‘citizenship-cafes,’ and provides support to facilitate people’s return to academic studies.

The Urban Popular University of Peru, created in 1921, seeks to educate workers to strengthen the urban social movement through the creation of political leaders. This university is affiliated with one of the strongest political parties in that country, APRA (Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana). There is also a Workers’ Popular University in Mexico.

Women

Popular universities in Spain and France tend to have a high participation of women, as about 70% of the participants are women. According to the coordinator of the Spanish Federation of Popular Universities (M. Morales, email communication, March 4, 2015), these institutions appeal to two types of women: young ones who experienced failure in the formal education system or those who want to upgrade their working skills, and older women without children at home and who now have the time to improve their knowledge and social relations. According to our survey of Spanish and French popular universities, the most common ages range from 45 to 65.

The Mothers of Plaza de Mayo—a group that gained worldwide recognition through the active participation of mothers and grandmothers in Argentina who initiated a persistent and public search for their children, who were ‘disappeared’ during the military dictatorship years (1974–1983)—have created its own popular university. Plaza de Mayo Mothers Popular University has operated since 1983 and was officially opened in 2000, with the participation of

international partners, such as Salamanca University, the Martin Luther King Institute based in Cuba, and several Latin American intellectuals. This popular university also conducts research and lists six research centres that work through close collaboration between researchers, teachers, and students. These centres engage in research on Latin American political thought, genocide and civil society, and community organisation and communication and information technologies. It also offers a radio programme.

Indigenous Populations

A few serve indigenous populations, notably in Latin America. One is located in Venezuela, where the Indigenous University of Venezuela, located in Tauca, Bolivar State. This university is rather recent, having been founded in 2000 by a Basque priest, Jose María Korta. It seeks to form leaders to defend the land and cultural traditions of indigenous populations; in 2010 it had an enrolment of 810 adults. Popular universities seeking to serve indigenous groups also exist in Paraguay, where the *Universidad Popular of Curuguaty* runs a Popular Cultural Centre and provides programmes to improve the living conditions of farmers and indigenous populations. In Bolivia, the Tinku Network is an intercultural organisation created in 1998. It provides non-formal education programmes in Quechua and Aymara languages. In Australia one can find popular universities focusing on indigenous populations; this is the case of Gnibi College of Indigenous Australians, which provides a multi-skilling programme designed to meet diverse needs faced at the community level.

Other Beneficiaries

Some popular universities are inspired by the concept of 'third age,' which centre on the provision of educational experiences with a high entertainment content for older students. Against this use of popular universities, French philosopher and writer Michel Onfray argues that popular universities should not only serve older citizens but also have social transformative purposes, including making the enjoyment of life accessible to all people and not only the richest segment of society. Onfray is the founder of the Popular University of Caen, which has inspired in turn the creation of the Popular University of Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, in Canada. Onfray uses profits from his books to finance the university at Caen, which aims to teach and discuss philosophy and other disciplines. Onfray has also created in 2006 the Gourmet Popular University at Argentan (*Université Populaire du Gout d'Argentan*), which exposes people to grand cuisine by offering seminars headed by famous chefs as invited guests. More recently, Onfray has founded the Popular University of Theater, described as an effort to create 'theater without demagogy, a theater that fosters debates of ideas.'

Still, underdevelopment is the idea that popular universities should comprise social laboratories to guide their work to democratise society. Identifying

themselves as popular universities for the twenty-first century, the Cooperative University of Paris and the Popular University of Brussels have a core of researchers that practice action research aimed at developing democratic practices of teaching and living.

NETWORKS

A notable characteristic of popular universities is their configuration into networks at the national level, a common pattern among European popular universities. Networks can be found in at least 18 countries: France, Poland, Spain, Italy, Romania, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Russia, Denmark, Iceland, Sweden, and Finland. These networks have diverse descriptive names such as federations, confederations, autonomous popular universities, and associations. What these networks suggest is that in many cases, popular universities are a massive phenomenon, serving a large number of adults at the national level. At least ten such nationwide networks can be explicitly identified. They include the French Association of Popular Universities, the Autonomous Popular Universities in France, the Polish Association of Popular Universities, the Spanish Federation of Popular Universities, the Italian Confederation of Popular Universities, the National Association of Romanian Popular Universities, the Dutch Association of Popular Universities, the Association of Danish Popular Universities, and the Study Associations in Sweden as well as the Swedish NGO Popular Universities.

The Spanish Federation of Popular Universities comprises some 230 popular universities located in 17 autonomous regions. The first popular university in Spain dates back to 1901, and the federation was founded in 1983. Most of the universities in this network function as part of municipal services. According to its own reports, the federation serves about a million persons in open events and 200,000 through specific course offerings. It comprises 4500 instructors and over 75% of its students are women. The Spanish Federation seeks to apply more dialogical and interactive pedagogical forms that contrast with the vertical of traditional academic institutions. It proposes a yearly debate on specific issues such as ideology, modernity, critical knowledge and citizenship, pedagogies in popular universities, and youth access to popular universities. To some extent, this federation has also been influenced by the thought of Paulo Freire. Within Spain, there are also regional networks, e.g. the Extremadura Regional Association (AUPEX), working in 231 communities. Regional networks also exist in the case of France, such as those serving Rhône-Alpes, Midi-Pyrénées, Aquitaine, and Alsace.

Some features of the Italian Confederation of Popular Universities are noteworthy. Founded in 1982 as a legal organisation, it comprises 23 popular universities throughout the country. The confederation has a scientific committee comprising university professors with high levels of social commitment who work in such programmes as permanent education for citizenship and lifelong learning.

Another large network is represented by the Dutch Association of Popular Universities. This network represents approximately 85 out of 100 existing popular universities in the Netherlands. The association serves 180,000 persons annually; there are fees, whose amount varies depending on the extent of municipality support. The association offers a large variety of courses; as many as 3000 courses per year in 25 languages are offered in the Popular University of the Hague and 700 courses in 20 languages in the Popular University of Amsterdam.

In Sweden, there are many organisations dealing with adult education. The philosophy of adult education in Sweden is known as ‘*bildning*’—which is defined as ‘the opportunity to learn for the sake of learning itself.’⁵ Adult education in Sweden takes place through two main forms: study circles and folk high schools. While the organisations providing adult education do not call themselves popular universities, they are philosophically related to the popular universities in terms of having open access to their courses and lectures, conveying knowledge through dialogue, and being flexible in their curricula by offering courses to meet community needs.

Following the demise of the Soviet regime, popular universities have emerged in former communist countries. One such is the National Association of Romanian Popular Universities, founded in 1993 and today comprising more than 100 popular universities. They see as their main objective to promote adult education as a vital venue for social and political stability. The Baltic Network for Adult Learning (BNAL), centring on non-formal education, comprises institutions in nine countries (Germany, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Poland, Russia, and Sweden) and includes several popular universities. Several networks can be found even at city levels. One such example is the Popular Universities of Vienna, in existence since 1890, which makes it one of the oldest networks in the world.

An interesting manifestation of popular universities is reflected in the Parents’ Popular Universities. There are 30 such universities in France, seven in Belgium, and four in Germany. It is an educational movement that fosters collective action as well as research on parental relations, school dropouts, and the transmission of values to girls and boys. This research is done in collaboration with larger partner universities. It seeks to foster better understanding between parents, educational professionals, and political representatives. Their pedagogical model is designed to rely on parental strengths, to acknowledge their own values and practices, to promote group work, and to acknowledge parents’ right to take initiatives.

International networks linking US universities and European universities to Brazilian popular universities can also be detected. They comprise about a dozen groups, programmes, and institutions; as a whole, they follow the philosophical approach proposed by Paulo Freire. There are also associations to foster knowledge and cultural exchanges between Europe and emergent countries. One example is the Aragna Association for Cultural Mediation, a French organisation, founded in 2011. It has an inter-institutional agreement

with the University of Rosario of Bogota to create the University of All Knowledges. It is being conducted under the leadership of French philosopher Yves Michaud and one of its missions is to disseminate recent scientific developments.

Several institutions are explicitly affiliated to collective movements for social transformation. One such institution is the Popular University of Social Movements associated with sociologist Boaventura de Sousa Santos, in Portugal. It seeks to become a global network for knowledge and a space of intercultural formation that fosters reflection, democratic ideas debate, formulation of proposals, and the free exchanges of experiences. Its key objective is to foster 'resistance actions by local, national, and global social movements that are opposed to neoliberalism and world domination by capitalism and all forms of imperialism.' Santos also coordinates Project Alice, based at the University of Coimbra. According to a self-description, Project Alice seeks to promote popular education from the perspective of knowledge and ways of knowing in the Global South. This project is financed by the European Research Council.

Popular universities are increasing their visibility at the global level. Three national federations of popular universities (Spain, France, and Italy) are members of the European Association of the Education of Adults (EAEA), which comprises 137 member organisations in countries that as a whole represent over 60 million people in Europe. EAEA, however, makes no explicit reference to popular universities when describing its work. A similar observation can be made about the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), which includes the German Adult Education Association (dvv international), Folkeuniversitete (Oslo), and the Spanish Federation of popular universities (FEUP). There is also the Council for Adult Education for Latin America (CEAAL), which does not specifically mention the popular universities, but among its members is AUPEX, the Regional Association of Popular Universities of Extremadura (231 popular universities). It is not clear whether this is an oversight or indeed there is a weak connection between these bodies and popular universities and their networks.

PARTICULAR INSTANCES OF POPULAR UNIVERSITIES

We make an exception to the term of popular universities to describe two additional models given their magnitude and active role in popular education. They are given below.

The Barefoot College in Rajasthan

Founded in 1972 by Bunker Roy, an Indian social activist and educator, it is an example of skills-focused training for adults. According to its own description, Barefoot College engages in processes such as 'learning and unlearning,' 'a place where trial and error is welcome,' and as a setting 'where the teacher is a learner and the learner is a teacher.' The College centres on India's still prevalent

poverty and inequality by training people to become more agentic and knowledgeable. Initially, it focused on the provision of water pumps for villagers and training local residents to maintain them. By now, it has trained more than 3 million people for jobs in the modern sector.

The Cooperative University of Paris⁶

Founded in October 2012, it works on the concept of lifelong learning. It promotes intellectual growth and critical reflection, and relies on artistic expression as it maintains that creativity fosters imagination and reflection. This popular university has a research school, based on the premise that the humanities and social sciences promote the development of a critical spirit as well as a better understanding of reality, particularly, on issues related to health. It also works with a perspective towards the future, understanding that changes in demographics and technology will create new social and knowledge conditions to which popular universities will have to respond. Thus, this Cooperative University has created social laboratories to examine what goes on in popular universities and illuminate how they can best prepare themselves for the new challenges.

CONCLUSIONS

Popular universities are today one of the most tangible institutional expressions of adult education, even if they are still invisible in the academic literature on adult education. In some countries, particularly those in Europe, popular universities have a massive character, serving altogether millions of people on a yearly basis.

While holding in common the same label, ‘popular university,’ the institutions sharing this name are highly diverse. Serving participants from 4 to 90 years of age, they provide courses, workshops, and activities and workshops covering multiple subjects, from basic to advanced knowledge. What holds them together is a philosophy of access to knowledge by all, irrespective of age, economic means, and prior schooling. For the most part, the focus of the programmes is on creating a more active and accessible social world for their participants by providing exposure to all kinds of cultural knowledge. In this regard, however, priority is given to personal and community needs and preferences rather than to more encompassing political projects. It is clear therefore that these popular universities are making a notable contribution to the democratisation of education, especially by providing access to persons who in early years of their lives were not able to benefit from spaces conducive to learning and from greater access to cultural expressions. This study did not enable us to determine whether popular universities are experiencing a greater rate of growth than in the past 20 years; we can only affirm that they are numerous and active, particularly in European countries.

The education of adults continues to receive scant attention in global policies, evident in their token mention in UN's current Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)—which are to guide governmental action during the next 15 years. Further, the SDGs continue to consider adult education primarily for employment purposes, missing the self-fulfilment dimension that should characterise other aspects of lifelong learning. Our mapping of popular universities shows that, through local, regional, and national government action, support to adult education does take place in the form of popular universities. Such support corresponds more adequately to the importance that informed adults should have in their respective societies.

The widespread government support for popular universities is a surprising finding. While international bodies such as OECD are taking a more work-oriented view of lifelong learning (Rizvi and Lingard 2006), popular universities in Europe have managed to provide a more humanistic venue for their participants, offering spaces for democratic access to culture and exposure to intercultural programmes. At a time of intense privatisation, it is comforting to see that governments, particularly at the local level, recognise the need to make knowledge—both academic and more practical—available to all citizens. In Nordic countries, the approximately 400 popular universities are subsidised by the local and state governments, which implies close official ties—not to be underestimated, for it demonstrates governments' ability to be responsive to the needs of its citizenry while at the same time facilitating attention to social and economic development priorities. Approximately 150 popular universities in Northern and Eastern Europe have declared their adoption of Grundtvig's principle that all people should have access to education according to their own needs and interests. In this respect, popular universities in many parts of Europe bear a strong resemblance to the US community colleges, which are entirely pragmatic and operate with no particular pedagogic or political project.

It is clear that popular universities tend to respond to their historic, economic, and political contexts. The efforts by Grundtvig in Denmark in the nineteenth century, for instance, sought to incorporate farmers into the polity of the emerging Danish nation state. Today, the demands of Danish citizens and those in several established democratic countries have grown less political and most oriented towards personal satisfaction.⁷ New education themes, however, are being introduced by developments in the twenty-first century, such as (a) increased use of technologies and the concomitant need to update one's skills and knowledge to participate in the labour force, (b) changes in demographics, with increasingly older populations creating new clienteles for lifelong learning and particular subjects such as elderly care and physical/mental fitness, and (c) national and local conditions requiring social justice on issues such as immigration and racism.

In response to some of the sociopolitical nature of this new landscape, some of the popular universities inscribe themselves into what is known as 'social pedagogy,' which Schugurensky and Silver (2013) describe as traditions that, 'tend to work primarily with the most marginalised members of society, have a

holistic approach to learning, are oriented towards community building, draw on the experience and knowledge of participants, connect the curriculum to local programmes, encourage a dialogical relationship between educators and learners, and acknowledge that, in order to be effective in the long run, pedagogical interventions must be accompanied by justice-oriented policies.’

This call for social pedagogy methods does not seem to be heeded by most popular universities, as one finds a great diversity of objectives and educational projects among them. Despite tensions in the perceived missions of popular universities—with some educators advocating political and transformative knowledge and others accepting more instrumental roles—the majority of the popular universities described in this preliminary mapping address very practical needs of their adult clientele. This is in part the result of working under the support of municipalities, which often call for the satisfaction of community requirements for adult needs regarding work, cultural expansion, or plain enjoyment of life.

What we learn from the study of popular universities is their tremendous diversity and the joy with which they embrace all kinds of learning. Their flexibility in the range of programme offerings is truly rich and is totally congruent with the fact that society is now embarking into deeper and at the same time widespread types of knowledge. But, unlike the narrow and instrumental definition the ‘knowledge society’ receives in some circles, where it is defined basically as knowledge and skills for work, at the popular universities this knowledge has been able to retain a palpable humanistic and cultural orientation.

It remains to be seen to what extent popular universities will be able to carve a space that combines with greater ability the demand to serve practical needs of their participants and more socially transformative objectives that transcend immediate desires to find a job or draw pleasure from access to more artistic or entertaining pursuits. This tension, between serving personal needs and serving as the embryos for social movements, should be a subject of further research. Further, efforts remain to be done through qualitative research to observe actual practices to assess the extent to which transformative knowledge may be currently fostered through classroom and related activities.

NOTES

1. This university has focused on collecting data about popular universities and has held annual meetings over the past 3 years on various themes treated through adult education programmes. The website information, unfortunately, presents scant descriptions, has broken links to other documentary sources, or might be only available in languages the authors of this paper do not know.
2. The popular university of Lyon was founded first in 1900 and a second time in 2003 (Wuillème 2012).
3. While there are no popular universities in England today, there are several ‘free universities’ in the UK that share some of the former’s characteristics. See for

example: <http://www.theguardian.com/education/2013/jan/28/free-university-movement-excluded-learners>.

4. Contrary to common belief, the specific demands are not present in the *Manifiesto Liminar* (Liminal Manifesto) (1918) but were drafted a month later during the First National Congress of Argentine Students (July 1918).
5. www.folkbildings.se.
6. ucp-paris.com.
7. This observation should not be construed as our arguing that we have entered a ‘post-political’ world. We are merely remarking that many adults in these education programmes neither seek nor receive political knowledge—at least, judging from the subjects they cover in their course offerings.

REFERENCES

- Alves de Freitas, J. (2011, June 27). A reforma universitaria de Cordoba (1918): um manifesto. *Ensino Superior UNICAMP*.
- Broadbridge, E., Warren, C., & Jonas, U. (c2010). *The school for life: N. F. S. Grundtvig on education for the people*. Aarhus: Aarhus University Press.
- Bron-Wojciechowska, A. (1977). Folk high schools in Poland. *Convergence*, 10(3), 48–54.
- Carlsen, J., & Borga, O. (2013). Updated by A. Andresen, S. Kvaerndrup, & N. Glanh. *The Danish ‘Folkebojskole’*. Copenhagen: Hojskolernes Hus.
- Del Mazo, G. (Ed.). (1957). *La reforma universitaria y la universidad latinoamericana*. Corrientes: Universidad Nacional del Nordeste.
- Dockès, E., & Corcuff, P. (2016). *Pourquoi et comment un Université Populaire?* Retrieved from <http://danactu-resistance.over-blog.com/article-lyon-universite-populaire-pourquoi-et-comment-par-philippe-corcuff-61157279.html>
- Le Lay, S. (2007). L’alliance conflictuelle de l’universitaire et du populaire, interview with Philippe Corcuff. *Agora—Débats/jeunesse*, no. 44.
- Liebman, A., Walker, K., & Glazer, M. (1972). *Latin American University students: A six nation study*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Liminar Manifesto. (c1918). Retrieved from www.manifestoindex.blogspot/2011/04/liminar-manifesto-in-argentine.html.
- Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2006). Globalization and the changing nature of the OECD’s educational work. In H. Lauder, P. Brown, J. A. Dillabough, & A. H. Halsey (Eds.), *Education, globalization and social change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schugurensky, D., & Silver, M. (2013). Social pedagogy: Historical traditions and transnational connections. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 21(35). Retrieved from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1015357.pdf>.
- Tiana Ferrer, A. (1991). La educación de adultos en el siglo XX: Los primeros pasos hacia la constitución de un nuevo ámbito educativo. *Revista de Educación*, 294, 7–26.
- Wuillème, T. (2012). L’Université populaire de Lyon (1899–2008): enseignements et engagements. In G. Poulouin (Ed.), *Universités populaires. Hier et aujourd’hui*. Paris: Éditions Autrement.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Nelly P. Stromquist is Professor at the College of Education, University of Maryland, USA. Her research covers a wide range of issues: gender and education, globalisation and higher education, popular and non-formal education, and public policies. Her most recent book is *Women Teachers in Africa: Challenges and Possibilities* (Routledge, 2017). She is Former President of the Comparative and International Education Society, US (CIES) where she also holds the status of Honorary Fellow.

Guillermo Lozano is Co-founder of Popular University, Université Coopérative de Paris (UCP), and member of Research Laboratory on Popular Universities and Education (Labocoop), where he works on international projects and popular universities. He is currently completing his doctoral dissertation in education sciences at the University of Paris VIII, France.

The Ideals and Practices of Citizenship in Nordic Study Circles

Annika Pastuhov

Abstract The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the Nordic study circle tradition from a citizenship perspective, focusing on the contexts of Finland and Sweden. The chapter addresses the micro-perspective on aspects of citizenship, contextualizing this in the educational setting of study circles within popular education. The historical development is described briefly to illustrate some key features and values. This is followed by a discussion of the ideals and aims to inform the study circle tradition and then a discussion dealing with current dilemmas. The next section exemplifies the current practices and dilemmas through an analysis of three ethnographic field studies. The chapter ends with a discussion of possible solutions to the dilemmas, contrasting the notions of inclusion and excellence.

INTRODUCTION

Nordic popular education has traditionally found its justification for existence from an idealised assumption about participation in popular education, in itself, promoting a functioning democracy. The institutions and the participation in their activities are often thought, without much problematizing, to function as a guarantee for democracy, regardless of content or organization. Nevertheless, few attempts have been made to research the existing practices from this perspective. The presumed support to democracy refers both to the distribution of knowledge and a background and justification in the interests and needs of the people. The content of the activities is seen as an important part of promoting democracy by offering an opportunity for all to learn new knowledge and skills and to be able to participate in shared democratic life. Acquiring democratic

A. Pastuhov (✉)
Åbo Akademi University, Vaasa, Finland
e-mail: annika.pastuhov@abo.fi

attitudes and experiences is understood to happen through the organization of the activities, i.e. voluntary participation and shared influence on how the activities are organized (Larsson 2001; Åberg 2008; Tøsse 2009; Niemelä 2011; Andersson and Laginder 2013).

Popular education in this chapter refers to informal and non-vocational institutionalized educational activities found in both Finland and Sweden as well as in Norway and Denmark. These activities stem from ideas from Enlightenment, Romanticism and social movements and were established in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Early in the twentieth century, popular educational activities started receiving funding by the state and quickly developed institutions to facilitate the organization of the activities. A difference is occasionally made between, on one hand, popular education as an activity with certain qualities and on the other hand, popular education as a particular institutionalized form of organizing education for mainly, but not exclusively, adults. A large part of institutionalized popular education takes place in either study circles or in folk high schools; the latter, however, will not be examined further in this chapter. The organizations and activities are often discussed individually for each country, and few attempts have been made to comprehensively discuss and compare the activities of popular education in more than one Nordic country. The focus in this chapter is on study circles as they are organized within the context of institutionalized popular education in Finland and Sweden. A starting point informing the discussion in the chapter is the similarity of the activities in the two countries, despite slightly different organizational frames (Tøsse 2009; Larsson and Nordvall 2010; Niemelä 2011; Gustavsson 2013; Laginder et al. 2013).

A study circle of this kind consists of a group of people interested in studying the same subject or topic and gathering at a given time, usually once a week, for a certain period of time, quite often for 12 weeks and usually in the evenings. The fees are fairly low due to state subsidies. The subjects range from languages to sports, handicrafts and music. Since the activities of popular education mainly take place in different group settings, they could provide an opportunity to interact with people of different backgrounds—an important feature for promoting democracy. This task of democratization is still given in the legislation. Studying in study circles is not first and foremost for professional purposes but stems from a will to learn new skills and conquer new knowledge for the sake of personal development and societal purposes (this definition will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter) (Larsson 2001; Åberg 2008; Tøsse 2009; Larsson and Nordvall 2010; Niemelä 2011; Andersson and Laginder 2013; Gustavsson 2013; Laginder et al. 2013).

In this chapter, I discuss the assumption of support to democratic citizenship in and through participation in study circles within popular education in Finland and Sweden. First, I begin by introducing the relationship between citizenship and study circles, followed by some contextualization and an introduction to the historical roots with respect to the slightly different cases of Finland and Sweden. Thereafter, I describe some central aims and ideals. The current

situation is often described as characterized by tensions or dilemmas, which will also be highlighted. This will be followed by a description and analysis of three ethnographic field studies in study circles that will help illustrate the current situation and the intricate aspects of citizenship in study circles. To tease out the dilemmas, I conclude the chapter by discussing possible solutions as choosing to strive for either inclusion or excellence.

CITIZENSHIP AS ‘BEING’ AND ‘ACTING’ IN NORDIC STUDY CIRCLES

Nordic popular education is sometimes described as a unique phenomenon with a vocabulary that is hard to translate into other languages. More recently, this uniqueness has been less widely stressed. Instead, Nordic popular education is positioned as having similarities with several movements and traditions found worldwide. Popular education is then seen as a universal phenomenon where ‘people organize themselves in groups and movements to seek knowledge and change their living conditions’ (Gustavsson 1995: 60; Tøsse 2009; Niemelä 2011; Laginder et al. 2013)

In this context, the definition above could also be understood as a broad definition of being and acting as a citizen. The aspect of organization into groups refers to citizenship as ‘being’, while the aspect of changing one’s living conditions refers to citizenship as ‘acting’. The collective seeking of knowledge refers to a process that is individual but at the same time only possible in relationships with others. Acting as a citizen is ultimately about meeting in an agora, a public space, in order to translate ‘private worries into public issues’ (Bauman 1999). Citizenship can be defined as being a full member of society. According to Marshall’s (1973) often-cited definition, citizenship is a contract between citizens and society, guaranteeing the same rights for all members of society. These rights are further divided into civil rights (e.g. freedom of speech), political rights (e.g. right to vote) and social rights (e.g. the right to a certain standard of living and education). Citizenship is also a relationship in some kind of public sphere between the individual and other members of society. When understanding citizenship as comprehending social and cultural aspects, citizenship is not only a static entity but also a constantly changing one, constructed and maintained through actions in collective contexts (Isin and Wood 1999; Korsgaard 2001; Biesta 2011; Dahlstedt and Olson 2014).

Citizenship as a social and political concept does not have a single and stable definition. Nevertheless, there is a stable core since citizenship always refers to being included in a community (Korsgaard 2001). In this community, there are rules on how to live and interact together and on who belongs to the community and who does not. Democracy also requires some activity on the part of the citizens in the decision-making (Åberg 2008). The autonomy of the individual is often considered to be the most important principle to be valued; however, this autonomy is moderated by moral obligations and responsibilities towards other persons and groups. Universal suffrage, equal rights, separation of powers, pluralism and democratic representation all characterize a modern,

liberal and representative democracy. Citizenship is simultaneously both a status and a role. ‘Status’ refers to civil, political and social rights for all citizens guaranteed by the state. ‘Role’ takes into account the individual identity aspects. Today, status continues to be linked to a nation state, but the identity or role can take more versatile shapes (Korsgaard 2001).

The democratic ideals seem to be hard, perhaps impossible, to fully attain, at least all at once. This leads to constant tension between the ideals and the perceived social and political life and is often referred to as a democratic deficit. To constantly try and reduce this deficit is the task of citizenship education. Democracy can, in other words, not be expected to maintain itself through social reproduction but must be maintained through continuing learning processes accessible to everyone. The learning process that aims to provide possible solutions to the dilemma of living together could be divided into three interdependent categories: acquiring knowledge about the society and democratic ideas in a broad sense; contemplating values and ethical dilemmas; and obtaining skills, such as apt abilities to communicate in society (Korsgaard 2001; Biesta 2011).

Learning for citizenship, becoming and developing as a citizen and acting as a citizen are intertwined processes taking place in a social context (Korsgaard 2001; Biesta 2011). By living in a democratic society, there are always situations in everyday life where learning for citizenship can take place. This connects to the idea of an individual being able to cross the borders established by nature and nurture. The thought of an inner potential for learning and education (*Bildsamkeit*) signifies the possibility of an individual becoming something other than what is prejudiced by inner predisposition and the living context (Gleerup 2004). Through education (*Bildung*), a human being can use knowledge and understanding to develop through a process that is both personal and in relation to others.

CONTEXTUALIZING THE STUDY CIRCLES

There is a difference in the vocabulary used in Finnish and Swedish to label what is called popular education. The difference in the two languages is reflected in the terms usually chosen when translating the concept into English. At the same time, this difference sheds some light on the versatile assumptions, goals and values that Nordic popular education stems from. On one hand, there are the roots in social movements with collective agendas, which strive for transformation or emancipation for the people and through the people (Laginder et al. 2013). This is reflected in the Swedish term ‘*folkbildning*’, meaning ‘education for/of the people’. On the other hand, there are the roots in the ideas of freedom and liberty—freedom in relation to the state for organizations and activities but also freedom for citizens to educate themselves in their spare time. This is reflected in the Finnish term ‘*vapaa sivistystyö*’, meaning ‘free or liberal work for enlightenment or *Bildung*’. It is also worth noting that there is no

consensus on how to label this kind of non-vocational, non-formal adult education in a European or international context (Manninen and Meriläinen 2015).

The Swedish term ‘*folkbildning*’ is often translated into either ‘popular education’ (Laginder et al. 2013) or ‘folk enlightenment’ (Salo and Rönnerman 2014) in order to communicate the aim of the activities being for the ‘people’ as either nation or class (Åberg 2008; Tøsse 2009). In Finland, the translation ‘liberal adult education’ is often preferred for the Finnish term ‘*vapaa sivistystyö*’ (Manninen and Meriläinen 2015). Sometimes, Swedish activities are also called ‘liberal adult education’ (Åberg 2008). ‘Liberal’ in this context is often understood as the opposite of vocational education and a possibility to continuously educate oneself through life during leisure time (Jarvis 2004). ‘Liberal’ in this educational context can also be understood as referring to freedom to be self-reflecting and think critically (Salo and Rönnerman 2014).

In Finland, the largest number of activities that I label study circles in this text are courses organized through municipal adult education centres (‘*kansalaisopisto*’), while in Sweden, the activities are organized through ten national study centre associations (‘*studieförbund*’). The outcomes could be described as similar. In both cases, the activities are distributed throughout the countries. The nature of the activities is also similar, as I discuss below.

In the rest of this text, I use the term ‘popular education’ when discussing the type of adult education study circles are a part of. Concerning the more specific activities discussed, I use the term ‘study circles’, aware that this translation is considered unfamiliar in Finland. I argue that the concrete activities are very much alike, and therefore this problem in terminology does not affect the validity of discussing Finnish and Swedish study circles as having similar features.

The level of participation in study circles is notably high, both in Finland and Sweden (Laginder et al. 2013; Manninen and Meriläinen 2015). The number of unique participants in study circles in Finland during 2012 was approximately 650,000 (KoL 2015), meaning approximately 18% of a total population of 5.4 million that same year (SVT 2015). The corresponding numbers in Sweden were 640,000 unique individuals in 2014 (Folkbildningsrådet 2015), meaning approximately 10% of a population of 9.7 million the same year (SCB 2015). Approximately 73% of the participants in Finland were women (Seppänen 2014), whereas women comprised 56% of participants in Sweden (Folkbildningsrådet 2015). A trend of an increasing number of elderly people attending study circles has been observed in both Finland and Sweden (Seppänen 2014; Folkbildningsrådet 2015; Saloheimo 2015) (Table 1).

The participation fees are fairly low due to the extensive state subsidiaries that have been paid since the beginning of the twentieth century, increasing in amount after the Second World War. Popular subjects in both countries include arts and handicrafts, music, languages, sports and cooking (Larsson and Nordvall 2010; Laginder et al. 2013; Salo and Rönnerman 2014; Folkbildningsrådet 2015; Saloheimo 2015). Motives for participating in a study circle are heterogeneous; the main reasons for taking part in study circles are

Table 1 Participants in study circles

	<i>Unique participants (approximately)</i>	<i>Percentage of total population (%)</i>	<i>Percentage women (%)</i>
Finland	650,000	18	73
Sweden	640,000	10	56

developing an interest, learning something about a new subject and participating in a context of community and social interaction (Andersson et al. 1996; Manninen 2012).

ON THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION

Popular education can be considered the first form of organized adult education in the Nordic countries, even though some also consider the Lutheran state church's promotion of reading skills as a noteworthy predecessor of modern popular education. This tradition of non-vocational, non-formal adult education is considered to have similar features and a shared history and background in the Nordic countries. The emergence of popular education during the middle of the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries is connected to the societal transformation from a pre-modern, agricultural society to modernity with the breakthrough of industrialization and the establishment of the nation state. The emergence and first activities of Nordic popular education in the late nineteenth century are notably linked to Enlightenment and Romanticism but are also linked to nationalism and social movements, such as the workers' movements. Enlightenment formed the foundation for organizing education for adults, while Romanticism connected the notions of folk or people and *Bildung* or enlightenment (Salo and Suoranta 1999; Korsgaard 2008; Tøsse 2009; Gustavsson 2013).

The transformation towards modernity is often described in Finland as being mostly informed by nationalistic ideas. The expansion of the national-romantic ideas was closely linked to moral and educational endeavours. The elite wanted to awaken awareness in the masses through education about their national identity. The corresponding historic shift in Sweden is often characterized to a larger extent as being driven by social movements, such as the temperance and workers' movements. The social movements are characterized by grass-root initiatives, and the general objective of their educational pursuits was to improve the living conditions of the population suffering the consequences of industrialization and urbanization. A central aim was also to educate people to be able to influence societal development (Salo and Suoranta 1999; Laginder et al. 2013).

The first centuries of organizing popular education in both countries were characterized by philanthropic aspirations to enlighten the uneducated people. This stance was gradually replaced in popular education overall by views

stressing the importance to recognize the needs and interests of the people. The target group remained the same, the low-educated workers and farmers, with the intention of raising their level of basic education. The fundamental changes brought up by increasing urbanization, the decreasing influence of the church through secularization and an extensive economic deregulation all contributed to the problems and needs a growing body of adult education is trying to address. Since equal suffrage was introduced, there was a need to educate the people so that they could understand the system and be able to make sensible and autonomous decisions. This democratization led to a growing interest in raising the general level of education, and a higher level of education led to a democratic demand for equal access to education (Korsgaard 2008; Tøsse 2009; Gustavsson 2013).

A shift in adult education in general took place after the Second World War. The shift was driven by rapid economic growth and technological advancements. This led to a growing interest in and perceived need of vocational education for adults. Until this point, popular education had been considered synonymous with adult education. The era prior to the 1980s can be referred to as an era of planning policy in which the state was closely involved in the planning of educational activities. During this time, the activities within social movements also underwent a development of bureaucratization. Some argue that the oppositional aims of popular education are neutralized through public funding and steering (Salo and Suoranta 1999).

IDEALS AND AIMS OF POPULAR EDUCATION

Defining study circles is often described as complicated or even problematic, partly because there has never been a clear definition of the study circle, partly because their roles and functions have changed with time. Study circles could be defined as adaptable to changing circumstances and the needs and interests of the participants. The definitions of study circles could also consist of both idealistic perceptions, such as the support of citizenship, and identifiable, existing practices not necessarily living up to respectable and admirable aims.

Some general traits are usually mentioned when describing study circle activities—or perhaps what is thought to be the ideal organization of the study circle. Study circles are described as sites that provide a possibility for human growth and for acting as citizens; the overall aim is to provide educational equality through accessible participation. The openness of the circle is supposed to lead to diverse groups, characterized by diversity in the profiles of the participants, concerning, among others, age, gender, ethnicity and social background. Participation is voluntary and organized in small groups. The conversations are expected to be informal and build on the participants relating to each other as equals and through experiences from everyday life. This can be emphasized to differing extents according to what is understood to be the nature of the subject of the study circle. Overall, there are no strict guidelines regarding what the content of the studies should be, which makes topics

potentially responsive to societal changes and also possible arenas for diversity. Over the course of time, the number of paid administrative and teaching staff has increased, but the emphasis on equality in knowledge production remains. The study circle leader does not have to have any formal qualifications or expert knowledge of the subject; there are no qualifications or requirements for entering a circle, and there are neither curricula nor exams (Tøsse 2009; Larsson and Nordvall 2010; Salo and Rönnerman 2014).

When popular adult education began to grow in the volume of activities and participants, the argument was that democracy needs educated, knowledgeable citizens. There has historically been a strong emphasis on the role of scientific or theoretical knowledge. The content of study in the study circles should be scientific, but at the same time, study circles can also be regarded as an important form of democratic knowledge production, not relying solely on scientific and academic knowledge. The emphasis on theoretical knowledge could also be understood as a counterweight to the otherwise physical working life of the original target group of popular education. To function as a counterweight to working life and other demands of everyday life is also an aim ascribed to popular education today (Larsson and Nordvall 2010; Laginder et al. 2013; Salo and Rönnerman 2014).

The study circle is perceived as a process, and thus a specific educational goal is not necessary, perhaps not even desirable. The study circle is both an arena for dialogue and an ideal for supporting citizenship through educational practices —‘for relating to and making sense of the social, political and structural changes taking place in the society’ (Salo and Rönnerman 2014: 60). The concepts of study circle and popular education refer to practices that are both pedagogical and political. The pedagogical dimension refers to studying and thereby enlightening oneself. The political dimension refers to a more long-term goal to develop a sense of belonging to a collective and an identity as a part of a people (Korsgaard 2008; Salo and Rönnerman 2014).

CURRENT DILEMMAS

Despite the long history and the changes in the surrounding society, the organization of study circles remains fairly unchanged, as do the main aims and a substantial number of the subjects. One could argue that this is only to be expected since the aims of democratization are timeless and study circles have always been able to adapt to the needs of the people. Still, one could also ponder whether society has changed considerably and is now potentially in a new era of changes. One fundamental change is the level, or length, of basic education, which has increased significantly. Should the changes in the surrounding environment not be reflected to a larger extent in the study circle setting? It could also be argued that popular education itself has changed, turning into a ‘frozen ideology’ as a result of a stable position in society (Kane 2013).

Some say our times are again characterized by the same kind of rootlessness that characterized the era when popular education and study circles emerged (Korsgaard 2008). Popular education could, in this instance, be seen as a potential countermovement against individualization, competition and standardization (Salo and Rönnerman 2014). Instead, many describe an on-going crisis of institutionalized popular education since the 1980s and 1990s due to the growing influence of vocational and economic interests. Some claim that the organizations of popular education seem unable to formulate new tasks in response to societal challenges. The starting point of popular education in social movements with an attachment to everyday challenges seems to be irrelevant today. Many describe a shift from target groups to individuals, with the consequence that the focus of popular education has shifted from communities to individual development and self-realization. Instead of having at least some traits of a countermovement, popular education today seems to have established a complementary role in relation to the rest of the educational system (Salo and Suoranta 1999; Tøsse 2009).

The research on popular education quite often has a presumption of an idea of ‘real’, ‘pure’ or ‘original’ popular education found in the past but contaminated in present times. The past represents a golden era in contrast to a crisis of today (Sundgren 2012). A tendency of study circles developing into leisure activities and losing their societal agendas has been a reoccurring research focus. This can be explained by the influence of social movements on the dominant social culture and also an increase in leisure time. There have been debates about what real study circles should be like and what content could be inappropriate. The trend, especially accentuated after the Second World War, has been that almost everything is possible to arrange as a study circle with respect to both form and content (Larsson and Nordvall 2010; Andersson and Laginder 2013).

There is a distinct state integration of Nordic popular education that began emerging in the early twentieth century. At the same time, the freedom and independence in relation to both the state and other forms of formal education have often been stressed (Laginder et al. 2013; Manninen 2012). Study circles are institutionalized, and the organizations have professional functions for promoting the circles and administering and reporting on the numbers of study circles and participants. The reporting of arranged activities is necessary to receive financial support from the state (Larsson and Nordvall 2010).

Neoliberalism, the ideas of new public management and marketization seem to be influencing educational activities. This is perhaps most notable in higher education where education is considered something to be offered on a market to potential participants who are addressed as customers with self-interests (e.g. Lynch 2006; Molesworth et al. 2009; Liedman 2013). This also seems to be the case for popular education and has been brought to attention in some recent research (e.g. Sundgren 2012; Wijkström 2012; Valkonen 2015). Historically, engagements and membership in different popular movements played a central part in influencing society as a citizen. Today, customer relations in different

market settings seem to be replacing the membership to an increasing extent. As citizen and member, the task of the individual in relation to developments in society is to initiate suggestions and express opinions in relation to others' suggestions. For the customer, the task is to consume on the market, functioning according to the principles of supply and demand. Popular education used to have the role of channelling the voices and needs of the citizens, but today the role has changed to functioning as a service producer in society (Wijkström 2012). The trend of marketization corresponds to a view of citizens transforming into customers and consumers, who have a lesser need to participate in decision-making but a greater role in evaluating the end product (Bauman 1999; Jarvis 2001).

The need for knowledgeable citizens is still recognized today, but now the responsibility of succeeding is to a growing extent put on the individual. The influences of globalization mean the legitimacy for formerly meaningful public spheres might be undermined (Jarvis 2001). It seems like learning for personal development is becoming the norm and partly replacing the transformative and emancipatory purposes (Korsgaard 2008; Niemelä 2011). The lack or loss of the collective orientation could be interpreted that popular education seems to be contributing to the accumulation of education to some groups in society. Popular education today does not seem to attract mainly marginalized groups but rather the middle class. There is also an overrepresentation of women and older people, and higher social classes participate to a greater extent (Larsson 2001). Popular education being inhabited by the middle class is a phenomenon also known elsewhere (e.g. Jarvis 2004).

The dilemmas that institutionalized study circles are facing today could be summarized as a balance between freedom and responsibility. The question from a citizenship perspective is whether there is room for and interest in collective concerns. Study circles are free from state control. The participants also chose participation of their own free will. However, in a time where study circles are arranged to a greater extent according to customer logic, the responsibility of being free seems to be blurred. Is it possible for popular education to really act freely if the organizations are employing the logic of the market?

THREE PARTICIPATORY ETHNOGRAPHIC FIELD STUDIES IN STUDY CIRCLES

In the following, three participatory ethnographic field studies will be presented in order to exemplify the diversity of study circle activities and what aspects of citizenship can be interpreted within them. The three studies were conducted in a senior carpenters' study circle, a philosophy study circle and a study circle in basic English. The overall research aim of the studies was to understand aspects of citizenship in institutionalized study circle activities. How do the social

interactions exhibited in the study circles contribute to the participants' conceptualization of their citizenship?

The selection of the three circles was conducted in cooperation with representatives from each of the three different organizations. The representatives were informed about the research project and its overall aim and question, and in relation to this, they suggested a few different options. The selection was also restricted because of a demand for voluntary participation regarding both the study circle leader and the participants, which in fact led to the selected circles being the only options in each organization.

The three study circles give an insight into the versatile activities within institutionalized popular education. Study circles within the field of culture, where handicraft circles, such as woodworking, are also included, are popular in both countries (the field of culture includes 58% of study hours in Finland and 60% in Sweden). Languages also constitute an extensive part of organized study circles in both countries (humanistic subjects included, for which the majority consists of language circles, 19% of study hours in Finland and 16% in Sweden). In both countries, reading circles, such as the philosophy circle, make up a minor part of the total arranged study hours; still, they are interesting from the point of view of the self-understanding of popular education. Historically, the reading circle is considered one of the original forms of study circles, and to this day they are still found among the organized study circles (Tøsse 2009; Larsson and Nordvall 2010; Niemelä 2011; Folkbildningsrådet 2015; Vipunen 2015).

The gathered data consist of audio recordings during the study circle meetings and field notes written mostly after each meeting. My aspiration was to become part of the group in order to clarify what goes on in the course through 'thick' descriptions that did not rely on 'going native' or mimicking the other participants. Clifford Geertz (1973) describes the ethnographer as having an interpretive approach. The contribution of an ethnographic description lies within the ability to clarify what goes on by making use of a micro-perspective to bring relevant order in what might seem confusing—or too familiar. The interest in the interpretation is the lived culture in the field of study. Culture is a man-made 'web of significance' in which humans find themselves hanging. Culture is public and cannot be anyone's sole property. Culture is articulated through human behaviour, and it is the context within which the studied events and processes can be described. The reporting of ethnographic fieldwork is a 'thick description' of the studied context at hand. The thick description is a hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which doings and sayings are produced, perceived and interpreted. Thick descriptions are, in other words, the ethnographer's constructions of others' constructions (Geertz 1973; Gordon et al. 2001; Hammersley and Atkinson 2007).

The Senior Carpenters' Study Circle

The senior carpenters' study circle met three times a week for 15 weeks in spring 2014, and I participated in the group twice a week during that time.

The participants in the circle, 12 men and a woman, are all retired and between the ages of 60 and 80 years. Most of the participants have backgrounds as labourers or as craftsmen. Some have been participating in the circle for many years, but there are also several newer participants. The circle is organized as a workshop with a supervisor and independently working participants. The woodworking is inspired by traditional techniques, and the working process usually starts from scratch by refining unprocessed pieces of wood.

When entering the field of the senior carpenters, I was genuinely welcomed into the group with curiosity towards the purpose of my participation. Very quickly I realized that in order to find my place in the group the most important task for me was to start being productive. We had hardly introduced ourselves before I was asked what I would be making. The seniors find it important that every member is productive and preoccupied with some project. Still, there is room for discussions and joking when being productive and also during the coffee breaks. The organization of the woodworking could be described as a work community. Within this community, it is possible to act as a citizen in relation to shared basic values. These values are an aspiration to live up to ideals of conscientiousness and diligence in order to remain ready to act as a productive citizen (Turunen 2015).

Philosophy Study Circle

The academic philosophy study circle gathers once a month, and each time a philosophical text is discussed that was chosen by the group at the end of the previous meeting. I took part in the study circle during a period of eight months, from December 2013 to August 2014. Since the circle was formed three years earlier, some new members had joined by invitation while others had left. The size of the group varies, and some new members both join and leave during the period of the field study. Approximately six persons, both men and women of various ages, gather each time. The group is in many respects homogeneous. The participants are all rooted in the specific region they are living in, and all represent the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland. Additionally, all are alumni from or currently studying at the same university.

The participation in the study circle could be described as a process of constructing and maintaining an academic arena for discussions. The members of the study circle perceive of and describe themselves as a welcoming group, open for everyone who wants to discuss philosophical questions in their spare time. When discussing, attention is paid to the text of the evening and the importance of everyone having the possibility to express their thoughts. There is also reoccurring talk about the need to invite new members, both because of the ideal of openness and in order for the discussions to remain vital. However, not much effort is made to keep new members. The discussion topics and the content of the texts are taken at face value, and newcomers have to adapt to the ways of the philosophy circle, not the other way around. The philosophers describe their shared current living environment as unacademic, in relation to

which the study circle provides a safe haven for meaningful discussions. This seems to be the main reason to read the texts and attend the circle, even though some participants express trouble finding the time. Current events in society are also brought up in the circle discussions, but they are mostly portrayed as distant and out of reach of the philosophers' influence. The study circle seems to provide an arena for the participants, together with other like-minded individuals, to create distance from the surrounding society.

Basic English Study Circle

The English study circle group consists of 12 participants (6 men and 6 women), of which two are retired and the rest are working. The group gathered once a week for 12 weeks during autumn 2014 to learn basic English under the guidance of a study circle leader. I attended nine of the gatherings. One of the participants had not studied English in compulsory education, while the rest of the group had some basic knowledge of the language from previous formal education.

The study circle was organized according to a prototypical classroom setting. The teacher organized the activities, while the participants took notes, engaged in grammatical and vocabulary exercises and struggled to complete tasks and learn correct usage. The circle was ascribed a function of personal investment by the participants, and the participants seemed mainly interested in learning the language rather than becoming acquainted with each other. Since the studies in the circle were about acquiring a foreign language, there was no room to socialize during the study activity itself; in other words, language as a tool for communication was already engaged. This was especially accentuated since the participants in the study circle were focusing on correctness, while at the same time, communication in the common language of the group was not considered completely suitable. The focus on correctness seemed to sometimes overshadow the fact that we as a group were able to communicate about most issues in English. The study circle could be described as individuals who found themselves brought together to do exercises in hopes of reducing their perceived lack of knowledge in English.

BEING AND ACTING AS A CITIZEN IN THREE DIFFERENT STUDY CIRCLES

The three studies presented above highlight different aspects of citizenship within current institutionalized study circles. The organization of the group activities seems to be influenced by a workshop in working life, an academic setting at a university and a classroom at school. In the following, I discuss these three cases from a citizenship perspective. I focus on the key aspects in the broad definition of what constitutes a study circle, i.e. when 'people organize themselves in groups and movements to seek knowledge and change their living

conditions' (Gustavsson 1995: 60). These aspects are the group or collective (*the aspect of being someone in and through the circle*), the knowledge (*the aspect of knowing or understanding something in and through the circle*) and the venture or endeavour (*the aspect of acting in and through the circle*). The first aspect deals with having or developing a sense of belonging; the last aspect deals with achieving development and change. The aspect of knowing and understanding mediates between these two and makes them possible.

The senior carpenters organize themselves as a work community. When considering their identification with the productive worker, the belonging to a community of other workers seems vital. As long as a participant is contributing in some way to the productivity, he or she will be included. The productivity is, in other words, an aim in itself but also a means since the activity is strikingly oriented towards contributing to the surrounding society. This can take place in the form of helping relatives by fixing a broken chair, making a birthday present and ultimately being a constructive and contributing member of society. The forms of knowledge and understanding seem to be integrated into conscientious and diligent productivity. The senior carpenters are aware of which members are more talented in certain areas and who is considered to be skilful in a certain technique. At the same time, since productivity is the central value, all efforts seem to be of equal value. As long as the attempt is to contribute and to develop, it is valuable. The goal of productivity is not defined in advance, and accordingly it is open to several interpretations and implementations.

The philosophy circle provides an arena for intellectual discussions in contrast to what is described as an otherwise non-intellectual living environment. With the help of each other, these individuals can create a collective setting to distance themselves. Participants find it hard to regularly find time for the reading or to attend the meetings, but it is worthwhile for them to take the time since they seem to consider this circle to be of great importance. Considering the aspect of knowledge, they seem to be orienting towards a certain canon of philosophical texts. When a new member is being introduced, the older participants tell the story of the study circle through what has been previously read, among others Aristotle and Kirkegaard. They also show some interest towards the surrounding world, but the main motivation for participation seems to be the acquired distance the group provides. The philosophy study circle plays a role in the participants' shared endeavour to maintain a retreat for intellectual stimulation in compatible company.

The study circle in English consists of a group of individual consumers who are at the same time pupils in relation to the English language. The composition of the group is as random as any school class. They attend with hopes that their investment in the course will help them leave the stance of the unknowing pupil behind. The group is in concurrence in reaching this goal or a new level of knowledge, but it is at the same time clear that the group is formed for being dissolved again in the near future. The orientation towards the knowledge of English is characterized by an aspiration towards perfection since a considerable amount of attention is paid to identify what is correct and what is not.

The participants seem to think that the studies leading to mastering the language should consist of solving difficult exercises. Still, they already understand a lot of English and can make themselves understood in English. The participants strive to become knowledgeable for demands in working life and leisure time. They are attempting to achieve this by committing to the classroom setting.

INCLUSION OR EXCELLENCE?

Popular education seems to be struggling to find its place in a new educational landscape; it is not really clear what is unique about the content and working methods of popular education today (Salo and Suoranta 1999; Tøsse 2009). While popular education and study circles are thought to be a potential emancipatory and mobilizing arena (Nordvall 2010; Laginder et al. 2013; Larsson et al. 2014), it appears that the current role of study circles is mostly to function as a complement to other types of formal education and a relaxing pastime activity (Salo and Suoranta 1999; Tøsse 2009; Manninen 2012). The position of being an arena for collective change is in the following discussed as the stance of inclusion. The complementary, individualized and adaptive stance are here discussed as the stance of excellence. The dilemma of inclusion or excellence can be summarized in the question of where the root to societal problems lies. Are organizations and structures possible problem solvers, or does everything come down to individual responsibility?

Inclusion is one of the ideals of the renowned Nordic welfare state model that emerged in the twentieth century. Here, the collective is responsible for everyone having access to a fundamental standard of living—economically, socially and politically. Everyone has an equal right to education and political influence. Social cohesion is the ideal and the goal (Antikainen 2006). Excellence is present in the new era of accountability and active citizenship where the individual is made responsible (see, for instance, Liedman 2013; Nicoll et al. 2013). This will lead to both economic and social exclusion since competition is the main contributor to development. Knowledge is not a democratic right to the same extent as in the previous era. According to the logic of excellence, everyone should continue learning through life, and knowledge continues to be the key to a better society. The fundamental difference lies in that knowledge accumulation becomes a contest and is no longer a shared, collective endeavour. In the era of excellence, everyone is obliged to learn since everybody is competing against each other according to the rules of employability and economic development (Salo and Rönnerman 2014). The lack of knowledge can also be a contributing factor to exclusion.

In the three example studies, the study circles seem to have attained the functions of counterweights, complements and second chances. They enable studying and learning that would perhaps otherwise not take place. The senior carpenters' way of working by shared efforts to be productive and conscientious seems to have the closest relationships to the ideals of inclusion. As long as the participants contribute to the aims of the group, they are included regardless of

the form of productivity. The philosophers' way of functioning through openness and exclusion does not strictly fulfil the traits of excellence since the participation is not for individual and competitive purposes. Instead, they stand to some extent for an elitist educational view that popular education is typically described to oppose. The study circle in English with its participants positioning themselves as personal investors is closest to the ideals of excellence. The participants in the English study circle take responsibility for their own situation of not knowing English. They attend and leave as individuals.

The potential function of study circles as arenas for being and acting as a citizen is at risk of becoming less visible and tangible when education and idea-borne activities at large become more professional and adapted to an economic market logic (Lynch 2006; Molesworth et al. 2009). If the aim of arranging study circles is to provide arenas for people to 'organize themselves in groups and movements to seek knowledge and change their living conditions' (Gustavsson 1995: 60) and if acting as a citizen is understood as meeting others and translating 'private worries into public issues' (Bauman 1999), the stance of excellence becomes a problematic one. When considering the individual the prime responsible unit in society and not the collective, there is no fundamental need for collective learning arenas. Study circles arranged for competing on an educational market will probably have a hard time attracting customers to take part in activities that run the risk of questioning the truths and challenging the views of the participants. If the only aim of study circles is to satisfy the customer, then there may not be much room left for citizenship.

Popular education emerged and was established as an entangled part of modernisation and individualisation of society. The demands of the new individualized modern era were met through collective endeavours in the study circles. There seems to have been collective grounds to build on to achieve individual autonomy. The question of today is whether the starting point is now individual, and if so, is it possible to build community through the study circle starting from individual stances?

REFERENCES

- Åberg, P. (2008). *Translating popular education—Civil society cooperation between Sweden and Estonia*. Stockholm: Stockholm University.
- Andersson, E., & Laginder, A.-M. (2013). Dimensions of power: The influence of study circles. In A.-M. Laginder, H. Nordvall, & J. Crowther (Eds.), *Popular education, power and democracy. Swedish experiences and contributions*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Andersson, E., Laginder, A.-M., Larsson, S., & Sundgren, G. (1996). *Cirkelsambället. Studiecirkelns betydelse för individ och lokalsamhälle*. Stockholm: Fritzes.
- Antikainen, A. (2006). In search of the Nordic model in education. *Scandinavian Journal of Educational Research*, 50(3), 229–243.
- Bauman, Z. (1999). *In search of politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Biesta, G. (2011). *Learning democracy in school and society. Education, lifelong learning, and the politics of citizenship*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

- Dahlstedt, M., & Olson, M. (2014). Medborgarskapande för ett nytt millennium. Utbildning och medborgarfostran i 2000-talets Sverige. *Utbildning & Demokrati*, 23(3), 7–25.
- Folkbildningsrådet. (2015). *Fakta om folkbildning*. Stockholm: Folkbildningsrådet. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from <http://www.folkbildningsradet.se/publikationer/Fakta-om-folkbildning/>.
- Geertz, G. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gleerup, J. (2004). Medborgerskab som pædagogisk projekt? In *Medborgerskab, identitet og demokratisk dannelse* (pp. 31–52). København: Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitet.
- Gordon, T., Holland, J., & Lahelma, J. (2001). Ethnographic research in educational settings. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (Eds.), *Handbook of ethnography*. London: Sage.
- Gustavsson, B. (1995). Att tänka om folkbildningsidén. In B. Bergstedt & S. Larsson (Eds.), *Om folkbildningens innebörder*. Linköping: Mimer.
- Gustavsson, B. (2013). The idea of democratic bildung: Its transformations in space and time. In *Popular education, power and democracy. Swedish experiences and contributions*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography. Principles in practice* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Inin, E. F., & Wood, P. K. (1999). *Citizenship & identity*. London: Sage.
- Jarvis, P. (2001). Active citizenship and lifelong learning. In O. Korsgaard, S. Walters, & R. Andersen (Eds.), *Learning for democratic citizenship*. Copenhagen: Association for World Education and the Danish University of Education.
- Jarvis, P. (2004). *Adult education & lifelong learning. Theory and practice* (3rd ed.). London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Kane, L. (2013). Comparing “popular” and “state” education in Latin America and Europe. *European Journal for Research on the Education and Learning of Adults*, 4(1), 81–96. doi:10.3384/rela.2000-7426.rela0085.
- Kansalaisopistojen liitto (KoL) ry. (2015). Retrieved September 10, 2015, from <http://www.kansalaisopistot.fi/kansalaisopistot-pahkinankuoesa/>.
- Korsgaard, O. (2001). Why has citizenship become such a vogue word? In O. Korsgaard, S. Walters, & R. Andersen (Eds.), *Learning for democratic citizenship*. Copenhagen: Association for World Education and the Danish University of Education.
- Korsgaard, O. (2008). *The struggle for the people. Five hundred years of Danish history in short*. Copenhagen: Danish School of Education Press.
- Laginder, A.-M., Nordvall, H., & Crowther, J. (2013). Introduction. In A.-M. Laginder, H. Nordvall, & J. Crowther (Eds.), *Popular education, power and democracy. Swedish experiences and contributions*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Larsson, S. (2001). Seven aspects of democracy as related to study circles. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(3), 199–217.
- Larsson, S., & Nordvall, H. (2010). *Study circles in Sweden. An overview with a bibliography of international literature*. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.
- Liedman, S.-E. (2013). Pseudo-quantities, new public management and human judgement. *Confero*, 1(1), 45–66. doi:10.3384/confero.13v1i1a1.
- Lynch, K. (2006). Neo-liberalism and marketisation: The implications for higher education. *European Educational Research Journal*, 5(1), 1–17. doi:10.2304/ceerj.2006.5.1.1.

- Manninen, J. (2012). liberal adult education as civic capacity builder? *Lifelong Learning in Europe*, 17(1), 69–78.
- Manninen, J., & Meriläinen, M. (2015). Monimenetelmällinen näkökulma omaehtoisen opiskelun hyötyihin. *Aikuiskasvatus*, 35(2), 84–98.
- Marshall, T. H. (1973). *Class, citizenship and social development*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Molesworth, M., Nixon, E., & Scullion, R. (2009). Having, being and higher education: The marketisation of the university and the transformation of the student into consumer. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 14(3), 277–287. doi:10.1080/13562510902898841.
- Nicoll, K., Fejes, A., Olson, M., Dahlstedt, M., & Biesta, G. (2013). Opening discourses of citizenship education: A theorization with Foucault. *Journal of Education Policy*, 28(6), 828–846.
- Niemelä, S. (2011). *Sivistymisen. Sivistystarve, -pedagogiikka ja politiikka pohjoismaisessa kansansivistystraditiossa*. Helsinki ja Kuopio: Kansanvalistusseura ja Snellman-instituutti.
- Salo, P., & Rönnerman, K. (2014). The Nordic tradition of educational action research —in the light of practice architectures. In *Lost in practice: Transforming Nordic educational action research*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Salo, P., & Suoranta, J. (1999). The four moments of adult education: From moral economy to life politics. In S. Tøsse, P. Falkenchrone, A. Puurula, & B. Bergstedt (Eds.), *Challenges and development. Adult education research in the Nordic countries*. Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press.
- Salohaimo, L. (2015). *Vapaa sivistystyön palvelurakenne. Oppilaitosten koulutustarjonta*. Helsinki: Vapaa sivistystyö.
- Statistiska centralbyrån (SCB). Retrieved October 1, 2015, from http://www.scb.se/sv/Hitta-statistik/Statistik-efter-amne/Befolkning/Befolkningens-sammansattning/Befolkningsstatistik/#c_li_120253.
- Seppänen, T. (2014). ‘Vapaa sivistystyö on merkittävä osa aikuiskoulutusta. *Tilastokeskuksen Hyvinvointikatsaus* 3/2014. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from http://tilastokeskus.fi/artikkelit/2014/art_2014-09-29_004.html.
- Sundgren, G. (2012). Folkbildning och civilsamhälle. In J. von Essen & G. Sundgren (Eds.), *En mosaik av mening. Om studieförbund och civilsamhälle*. Göteborg: Daidalos.
- Suomen virallinen tilasto (SVT). *Väestörakenne*. ISSN = 1797-5379. 2012. Helsinki: Tilastokeskus. Retrieved October 1, 2015, from http://www.stat.fi/til/vaerak/2012/vaerak_2012-03-22_tie_001_fi.html?ad=notify.
- Tøsse, S. (2009). *Folkbildning som universellt fenomen. Om betydelse och motsvarigheter i historiskt och internationellt perspektiv*. Linköping: Mimer.
- Turunen, A. (2015). Att snickra medborgarskap? *Nordisk Kulturpolitisk Tidskrift [The Nordic Journal of Cultural Policy]*, 18(2), 218–232.
- Valkonen, E. (2015). ‘Me myymme ja markkinoimme kursseja’ – Markkinaorientaation piirteet kansalaisopistoissa. Joensuu: University of Eastern Finland.
- Vipunen. (2015). *Opetushallinnon tilastopalvelu*. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from <http://vipunen.fi/fi-fi/yhteiset/Sivut/Tutkintoon-johtamaton-koulutus.aspx>.

Wijkström, F. (2012). Mellan omvandling och omförhandling. Civilsamhället i samhällskontraktet. In *Civilsamhället i samhällskontraktet. En antologi om vad som står på spel*. Stockholm: European Civil Society Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Annika Pastuhov is a PhD student in Adult Education at Åbo Akademi University, Finland. Her research interests include citizenship education, popular education or liberal adult education and especially the role of Nordic popular education in a changing society.

South African University Engagement: Lifelong Learning and ‘Socially Robust’ Knowledge

Julia Preece

Abstract This chapter discusses selected lifelong learning contexts and spaces for adult learners through the medium of university community engagement. The context is South Africa and its evolving policy for lifelong learning. The focus of this chapter is the function of higher education as a public good and to enhance social development and awareness amongst its students. The chapter starts with a background context for Africa and African universities. It exposes some of the tensions for conceptualising lifelong learning on a continent with sociocultural and economic development challenges in the face of global agendas. It then reports on a South African research project in order to explore the extent to which community engagement contributes to socially robust knowledge, and a humanistic notion of lifelong learning.

INTRODUCTION: THE BROAD CONTEXT

According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 2014) Human Development report more than 2.2 billion people are living in poverty and require a multidimensional approach to address vulnerabilities. Sub-Saharan Africa has one of the lowest Human Development Index values (p. 33) and highest health and education inequality rankings in the world (p. 37). Literacy among the adult population aged 15 and above is only 58.9% and the population of adults with at least some secondary education is only 28.1% (p. 195) with significant gender and regional disparities so that for some countries these figures are much lower. Poverty is rife and diseases such as the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (commonly known as HIV) and its subsequent fatal disease Acquired

J. Preece (✉)

Durban University of Technology, Indumiso Campus, Adult and Community Education Unit, 15 FJ Sithole Road, Imbali, Pietermaritzburg 3201, KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa
e-mail: juliap@dut.ac.za

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_42

817

Immuno Deficiency Syndrome (known as AIDS), tuberculosis and malaria are at epidemic proportions. Ecological and political instability is both a contributory factor to and outcome of, these statistics. The Development Report highlights several ecological challenges ranging from desertification to pollution. No less challenging is the political picture of uneven democratic participation, conflict, mass numbers of displaced persons and economic uncertainties. The policy concern is with increasing resilience to shocks and vulnerabilities:

Responsive institutions and effective policy interventions can create a sustainable dynamic to bolster individual capabilities and social conditions that strengthen human agency—making individuals and societies more resilient. (UNDP 2014: 10)

The 2012 World Conference on Sustainable Development, Rio +20, which followed the United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) in 2009, resulted in a new call for a global agenda (United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development [UNCSD] 2012) to address sustainable development. In the wake of the final months of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the United Nation's expanded post 2015 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) (there are now 17) address poverty and hunger in its first two goals, include 11 statements that relate to sustainability and one explicit statement to 'promote lifelong learning opportunities for all' (goal 4). A specific target under this goal is to provide a 'culture of peace and non-violence, global citizenship and appreciation of cultural diversity' (target 4.7, sustainable development.un.org). Lifelong learning is now recognized worldwide as an integral component of sustainable development and poverty reduction (UN 2013; UNESCO/United Nations Children's Fund [UNICEF] 2013; UNESCO 2014) but the positioning of lifelong learning within African policy documents is uneven.

Unlike in Europe, where there is a European agenda for lifelong learning and directive for European governments to provide policies and statements about lifelong learning, in Africa there is no equivalent structure. The African Union's focus is on 'development', and development strategy papers centre on 'poverty reduction' rather than 'lifelong learning'. The development agenda on the continent has been substantively driven by the MDGs, which did not reflect the notion of lifelong learning or even adult learning. The focus of learning so far has therefore been on universal primary education and basic literacy. Lifelong learning in many African countries has traditionally been reduced to literacy education (Aitchison and Alidou 2008).

Nevertheless, throughout the MDG period there was sustained pressure by international organizations for adult education to recognize the essential contribution of adult and lifelong learning for achieving all development goals. Literacy is highlighted as a foundation for lifelong learning and literacy itself is identified as a process on a continuum of different forms of literacy which need constant updating and renewal (UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning [UIL] 2010).

Although some African governments have now developed adult and lifelong learning policies, often linked to SDGs (such as Kenya, Mauritius, Nigeria, South Africa) there is evidence that many governments need assistance with policy developments in this respect (UIL 2010):

African member states have committed themselves to working towards a holistic and diversified educational vision ... To realize this vision, Member States need to develop comprehensive and fully-costed national adult literacy and education policies ... To operationalise them, specific and concrete action plans for adult learning and education – embedded in the MDGs, EFA, DESD, UNLD and activities relating to the Second Decade of Education for Africa – must be elaborated. (UIL 2010: 2)

In spite of the less than coherent status of lifelong learning policy in Africa a number of recent policy initiatives have promoted its concept. These initiatives reflect the same tensions that exist in Europe and the wider world between a humanistic, social capital perspective and a human capital, economic focus. The World Bank (2003), in its publication *Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for Developing Countries*, inevitably views lifelong learning in terms of human capital. UNESCO (2015) continues to promote a broader vision for lifelong learning that embraces the social justice challenges of rapidly evolving societies. Similarly, there have been recent African policy strategy papers that contribute an Afrocentric perspective on lifelong learning and sustainable development which embraces the communitarian and collective nature of African societies (UNESCO 2006; Walters et al. 2012; Hoppers and Yekhlele 2012). UNESCO's (2006) Draft Strategy of ESD in Sub-Saharan Africa stresses the need for a holistic, interdisciplinary and endogenous (that is, Afrocentric) based curriculum which involves strong community participation. The strategy argues that ESD is an 'essential link' (2006, item 1) to poverty, health and environmental concerns and the Second Decade of Education in Africa launched by the African Union in 2006. A key recommendation is to focus on 'lifelong learning and learning for sustainability' (UNESCO 2006, item 20).

The notions of education, lifelong learning and their relationship to sustainability and traditional African value systems are not unproblematic. All are contested terms. Education, for instance, is potentially exclusionary as well as emancipatory (see Preece 2006; and Powell 2012 for example). It is 'inherently value-laden and values forming' (Vaughn and Walker 2012: 495). Human capital and human rights approaches to education and lifelong learning define different criteria for sustainability with consequences for what is evaluated or promoted in policy terms. Sustainability may stress economic, political, ecological or cultural concerns, though the complexity of each of these foci and their interdependence is increasingly recognised (Powell 2012).

UNESCO UIL (2013: 58) reports some progress among African nation states of policies that demonstrate an increasing interest in lifelong learning

from a broader ‘human capability’ perspective than a purely economic focus. For reasons of space, only three are mentioned here. Gambia’s policy of 2004 (Republic of the Gambia 2004) discusses the need for ‘life skills’ and education for all ages. The report prioritises moral and ethical values which are linked to citizenship democracy and service with ‘dedication to the nation and humanity’ (2004: 14). The Mauritius Strategy Plan (Ministry of Education, Culture and Human Resources 2009: 130) advocates similar ‘holistic’ goals which include ‘sound human values ... as the basis for lifelong learning and good citizenship’, alongside its vocational knowledge and skills agenda. Although the focus is on employability, there are signals that ‘empowerment’ should encompass ‘learning throughout the lifecycle’ through a ‘new model of education and training’.

In the context of South Africa its White Paper on Post-School Education and Training (Department of Higher Education and Training [DHET] 2013) specifically articulates a broad vision for learning that addresses the concerns of a post-apartheid state, thus focusing on developing creativity, democratic participation and tolerance as well as skills development:

The education and training system should not only provide knowledge and skills required by the economy. It should also contribute to developing thinking citizens, who can function effectively, creatively and ethically as part of a democratic society. They should have an understanding of their society, and be able to participate fully in its political, social and cultural life. (DHET 2013, p. ix)

These reports and policy statements indicate a growing continental interest in lifelong learning as a life-wide project that is ‘open and flexible’ (UNESCO 2015: 10) with ‘multiple learning pathways’ (p. 64) and the need for programme design that embraces human values. Higher education on the continent is recognized as a core element of the lifelong learning agenda but it is also positioned within its own distinctive historical context of a colonial past which has a different trajectory to its European counterparts.

AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES AND LIFELONG LEARNING

The contribution of higher education to lifelong learning has been argued for some time, but in the European context this often equates with widening participation (Slowey and Schuetze 2012). The participation rates of most African universities are usually in single figures and even in South Africa barely reach 17% (Preece 2014), but they have a historical commitment to lifelong learning and nation building. The contribution of higher education to wider society was always an aspirational goal of African universities since their independence from colonial rule. During transitions to Independence for most countries during the 1960s, the Association of African Universities and UNESCO argued for a distinctive African flavour that would nurture a home-grown nation building vision (Ajayi et al. 1996, Preece et al. 2012). A core feature of this vision was the recognition of indigenous knowledge and

its contribution to development (Hoppers 1996). This was articulated as far back as 1963 by UNESCO:

Far from being ivory towers detached from the society in which they are situated, higher education institutions in Africa must be in close and constant touch with society. (p. 12)

A decade later the Association for African Universities held a conference in Accra, called ‘Creating the African University’:

It follows that an emergent African university must, henceforth, be much more than an institution for teaching, research and dissemination of higher learning. It must be accountable to, and serve, the vast majority of the people who live in the rural areas. The African university must be committed to active participation in social transformation, economic modernization, and the training and upgrading of the total human resources of the nation, not just of a small elite. (Yesufu cited in Ajayi et al. 1996: 112)

This ideological trend has continued, as exemplified by the UNESCO (1998a) sponsored conference of Ministries of Education for African Member States (MINEDAF) in Durban, UNESCO’s first World Conference on Higher Education in 1998 in Mumbai (UNESCO 1998b), the UNESCO and MINEDAF conference in 2002 (UNESCO and MINEDAF 2002), and the World Conference in 2009 (UNESCO 2009). Although efforts to develop higher education on the continent have not run smoothly (Preece et al. 2012), its contribution to the ‘public good’ (Ajayi et al. 1996), and to internationally agreed development goals is now recognised (UNESCO 2009).

There are historical policy foundations, therefore, for envisioning the university’s role in relation to its wider community.

In the context of South Africa, this vision has been enshrined in policy since the post-apartheid White Paper on Higher Education (Department of Education [DOE] 1997). Higher Education was identified as a resource to ‘contribute to the common good of society’ (Section 1.20) for the ‘mobilisation of human talent and potential through lifelong learning to contribute to the social, economic, cultural and intellectual life of a rapidly changing society’ (Section 1.1.2). More recently the South African White Paper (DHET 2013) and subsequent Policy (DHET 2015) articulate a vision for a seamless process of lifelong learning that embraces community-based learning and the contribution of higher education to communities through community engagement. The rationale for this focus in South Africa is largely stimulated by a recognition of the country’s inequitable past and the continuing legacy of a highly unequal post-apartheid society where only 17% of the post school population gain access to higher education. The goal of the broader vision for lifelong learning is to enhance skills and social cohesion and provide relevant and accessible learning opportunities to the most disadvantaged sectors of society.

SERVICE LEARNING AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT
AS A CONTRIBUTION TO LIFELONG LEARNING
IN SOUTH AFRICAN UNIVERSITIES

The global concept of university community engagement has evolved over time. It has developed from its philanthropical origins, of ‘doing good’ to communities, to an aspirational goal of a shared and reciprocal partnership with communities, whether they are agencies, businesses or impoverished residents in under-resourced locations (Lazarus et al. 2008).

The goal of university community engagement in the South African context was initiated as a consciousness raising exercise for the relatively elite higher education community. The aim was to involve students in community work as a formal part of their academic programmes, to ‘promote and develop social responsibility and awareness amongst students of the role of higher education in social and economic development’ (Department of Education [DOE] 1997: 10), and ‘advance social development and social transformation agendas in higher education’ (Higher Education Quality Council [HEQC] 2006: ix).

Community engagement and its component pedagogical programme of service learning are embedded in several South African policy documents, including the National Plan for Higher Education (Ministry of Education 2001) and the HEQC Criteria for Institutional Audits (2004). The effects of these government policies on lifelong learning and community engagement, therefore have been to open up spaces for universities in South Africa to reconceptualise the dominant human capital model of lifelong learning and embrace the concept’s more humanistic concerns with citizenship responsibility and social justice, including how knowledge itself is explored. This ideology embraces UNESCO’s (2015) re-emphasis on education as a common good, as articulated in its recent document *Rethinking Education*. Whilst the earlier aims in South African community engagement policy focused on fostering civic responsibility, the concept has evolved in an effort to gain credibility within the core functions of teaching and research in higher education.

South Africa’s higher education policy, more than most countries in the continent, makes specific reference to community engagement as a core mission in this respect. The notion of service learning (a borrowed concept from the United States of America) has become an embedded curriculum activity that embraces community engagement as a contribution to teaching and learning scholarship. As a result, the process of service learning as a feature of community engagement and potential space for lifelong learning deserves closer scrutiny. The focus on service learning is currently presented as a pedagogy which enables a ‘broader appreciation of the discipline’ (Bender and Jordaan 2007: 634), helping to foster social responsibility and contribute to curriculum relevance (Hall 2010). The extent to which this is done in any consistent way, however, is open to scrutiny (Hlengwa 2010).

This chapter now outlines a theoretical framework for service learning and community engagement as it is understood in the South African higher education

context. It then focuses on a recent research project which explored the learning experience of young adult students and their community members—adults from varying backgrounds, ranging from educated NGO staff to grass roots community members with little formal education. The chapter uses the theoretical perspectives of dialogue (drawing on Freire 1972 and Gravett 2001) and Gibbons' (2006) notion of 'mode 2 knowledge' as a means of analysing the extent to which socially 'robust knowledge' emerged in the community engagement space as an 'agora'. Nowotny et al., (2003: 192) describe the agora as 'the problem-generating and problem-solving environment in which the contextualization of knowledge production takes place'.

THE THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES THAT INFORM SERVICE LEARNING AND COMMUNITY ENGAGEMENT

Service learning is one manifestation of community engagement. The HEQC (2006) provides extensive guidelines for the university service learning curriculum which places emphasis on assessing student documentation of their own learning as a result of their engagement experience. Service learning is a pedagogical approach which draws on experiential learning theory. The most popular manifestation of this theory is taken from Kolb (1984) whereby learning goes through an individual cyclical process of experience, reflection, conceptualization and testing of new concepts in new situations. The process has framed the pedagogical rationale for service learning as community engagement in higher education (for example, Bender 2008; Erasmus 2011; Berman and Allen 2012; Petersen and Osman 2013). The principle argument for this approach is that real life experiences extend classroom learning and contribute to knowledge production. It is hailed as a 'counter-normative pedagogy' which not only stimulates new forms of learning alongside the formal curriculum but also generates social responsibility and a commitment to the broader social good, which takes us beyond the individualistic nature of traditional learning (Howard 1998).

Nevertheless, this pedagogical position has been criticized as inadequate in addressing the community perspective or the more dynamic issues of power and knowledge sharing that take place in community learning spaces (Camacho 2004; Alperstein 2007; Le Grange 2007; Preece 2016).

As a result, additional theoretical perspectives are being included in research into community service learning in order to embrace the more holistic nature of lifelong learning in community spaces, whereby community members and university students are expected to co-produce knowledge and learn together (see for example Erasmus and Albertyn 2014).

Gibbons (2006: 19–29), for instance, has distinguished between 'mode 1' knowledge and 'mode 2' knowledge. In summary, mode 1 knowledge represents discipline-based knowledge where the locus of the problem to be solved remains within a specific discipline. This kind of knowledge may be classified as

‘reliable knowledge’ (Gibbons 2006: 28) but it is only valid out of context, in experimental form. Mode 2 knowledge takes us beyond the discipline or laboratory. Here the locus of the problem is in a context that requires a multidimensional approach to its solution. Mode 2 knowledge is often constructed collaboratively in a transdisciplinary way (Muller and Subotsky 2001; Albertyn and Daniels 2009). Gibbons classified this form of knowledge as ‘socially robust knowledge’ because it has evolved in different social contexts. These contexts are where the environment itself acts as a ‘trading zone’ for debate, dialogue, experimentation and construction of new meanings and understandings through transactions between multiple actors. The community space or ‘agora’ is a potential resource for constructing mode 2 knowledge. Gibbons’ argument is that socially robust knowledge should be part of the university’s new language of ‘engagement’ whereby students and community learn from each other.

Whilst the distinction between these two forms of knowledge have been revisited (Nowotny et al. 2003), the argument remains that the notion of knowledge itself is being recast. The lifelong learning resource therefore is the environment itself and the social interaction that this entails. The service learning pedagogical experience then functions as a shared ‘developmental space’ (Erasmus 2007: 35) between the student and community. Although Barnett (2004: 251) goes one step further by suggesting that universities should be striving for a ‘mode 3 knowledge’ that takes us beyond the local into a world of ‘supercomplexity’, where there are no finite solutions to problems, he acknowledges that a pedagogy for mode 2 knowledge may be an interim lifelong learning step towards an unknown future.

However, in the service learning community engagement relationship many writers (for example Camacho 2004; Hlengwa 2010; Erasmus 2011; Wharton et al. 2014) have stressed the need to pay closer attention to the inequality of power relations in university-community partnerships which might impinge on the ideological notion of reciprocity implicit in community engagement. Students often have to address a complex power relationship whereby they are carriers of formally acquired university, mode 1 knowledge which has to interface with community dynamics and their own experiences of those dynamics. They have to mediate between these positions as facilitators and learners. Dialogue is presented as a pedagogical response to this issue. It is seen as an interactive process of renegotiating an engagement relationship which entails ‘multiple layers of involvement’ (Caister et al. 2011: 35). In other words community engagement must focus on consultation, in order to facilitate shared ownership of change. In progressivist curriculum theory Paulo Freire is often a source of pedagogical inspiration for the practice of dialogue (Gravett 2001).

Although, for Freire (1972), the curriculum value base was overtly political, with the aim to emancipate the oppressed from their hegemonic sense of reality, the basic principles behind his pedagogic process have wider applicability—particularly through the notion of pedagogy as dialogue. His focus, for instance is on stimulating critical awareness through a process of developing ‘mutual trust’ (p. 64) between all participants. In the service learning contexts this

requires students to be sensitized to their new learning environment through dialogue. The student becomes not only a co-learner but also a facilitator of new learning through posing questions and ‘seeking out reality together’ (p. 80).

In the community service learning context, this requires preparation between the various actors (staff, students, community contacts). Before the dialogic relationship can flourish, the participants must first familiarize themselves with each other’s environment ‘acting as sympathetic observers with an attitude of understanding what they see’ (p. 82). The dialogic exchange will then facilitate enhanced understanding so that participants learn to ‘perceive reality differently’ (p. 86). So during the listening and orientation process participants are encouraged to rethink their situation by asking questions rather than giving answers to identified problems.

Dialogue as a form of teacher–student interaction is a recognised classroom practice (Skidmore 2006). For service learning students the classroom becomes in part, at least, the community context. Their interactions are likely to take place more with community members and each other than university staff during the service learning experience. Their dialogues are multilayered across these different dimensions.

Gravett (2001) draws on Paulo Freire’s concept of dialogue within broader adult learning theory. She relates the role of dialogue as a mediation tool to some common theories which see learning as situational and whereby meaning making is linked to previous experience as a process of interpretation and integration of different patterns of thinking. In particular these ideas are linked to Vygotsky’s (1978) notion of social interaction, Habermas’ (1984) communicative action theory and Mezirow’s (2000) transformative learning theory where dialogue and listening are a means of ‘searching for a common understanding and assessment of the justification of an interpretation’ (p. 10). Dialogue then is a ‘process of negotiation’ (Gravett 2001: 20) and of ‘cooperative and reciprocal inquiry’ (p. 22). For the service learning student, this requires building a relationship of mutual respect and reasoning with community members. The students must be willing to learn as well as provide their own insights through a non-judgemental attitude. By listening, sharing and asking questions, the expectation is that all participants are enabled to see how their different experiences and sets of knowledge or meanings interrelate. Knowledge is thus co-constructed through mutual reflection, making links with existing forms of knowledge and refining understandings. This new knowledge is context specific (Applefield 2001) but the idea is that the locus of power shifts away from the polarised positions of ‘knower’ and ‘learner’.

Dialogue, of course, is also a pedagogical ideology. It has been argued, for instance, that it often becomes a victim of its own rhetoric, whereby not all learners feel equally empowered to interact (Burbules 2000; Bartlett 2005). The extent to which dialogue proved emancipatory or contributed to socially robust knowledge in selected South African service learning contexts is a point of exploration for the remainder of this chapter.

THE SERVICE LEARNING PROJECT AND ITS RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Between 2012 and 2014 I managed a two-phase action research project at a South African University. The project involved third and fourth year students in community engagement initiatives in a way that contributed to their course work requirements but also employed a community-led approach to identifying small-scale activities that could be completed within university timetable constraints. Over the 2 years a total of 12 projects, involving more than 60 students, six university disciplines and seven community organizations took place. The first phase involved only four projects and the second phase, involving eight projects, was developed as a result of findings from the first phase and consultations with all the participating stakeholders (students, staff, community organizations). The core goal of the action research process was to explore the extent to which students could work as teams to address a community-identified need or problem and to explore the extent to which the engagement process involved a shared process of dialogue, negotiation and meaning making with a view to generating new learning among all participants.

The concept of ‘community’—another contested term which this paper does not have space to expand on (see Hall 2010, for example)—was normally defined for the purpose of this study as a Non-Profit Organization (NPO) or community-based organization. The reason for this was because the student interventions were necessarily time bound and it was important that the student engagement process could be mediated by an organization who had sustained links with participants at the grass roots.

A minimum of two students were appointed to each assignment. Some of the assignments required specialist academic knowledge, such as library and information or media skills, others were multidisciplinary, such as working with a gay and lesbian organisation. Some of the students were registered in a designated service learning module, others were recruited because of their subject specialism. In one case a whole class was assigned to work together with an NPO, but in most cases students signed up voluntarily, selecting from a menu of potential activities. Sometimes students would travel to rural or urban locations and work directly with community residents, in other cases they would work solely with the NPO. The assignments lasted between 20 and 30 hours over a period of six to eight weeks and had to be fitted into ongoing lecture timetables. In all cases, initial meetings were recorded by a research assistant who observed the activity in action at least once and who also interviewed all key participants after the assignment had ended. Interviews were conducted in the local language of isiZulu or English depending on the preferences of the respondents. All interviews were transcribed and translated into English if necessary.

As such, the two-phase project followed Stringer’s (2004: 4) definition of action research as a:

... participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes ... to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions.

Each assignment became a 'case' (Rule and John 2011) or unit of analysis. The overall research question was to explore how participants felt the project had contributed to new knowledge or learning, and the extent to which they felt the engagement process and been participatory. The transcripts were analysed initially through an inductive process of reading and rereading the data, and then deductively analysed for themes that reflected or spoke to the theoretical concepts of dialogue and knowledge.

Some of the projects produced richer data than others, and some of the projects generated greater satisfaction with the engagement relationship than others. Many of the case studies have been described elsewhere (Preece 2013, 2016; Preece and Manicom 2015). This chapter, therefore, discusses two case studies that have received less publicity and which are not necessarily examples of 'good practice'. As a result they show the potential and challenges of community engagement as a space for lifelong learning in terms of knowledge production.

Case study 1 (CS1) involved an NPO, that provided workshops on disability rights, and students from a Media Studies class. Their task was to produce newsletters and publicity brochures for fund-raising by the organization. Interviews took place with two NPO members, followed by the class teacher and a group discussion with six students (S1, S2, etc.). This NPO had worked with the same class lecturer in the first phase. The lecturer and NPO liaised over potential topics for the second phase and then the NPO made a presentation to the students to outline their organization and their particular need for publicity material. Students then liaised directly with the NPO and worked in teams to produce the material, based on their understanding of the organization and its needs.

Case study 2 (CS2) involved an NPO that campaigned on behalf of sexuality issues. Six service learning students (two from Politics, four from Education and Development) volunteered to take part in their training programme with a view to ultimately facilitate awareness raising workshops in community locations. The two NPO officers (NPO1, 2) were interviewed followed by a group discussion with five of the students (S1, S2, etc.). The interviews all took place in English. The NPO had independently approached the university with a view to developing a formal partnership. The NPO outlined a number of plans which included the idea that students could be trained as facilitators to run workshops about sexuality issues. The training workshops would run over three Saturdays and the community workshops would take place through negotiation with the students. In this case, the students met the NPO for the first time at the Saturday workshop.

FINDINGS

The student and community responses are presented here as an illustration of the learning process, the impact of that learning process on knowledge production and the lifelong learning implications. The multilayered community space as an agora was not always an effective space for dialogue, however, and comments from both case studies indicated that the dialogic process across those different community layers can raise challenges that have the potential to derail the co-construction of knowledge. The first theme under consideration is the nature of dialogue.

Dialogue

On the one hand, dialogue was an organizational tool to position the community space as an agora for problem posing. In CS1:

[The activity] was initiated by a presentation with [NPO] first. They did a slide show and told us about themselves so they provided a lot of background information and then decisions were made by us on a group level. (CS1, S1)

From the NPO's side this dialogue and exchange enabled them to take ownership over the engagement relationship, whereby they built on their experience of the previous year:

The feedback meeting from last year's work [fed into] what we thought we might like to be involved with this year. So suggestions were put forward from that and then Julia came back to us saying these are the ones she thought would be possible ... And then from that we kind of tweaked it to define really what [NPO] wanted to get out of it. (NPO1, CS1)

Such learning developed new insights into the dialogic process of listening and familiarizing oneself with the community environment:

I think it is also important to understand that when you work with a non-profit organization that ... a consultative partnership is very different so you're ... not overwhelming the other party with all your knowledge and saying, "we can do this we can do that". We learned to pace all our knowledge and adapt to the capacity of the organization that we were working with ... so it taught us to hold back and only give what they can use. (S1, CS1)

This also raised new awareness about the multilayeredness of dialogue:

I find that we often go into situations with a very singular thinking and we think only from our own perspectives ... but when you work with other people who are specialists of their fields as well you see something from a different perspective and it teaches you to respect their knowledge. (S1, CS1)

In CS2, although the NPO identified their initiation role positively ('I think from our side as the organisation we helped to facilitate the whole process from the beginning, meeting with all the heads of different departments and getting the ball rolling'), the initial problem posing space with the students failed to materialize, with consequences for how effectively the students were able to complete their assignment. The lack of initial discussion between the NPO and students meant that by the time they were expected to facilitate their own workshops, the students were unable to fit in their academic exam schedules:

... if we were involved in the planning process it would be at least better coz like we would be facilitating as we were expected to do, if things were like ... the scheduling... everything ... it would be better. (S2, CS2)

In terms of the community learning space as a dialogic process with different actors it was evident that there was potential for new meaning making to emerge. But the process of building a relationship of mutual respect in contexts which are not protected by conventional classroom boundaries is fragile. The role of dialogue as a mediation tool without following clearly defined processes can flounder. Dialogue alone, therefore, particularly in time constrained contexts, does not guarantee mutual understanding.

Nevertheless, all the students gave examples of how they had learned to perceive reality differently by engaging with their community contexts.

Knowledge Construction

The students who designed a publicity brochure for the disability rights organization acknowledged how their mode 1, discipline specific knowledge benefited from contextualization:

We gained a lot because we were working with a real organization that had real communication problems and instead of just doing something that you learn from a text book ... that had a good and positive impact on us. (S2, CS1)

The community space created opportunities for new meanings and understandings:

We were also able to learn about things that weren't really part of our curriculum as media students, we were able to learn about disabilities and things that surround issues of disability that we weren't really knowledgeable of. ... and by really understanding and feeling what those people are going through we were able to communicate their message better. (S2, CS1)

This was also expressed, for the media studies students, in terms of how to use their communication knowledge:

In terms of communicating with the targeted audience ... it taught us that we need to change tone when you are talking to a particular audience. (S1, CS1)

For the sexuality workshop students, the community space and non-discipline specific learning became a life-changing experience. The students applied new meaning to their experience which impacted on their understanding of diversity:

It was hard for me at first coz I had the problem of being homophobic ... now I don't have that problem anymore ... I learnt more about sexuality and gender more than I ever knew ... I think it really changed... my mind-set in terms of gender and sexuality and it taught me a lot about the words we use so much for granted without knowing what they mean. (S1, CS2)

These experiences in turn motivated the students to go on learning and facilitating learning within their communities, thus contributing to UNESCO's (2015) concerns that education and learning should enable people to address complexity and contradictions in life:

On my side the community where I come from benefited in this coz I have learnt about gender and sexuality which is a problem in the society where I have lived in and the organisation I work with back home also benefited to get a facilitator.[S4] ... I am going to church and tell them what they think homosexuality is or maybe being gay and lesbian and intersex is not what they really think it is. (S3, CS2)

Similarly the CS1 students felt that the learning that took place in their agora, would have ripple effects beyond their own learning, thus contributing to a life-wide, lifelong learning loop:

I think the ... entire KwaZulu-Natal disability community as a whole will benefit because part of the project was to introduce these corporate workshops that [NPO] wants to do to advocate for disability inclusion at the work place so that's what we were also working on. (S3, CS1)

The NPO from CS2 echoed these sentiments about the wider benefits in terms of a lifelong and life-wide learning context:

Well, by having the students being available for facilitation the students themselves received skills training for facilitation and also it gave them an opportunity to be able to go out and facilitate the programmes that we have. ... now we have a team of trainers from just this project (NPO1, CS2)

There was evidence from NPO1 that knowledge construction was regarded as a shared process:

It has been interesting to have people outside the disability field looking at what they think should be put in the brochure that we might not think of would be so applicable so it's quite nice getting the outsider's view. (NPO1, CS1)

This, in turn challenged the students to realise that in order for knowledge to have a real life applicability there needs to be a more dynamic process of building and testing knowledge:

My experience is that the universities have always imposed this idea of “we are the expert” approach. This time around I think it was different, they enabled the communities, in this case the [NPO], to basically share their information with the university realms as opposed to what the university conventionally do which they go to the community, diagnose some certain problems and find expert ways of fixing it. (S1, CS2)

At some levels, then the lifelong learning goals, as articulated in national policy and international organizations such as UNESCO, were addressed. In other words the students' reflections, through the service learning pedagogy and interview process, suggested they had become more critically aware, ‘thinking citizens’ (DHET 2013: ix). The opportunity to use extended community spaces and actors for dialogue facilitated new meaning making. However, the small scale nature of such projects had limitations in terms of contributing to new knowledge creation in the university itself. The extent to which such projects contribute to the broader UNESCO vision of lifelong learning for sustainable development was untested. A primary concern in the South African context, in the light of its apartheid history, and relationship to the wider continent is to develop caring, culturally sensitive and ethically responsible citizens. This vision was articulated as a broad vision for the continent by Yesufu in 1973 (cited in Ajayi et al. 1996: 112) as ‘social transformation’. It is not clear to what level these small scale service learning projects contribute to such overarching goals when those very same trading zones for debate and dialogue are not brought into the mainstream of university spaces. Although individual students clearly benefitted from their exposure to different forms of knowledge, there was no indication that this new learning impacted in any practical way on the university curriculum itself. The university then, acted as a conduit for mediating dialogue without having to address new learning within its formal curriculum structure. These observations have implications for how university community engagement can become a space for lifelong learning in a way that contributes to the construction of socially robust knowledge. Indeed Walters (2015) highlights that ‘from a policy perspective’, and especially in resource-constrained contexts such as those for low and middle-income countries, political commitment from within the university hierarchy is essential for community engagement to maximise its potential for lifelong learning and socially robust knowledge

construction. This observation, in turn, has implications for how the pedagogical concepts of dialogue and socially robust knowledge construction can influence learning spaces for adults within a wider notion of what contributes to effective adult and lifelong learning.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The application of community engagement through service learning activities is a time-consuming process which carries risks in relation to working in a learning space that has fluid boundaries. Those boundaries include fluidity in terms of time frames, whereby the NPO is not constrained by discipline and exam timetables, and also in terms of social interactions with people who are not necessarily authorized knowledge holders by university standards.

The knowledge generated in these examples could be identified as ‘socially robust’ in that it had been either constructed in the community spaces according to the experiences of the knowers, or it was formulated as a result of interaction with community members. But in these two cases there was little evidence of co-creation of knowledge or of any influence on the knowledge spaces in the university curriculum itself. This means that lifelong learning—as a process of new meaning making within the university—was confined to the participants’ direct experiences of their case studies. Where dialogue took place, it was usually about passing on information and insights from student to community or vice versa. The agora created opportunities for that exchange and opened up opportunities for enhanced learning for the students. In these two cases, therefore, the community provided the space for lifelong learning but only the participating students benefitted from that space, rather than the wider university. Nevertheless, there were indications of other possibilities for life-wide, and lifelong, learning within the broader community. For instance, NGO CS1 would now use the students’ publicity leaflets as a means of creating awareness about their organization in the corporate world and beyond. Similarly the students in CS2 had indicated they were spreading their new knowledge into their broader communities, thus creating a ripple effect of knowledge creation that had been opened by the initial dialogue space of the service learning experience.

In terms of the South African higher education policy for building social responsiveness, the students would continue to transfer their learning experiences to new contexts. The fact that students had to work in teams, and with external agencies meant that meaning making was a socially interactive experience, as articulated by Gravett (2001). All participants were partially teachers and learners in the spirit of a Freirian agenda for ensuring participants understand what they see (Freire 1972). The students, in particular, gave a new legitimacy to the knowledge acquired through this interactive process, but there was also evidence that the NPO participants appreciated student perspectives on their experiential knowledge.

Since the students, in these two examples, were interacting with well-educated NPO members the power differentials did not manifest themselves overtly, although there were indications in CS1, that some of the students had a level of consciousness that their media knowledge was a powerful one that should be managed according to the contextual situation. As a counter example, it was evident that the students in CS2 were made aware that the domain of knowledge as power was firmly positioned within the NPO itself.

These examples demonstrated some of the elements of a humanistic notion of lifelong learning that is concerned with social justice issues, citizenship responsibility and respect for the rights of the individual. But the extent to which lives can be changed through such time limited interventions has to be viewed with caution. Furthermore, the extent to which the learning contexts and cultural spaces provided through the service learning experience contribute to a broader notion of lifelong learning and can only be measured if they are embedded within the mainstream of university policy.

REFERENCES

- Aitchison, J., & Alidou, H. (2008). *The development and state of the art of adult learning and education (ALE) in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Paper prepared for CONFINTEA VI Regional Conference, The Power of Youth and Adult Learning for Africa's Development, Nairobi.
- Ajayi, A. J. F., Goma, L. K. H., & Johnson, A. G. (1996). *The African experience with higher education*. Accra: AAU and James Currey Publishers.
- Albertyn, R., & Daniels, P. (2009). Research within the context of community engagement. In E. Bitzer (Ed.), *Higher education in South Africa*. Stellenbosch: Sun Media.
- Alperstein, M. (2007). Getting closer to the community voice in curriculum development: An exploration of the possibilities. *Education as Change*, 11(3), 59–67.
- Applefield, J. M. (2001). Constructivism in theory and practice: Toward a better understanding. *The High School Journal*, 84(2), 35–53.
- Barnett, R. (2004). Learning for an unknown future. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 23(3), 247–260.
- Bartlett, L. (2005). Dialogue, knowledge, and teacher-student relations: Freirean pedagogy in theory and practice. *Comparative Education Review*, 49(3), 344–364.
- Bender, C. J. G. (2008). Curriculum enquiry about community engagement at a research university. *South African Journal of Higher Education*, 22(6), 1154–1171.
- Bender, G., & Jordaan, R. (2007). Student perceptions and attitudes about community service-learning in the teacher training curriculum. *South African Journal of Education*, 27, 631–654.
- Berman, K., & Allen, L. (2012). Deepening students' understanding of democratic citizenship through arts-based approaches to experiential service learning. *South African Review of Sociology*, 43(2), 76–88.
- Burbules, N. C. (2000). The limits of dialogue as a critical pedagogy. In P. Trifonas (Ed.), *Revolutionary pedagogies*. London: Routledge.
- Caister, K., Green, M., & Worth, S. (2011). Learning how to be participatory: An emergent research agenda. *Action Research*, 10(1), 22–39.

- Camacho, M. M. (2004). Power and privilege: Community service learning in Tijuana. *Michigan Journal of Community Service Learning*, 10(3), 31–42.
- Department of Education. (1997). *Education white paper 3. A programme for the transformation of higher education*. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Department of Higher Education and Training. (2013). *White paper for post school education and training*. Pretoria: DoHET.
- Department of Higher Education and Training. (2015). *Policy on minimum requirements for programmes leading to qualifications for educators and lecturers in adult and community education and training*, Government Gazette, 597, Pretoria.
- Erasmus, M. A. (2007). Service learning: Preparing a new generation of scientists for a mode 2 society. *Journal for New Generation Science*, 5(2), 26–40.
- Erasmus, M. A. (2011). A South African perspective on North American international service learning. In R. G. Bringle, J. A. Hatcher, & S. G. Jones (Eds.), *International service learning conceptual frameworks and research*. Sterling, VA: Stylus.
- Erasmus, M., & Albertyn, R. (Eds.). (2014). *Knowledge as re-enablement: Engagement between higher education and the third sector in South Africa*. Bloemfontein: Sun Media.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. London: Penguin.
- Gibbons, M. (2006). *Engagement as a core value in a mode 2 society*. Keynote address at Council on Higher Education-Higher Education Quality Committee/JET Education Services-Council on Higher Education Services Partnership Conference Community Engagement in Higher Education, CHE-HEQC, Cape Town.
- Gravett, S. (2001). *Adult learning: Designing and implementing learning events: A dialogic approach*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Habermas, J. (1984). *Reason and the rationalization of society. The theory of communicative action* (Vol. 1, T. McCarthy, Trans.). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Hall, M. (2010). Community engagement in South African higher education. In Council on Higher Education (Ed.), *Kagisano No. 6: Community engagement in South African higher education*. Auckland Park: Jacana Media (Pty).
- Higher Education Quality Committee. (2004). *Criteria for institutional audits*. Pretoria: HEQC.
- Higher Education Quality Committee. (2006). *A good practice guide and self-evaluation instruments for managing the quality of service-learning*. Pretoria: HEQC.
- Hlengwa, A. (2010). Infusing service learning in curricula: A theoretical exploration of infusion possibilities. *Journal of Education*, 48, 1–14.
- Hoppers, C. A. (1996). *Adult education for change and sustainable development: Mandate for action from five world conferences*. Paper prepared for The experts working group for CONFINTEA V, UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg.
- Hoppers, W., & Yekhelef, A. (2012). *Common core skills for lifelong learning and sustainable development in Africa*. Synthesis Paper prepared by Association for Development Education in Africa for its Triennial meeting (Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso). Accra: ADEA.
- Howard, J. P. F. (1998). Academic service learning: A counternormative pedagogy. *New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, 73(Spring), 2–29.
- Kolb, D. A. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the course of learning and development*. Englewood Cliff: Prentice-Hall.
- Lazarus, J., Erasmus, M., Hendricks, D., Nduna, J. & Slamati, J. (2008). Embedding community engagement in South African higher education. *Education, Citizenship and Social Justice*, 3, 57–83.

- Le Grange, L. (2007). The 'theoretical foundations' of community service learning: From taproots to rhizomes. *Education as Change*, 11(3), 3–13.
- Mezirow, J. (2000). Learning to think like an adult: Core concepts of transformation theory. In J. Mezirow & Associates (Eds.), *Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Ministry of Education. (2001). *National plan for higher education*. Pretoria: Government Printers.
- Ministry of Education, Culture and Human Resources. (2009). *Education and human resources strategy plan*. Republic of Mauritius. Retrieved September 9, 2009, from http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Mauritius/Mauritius_EHRSP_2008_2020.pdf.
- Muller, J., & Subotzky, G. (2001). What knowledge is needed in the new millennium? *Organization*, 8(2), 163–182.
- Nowotny, H., Scott, P., & Gibbons, M. (2003). Introduction: 'Mode 2' revisited: The new production of knowledge. *Minerva*, 41, 179–194.
- Petersen, N., & Osman, R. (2013). An introduction to service learning in South Africa. In R. Osman & N. Petersen (Eds.), *Service learning in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Powell, L. (2012). Reimagining the purpose of VET: Expanding the capability to aspire in South African further education and training students. *International Journal of Educational Development*, 32, 643–653.
- Preece, J. (2006). Education for inclusion. *Convergence*, XXXIX(2–3), 147–166.
- Preece, J. (2013). Service learning and community engagement in South African universities: Towards an 'adaptive engagement' approach. *Alternation Special Edition*, 9, 265–291.
- Preece, J. (2014). PhD study in South Africa as a community of practice: Benefits and challenges. *International Journal of Continuing Education and Lifelong Learning*, 6(2), 41–58.
- Preece, J. (2016, in press). Negotiating service learning through community engagement: Adaptive leadership, knowledge, dialogue and power. *Education as Change*, 20(1), 67–88.
- Preece, J., & Manicom, D. (2015, in press). Community based learning spaces and environments: Pedagogic possibilities and challenges. *Alternation Special Edition*.
- Preece, J., Ntseane, P. G., Modise, O. M., & Osborne, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Community engagement in African universities: Prospects and challenges*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Republic of the Gambia. (2004). *Education policy 2004–2015*. Department of State for Education. Retrieved February 2, 2015, from http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Gambia/Gambia_Ed_Pol_2004-2015.pdf.
- Rule, P., & John, V. (2011). *Your guide to case study research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Skidmore, D. (2006). Pedagogy and dialogue. *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 36(4), 503–514.
- Slowey, M., & Schuetze, H. G. (Eds.). (2012). *Global perspectives on higher education and lifelong learning*. London: Routledge.
- Stringer, E. (2004). *Action research in education*. Columbus, OH: Pearson/Merril Prentice Hall.
- Sustainable Development Goals. Retrieved December 27, 2015, from <https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300>.
- UIL. (2010). *UIL's strategy for strengthening the capacities of governments and civil society to attain EFA and lifelong learning in Africa (2010–2012)*. Retrieved

- December 5, 2010, from http://uil.unesco.org/fileadmin/keydocuments/Africa/en/AFR_strategy%20UIL_FINAL.pdf.
- UIL. (2013). *Global report for adult learning and education*. Hamburg: UIL.
- UNCSD. (2012). *The future we want: Our common vision*. Retrieved February 2, 2015, from <http://www.uncsd2012.org/content/documents/documents/727The%20Future%20We%20Want%2019%20June%201230pm.pdf>.
- UNESCO. (1998a). *The seventh conference of ministers of education of African states (MINEDAF VII Final Report)*. Retrieved January 2, 2012, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001133/113382e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. (1998b). *World conference on higher education in the 21st century: Vision and action. Final Report*. Retrieved December 27, 2015, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001163/116345e.pdf>.
- UNESCO. (2006) *Draft strategy of education for sustainable development in Sub Saharan Africa June 2006 version*. Retrieved July 3, 2009, from: http://www.esd-world-conference2009.org/fileadmin/download/general/Africa_ESD_regional_strategie.pdf.
- UNESCO. (2009). *UNESCO world conference on education for sustainable development*. Retrieved September 2, 2009, from www.esd-world-conference-2009.org.
- UNESCO. (2014). *Education for all global monitoring report 2013/2014*. Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO. (2015). *Rethinking education: Towards a global common good?* Paris: UNESCO.
- UNESCO and MINEDAF. (2002). *Issues and strategies for the promotion of adult education in the context of lifelong learning, part II*. Retrieved February 2, 2008, from <http://portal.unesco.org/education>.
- UNESCO/UNICEF. (2013). *Making education a priority in the post-2015 development agenda: Report of the global thematic consultation on education in the post-2015 development agenda*. Retrieved February 2, 2015, from http://www.unicef.org/education/files/Making_Education_a_Priority_in_the_Post-2015_Development_Agenda.pdf.
- United Nations. (2013). *A new global partnership: Eradicate poverty and transform economies through sustainable development*. New York: United Nations Publications.
- United Nations Development Programme. (2014). *Human development report 2014: Sustaining human progress: Reducing vulnerabilities and building resilience*. New York: UNDP.
- Vaughn, R. P., & Walker, M. (2012). Capabilities, values and education policy. *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 13(3), 495–512.
- Vygotsky, L. (1978). *Mind and society*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Walters, S. (2015). Higher education in lifelong learning in South Africa. In J. Yang, C. Schneller, & S. Roche (Eds.), *The role of higher education in promoting lifelong learning*. Hamburg: UIL.
- Walters, S., Yang, J., & Roslander, P. (2012). Promoting critical knowledge, skills and qualifications for sustainable development in Africa: How to design and implement an effective response through education and training systems. Sub-theme 1: Core skills for lifelong learning and sustainable development in Africa. *Triennale on Education and Training in Africa*. Retrieved January 2, 2015, from http://uil.unesco.org/fileadmin/keydocuments/Africa/en/study-on-LLL UIL_final_11-Jan-2012.pdf.

- Wharton, C. Y., Goodwin, L. J., & Cameron, A. J. (2014). Living up to our students' expectations: Using student voice to influence the way academics think about their undergraduates' learning and their own teaching. *International Journal of Higher Education*, 3(4), 72–84.
- World Bank. (2003). *Lifelong learning in the global knowledge economy: Challenges for developing countries*. Washington, DC: The World Bank.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Julia Preece is Professor of Adult Education at the Durban University of Technology, South Africa, where she is responsible for a research project on community engagement and supervision of postgraduate students in the field of adult education and community development. Her recent works include (co-edited with P.G., Ntseane, O.M, Modise, and M. Osborne) *Community Engagement in African Universities* (NIACE, 2012). She is currently writing a book titled *Community Engagement and Lifelong Learning: The Porous University* (Palgrave Macmillan).

Learning in Later Adulthood: A Critical Perspective

Brian Findsen

Abstract The sub-field of educational gerontology, better known colloquially as learning in later life, has been receiving increased attention in the new millennium, especially as in many countries the proportions of older adults are reaching dramatic levels. This article provides insights into the historical development of later life learning including consideration of the ideas of old age or later adulthood. It looks into how knowledge (or curriculum) has been constructed within a lifelong learning framework before analysing issues of older people's participation and providers of learning opportunities. Coverage of recent developments in this sub-field includes a review of important reports and academic publications. Finally, a number of emergent issues of special salience for older learners, especially connected to the new millennium, are discussed.

The sub-field of *educational gerontology*, better known colloquially as learning in later life, has been receiving increased attention in the new millennium, especially as in many countries the proportions of older adults (defined arbitrarily here as 60+) are reaching levels which can no longer be ignored by governments. Arguably, population ageing is the most significant social trend in the new millennium together with the explosion of change in information and communications technology (ICT) (Phillipson 2013). Older people are faced with new horizons and challenges as the effects of globalisation (for example, greater homogenization) and neo-liberalism (for example, heightened accountability and quality assurance) trigger considerable complexity in their lives (Barnett 1999). Previously held norms and structures (for instance, Confucianism in Asian countries) are seriously undermined and what it means

B. Findsen (✉)

University of Waikato, Private Bag 3105, Hamilton, New Zealand
e-mail: bfindsen@waikato.ac.nz

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_43

839

to be old is more problematic, yet potentially more liberating (at least for wealthier people in later life).

This chapter provides insights into the historical development of later life learning which includes discussion on who is considered to be in old age or later adulthood. It then looks into how knowledge has been constructed within the field of educational gerontology within a lifelong learning framework before analysing issues of older people's participation and providers of learning opportunities. Coverage of recent developments in this sub-field includes a quick review of important reports and academic publications. Finally, a number of emergent issues of special salience for older learners, especially connected to the new millennium, are discussed.

UNDERSTANDING EDUCATIONAL GERONTOLOGY

The term *educational gerontology* might better be understood as a subset of gerontology, wherein it is fundamentally concerned about how people age throughout the lifecourse and how learning/education intersects with living. In a technical fashion, the term was distinguished from gerontological education by Frank Glendenning (2000: 80–83), as follows:

Educational gerontology consists of:

1. Instructional gerontology, e.g. how older people function; memory and intelligence; learning aptitude
2. Senior adult education, e.g. enabling older adults to extend their range of knowledge through reflection; curriculum development
3. Self-help instructional gerontology, e.g. learning and helping others to learn in self-help mode; relationships in a learning group
4. Self-help senior adult education, e.g. learning groups; peer counselling.

Gerontological education consists of:

5. Social gerontology and adult education, e.g. stereotypes and myths of older people; tutor training
6. Advocacy gerontology, e.g. consciousness-raising; discrimination; old people as a mainstream resource in society
7. Professional gerontology, e.g. professional training of skilled tutors and practitioners; course evaluation
8. Gerontology education, e.g. post-professional training; training of volunteers; community strategies.

The exact components of each category matter less than the way this categorization is suggestive of particular foci for the developing field. This demarcation, albeit arbitrarily constructed, did hint at the inter-disciplinarity of an emerging field of research, policy and practice. For long periods, gerontology

itself had been saturated with medical models in which older people were depicted as in deficit, in physiological decline and requiring the rescue by medical professionals. Accordingly, the field of educational gerontology was constrained by a conservative, functionalist framework in which a normative paradigm of how one should lead one's life in later adulthood held considerable sway (Estes et al. 2003). This was reflected in functionalist explanations of adjustment of older people to retirement (usually of a masculine, middle-class character) who could shy away from active engagement in learning and life and/or adopt 'successful ageing' strategies to optimise their well-being.

In a more straightforward rendition of what educational gerontology might include, David Peterson (1980: 82) had earlier described educational gerontology to be 'a field of study and practice that has recently developed at the interface of adult education and social gerontology'. In particular, he specified that this field encompasses the following:

1. Education for older adults;
2. Public education about ageing;
3. The education of professionals and paraprofessional in the field of ageing.

In short, pioneers in this field were attempting to highlight its distinctiveness and could envisage multiple interrelated factors affecting later life development. These factors involved consideration of older adults themselves as determiners of their own learning, a duty towards informing society about what to expect in older adulthood and a need to work alongside professionals to heighten their awareness of effective strategies in dealing with older people in their respective domains. Clearly, advocates for later life learning have been and still are concerned with how learning is manifested in diverse contexts with a special emphasis on how older people negotiate their learning journeys in what Laslett (1991) has dubbed *the third age*.

According to Laslett, the third age is a time for enhanced creativity and expressiveness as older adults are released from the trammels of the second age (one where people assume heightened responsibility for family, work and civic participation) to pursue lifelong activities based on unfulfilled desires. Unfortunately, this third age is not compatible with poverty, gender discrimination, disability, low educational attainment, so often the reality for increasing numbers of older people (Findsen 2005a). Poor people in early life seldom become rich people in later life; people who have not benefitted from a high-quality education do not usually become avid lifelong education advocates. Into *the fourth age* (one of high dependence on others for care, increased frailty and reduced mobility), the romanticism of the third age can rapidly disappear. As pointed out by Formosa and Higgs (2013), the fourth age is one often typified by neglect, especially in terms of opportunities made available for these elders in education and other social spheres.

WHO ARE OLDER ADULTS?

While the focus of educational gerontology is upon older people, just how such people are categorised varies across cultures and within nations. Chronological age has been seen as a clumsy way to decide who might be ‘old’ (Phillipson 1998). In some African nations, older age as understood in Western countries is less evident as economic and objective conditions have exerted much negative influence on physiological ageing. A person may be old at 50 in some places and in others considered to be early middle-aged. Historically, too, notions of older age have changed as societies have changed (Moody 2002). No clear definition of older age has received universal support. A tentative approximation of what a nation might deem to be older age can be linked to the award of a pension by governments/employers or to retirement patterns. Yet the notion of retirement itself needs to be retired as it belongs to a normative criterion of old age in earlier history when social policy dictated whom should retire and when (Phillipson 2013).

A demarcation is sometimes made between the ‘young-old’ and the ‘old-old’ (Neugarten 1976). This distinction may be associated with Laslett’s third and fourth ages, respectively. The third age is characterised in learning terms as expansive and potentially liberating; the fourth age, one of increasing dependence and requiring more care, is essentially one where a person is conscious of impending death. It is linked in a practical sense to nursing homes and care facilities in the health industry. In learning terms, the fourth age is often conceptualised bleakly where money spent on any education is deemed a waste of resources, given a very limited future life expectancy (Formosa 2012).

The advent of baby boomers in Western societies has heightened awareness of nations to the rights of older people to social services, including educational opportunities. Older people now constitute a significant social movement whose (learning) needs cannot be ignored especially if these participants choose to politicise their rights to learn. Hence, cohorts of older people have tended to set a pattern of living in later life which following generations have also adopted or chosen to change. Given the ICT revolution and other technological advances (for example, in medical hardware), this new cohort of baby boomers is largely responsible for diversifying lifestyles and establishing new norms of what might be acceptable behaviour for older people in the new millennium. Yet this ‘new agenda’ is largely attributable to the aspirations and practices of well-heeled, usually highly educated articulate ‘young-old’ in social institutions. Social stratification among seniors should not be ignored and we should be vigilant to avoid false generalisations or myths around older people’s potentiality, including their access to educational opportunity (Findsen 2005a).

CONSTRUCTING KNOWLEDGE AMONG SENIORS

From a commercial viewpoint, the ‘silver industry’ is readily identifiable with respect to housing preferences, health and leisure programmes which make what was previously invisible (older adults adjusting peacefully to retirement according to historically-induced norms), now very visible. Learning for seniors is inevitably connected to this phenomenon. Education for and with older adults has been correspondingly commodified (Jarvis 2001). A myriad of providers, both public and private, have awoken to the commercial benefits of working with older people to help fulfil their learning needs, even if some of these agencies act from a narrow instrumentalist mentality devoid of any elements of social justice. The educational spaces of significant numbers of older people have been colonised by agencies who believe they know best what seniors should learn (Collins 1998).

The education provision for older adults is driven by diverse motives which can be associated with major themes of lifelong learning (Findsen and Formosa 2011). These authors explain how at least four major themes emerge from international policy proclamations and from literature on lifelong learning. The economic drivers for (older) adult education are closely associated with a nation’s building of a skilled workforce for a country to be competitive in a global marketplace (Jarvis 2001). This driver operates at multiple levels of the nation, region, organisation and individual. Ultimately, individuals, especially in Western economies, are expected to be resourceful, entrepreneurial and skilful in the workplace. Older people often compete in the workforce to retain their jobs and to gain rightful opportunities to continue their education (Beatty and Visser 2005). Discriminatory public policy may work against their interests to stay in the labour market; additionally, unsympathetic employers may act against their interests (Beatty and Visser 2005). Increasingly, older people need to stand up for their rights of equal access to learning opportunities. Further, they may become more self-directed in constructing their working careers in later life.

The economic driver can be latent in other purposes of learning in later life. For instance, the encouragement for older people to engage in ‘active ageing’ may be seen to help nations cope financially with escalating health and welfare budgets. The idea of ‘productive ageing’ has both direct (employment) and indirect (via improved health) economic benefits for governments.

Three other themes are discernible in the lifelong learning discourse. The long-established belief in liberal education, exemplified by the priorities of former extension departments in universities, was closely linked to learning for its own sake or learning for self-fulfilment. While this motive is still strong amid

the middle classes (for example, the University of the Third Age), it is often swamped by a stronger individualistic idea of adult learning. Among many older people with solid education histories, the liberal ideal still dominates their notion of what constitutes learning in later life.

Another theme of developing an active citizenry is important at both individual and societal levels. The argument is that nations need citizens capable of being reflexive and knowledgeable to critique societal norms and practices (Beck 1992). In some regards, the plea for *active ageing* across nations (Boulton-Lewis and Tam 2012) matches this imperative for older citizens to continue to actively contribute to society, as in volunteering. In many Western countries, the volunteer workforce is replete with older people wishing to ‘give back’ to society in a win-win situation for the community and for the individual. In such instances, older people have opportunities for continuing learning through formalised training, engagement in voluntary exercises and self-directed learning.

The final theme is that of social inclusion/exclusion. Historically, many groups in societies have been (inadvertently, perhaps deliberately) kept away from education. Usually, these are marginalised groups in society (ethnic minorities; new migrants; many women) among whom older adults form a significant proportion. While not all older people are socially excluded (indeed, many have considerable wealth and prestige), in increasing numbers old people find themselves socially isolated and non-participants in civil society (Phillipson 2013). When multiple forms of exclusion are identified in an individual (for instance, an African American woman living in a rural area away from kin), the risk of social exclusion is high. While more formal educational responses do not readily meet the (learning) needs arising from the objective conditions in which marginalised older people live, some non-formal learning possibilities can help. When seniors join in empathetic groups, their real needs have a greater chance of being met. Alternatively, social movements (for example, Greypower; the peace movement; environmental groups) may provide further opportunities for elders to actively engage in authentic learning to improve their life chances (Sutherland and Crowther 2006).

THE RISE OF CRITICAL (EDUCATIONAL) GERONTOLOGY

More recent explanations of learning in later life (the language has shifted somewhat from the use of the term educational gerontology) have assumed a more critical component and sought more cross-disciplinary explanations for living the ‘good life’ in later adulthood. The word ‘critical’ is used to distinguish learning and education that has moved from conservative notions of what constitutes older age and associated learning to ideas that are more inclusive of diversity and life potentialities. Previously, discussion of older people has been located in a deficit discourse, especially from a medical paradigm. In sociological terms, a functionalist approach to understanding how seniors lived and the

kinds of learning/education in which they were engaged was dominant (Phillipson 1998). In such an approach the decreased capacities of older people were accentuated as illustrated by a decline in visual acuity, loss of hearing, slower reaction times and general physiological decline (Glass 1996). There are elements of truth in these observations—as we age, we tend to lose some physical attributes of younger age—but this rhetoric should not blind us to the tremendous potential latent in humans, regardless of age (Manheimer 2005).

The functionalist paradigm has focussed on the decrements of ageing and linked social behaviour. For instance, disengagement theory was founded on the principle of withdrawal of elders from society, for them to limit their social interactions and commitments and to adjust to a powerful myth that they were not capable of continuing to contribute positively. Further, by their continuing participation in societal activities, they were perhaps denying youth of their rightful place (such as in employment). In a well-known typology of needs assessment applied to older adults' learning, Howard McClusky (1974) identified several types of needs to be satisfied via education—namely, coping, expressive, contributory, influence and transcendent, in order of importance in terms of daily living. Accordingly, education for older adults was most often associated with meeting the coping and expressive needs of older people. Hence, education was deemed necessary for soon to retire people (primarily men) to prepare them for adjusting to retirement or it was assumed that older people would be most concerned with investigating leisure/recreational aspects through education. The three other needs have taken on more significance in contemporary life as older people acknowledge the desire to 'repay' society (sometimes through volunteering), to join in social movements to effect social change or to acquire a higher level of spirituality late in their lives. Indeed, arguably, all these needs require attention in later life. However, the overall effect of a functionalist approach to later life is to marginalise older people from being active decision-makers in their own lives and to minimise the ways in which social structure may limit their autonomy. While this notion of retirement persists, fortunately it is less potent than before, especially as baby boomers exert their collective influence and self-determination.

As previously noted, the concept of critical gerontology:

has been employed by critical theorists of varying persuasions (such as feminists and neo-Marxists) to capture the importance of the socially-located positioning of older adults with an emphasis on the impact of the state and the economy on their life chances in advanced capitalism. (Findsen 2005b: 440)

The essence of this approach is to take little for granted when examining older adults' learning (critique) and to present an alternative of possibilities for seniors, emphasising their praxis and self-determination (Freire 1984). In the broader domain of critical approaches to understanding older adulthood, there is now an emerging literature including Jamieson et al.'s *Critical Approaches to*

Ageing and Later Life (1997), Bernard and Scharf's *Critical Perspectives on Ageing Societies* (2007) which typically interrogate how older people are depicted normatively and instead emphasise their future agency.

Early works such as David Battersby's (1987) foray into the realm of critique in which he invoked seven principles of using a critical approach, introduced a more nuanced and ambivalent interpretation of educational gerontology. His criticism included the observation of the tendency to treat older adults as a homogeneous group, the dearth of perspectives concerning learning in later adulthood other than the psychological, the absence of philosophical debate about the very purposes of educational gerontology and the stratification of knowledge according to social class, ethnicity and gender. These are themes which subsequent authors have developed. Frank Glendenning's *Teaching and Learning in Later Life* (2000) and Peter Jarvis's *Learning in Later Life* (2001) were fairly immediate enhancers of a more critical approach. Most authors chose to interpret work from social gerontology and sociology that challenged fundamental orthodox understandings of later life (for example, what 'retirement' means in a post-modern context) and posited new interpretations. Such perspectives often drew upon humanist, feminist and Marxist analyses in which human agency and social structure were presented as contradictory or complementary versions of later life possibilities. The efforts of people such as Carol Estes et al. (2003) provided a literary source for more analytical social theory from which alternative experiences of older adulthood could be developed.

One of the key arenas in which to continue to analyse learning/education from a critical perspective is that of providers (who gets to provide education) and provision (what constitutes curriculum in practice). This is a domain of considerable contestation.

PROVIDERS AND PROVISION

Older adult education as a sub-field of adult education shares many of the same features with respect to the construction of knowledge (curricula; programmes) and accessibility. The underlying issue is one of participation—who gets to participate, under what conditions and for what purposes. Adult education has an extensive research base in participation that tells us that the truism 'those who have tend to get more' has continuing credence also in older adulthood. The familiar pattern in adult participation in education—whether formal or non-formal—is that those people with advanced earlier qualifications, from middle-class backgrounds, from solid financial circumstances, from dominant ethnic groups and of younger age tend to benefit most from education provided by institutions (Merriam et al. 2007). When we remove the age variable, then the truism still applies in later life. It is not an accident that the University of the Third Age movement, for instance, consists of usually White middle-class people (more women than men) who can develop their own programmes, using their own resources on a peer-learning model. After all, they have accumulated considerable *cultural capital* throughout their earlier lives to feel psychologically at

ease in these environments (Bourdieu 1974). Further, through their *social capital* they are able to capitalise on kindred networks to accentuate their advantage (Field 2003). While the U3A is a fine example of the self-help organisation for later life learning, its limitations have been exposed by several critiques such as those of Rick Swindell (1999) and Marvin Formosa (2000).

Education agencies (providers) vary across many factors—their primary purpose(s); scope of operations; funding sources; whether global/national or very localised—so it is helpful to analyse them from the perspective of how they treat older adults. When analysing the extent to which educational agencies prioritise seniors in their provision and commit to resources, the following typology is useful:

- Those self-help agencies controlled by older adults to meet their own learning needs (for example, Institutes for Learning in Retirement);
- Those agencies that develop programmes explicitly for older adults (for example, Seniornet);
- Those mainstream providers who develop programmes that may appeal to older people (for example, retirement programmes conducted by centres for continuing education in universities);
- Those who ignore or neglect older adults (modified from Findsen 2005a: 84).

The vast majority of these programmes match the coping and expressive needs of older people (McClusky 1974). Programmes of a more radical character (for instance, training seniors in environmental action) tend to operate outside the mainstream system, given that they often challenge the status quo and are necessarily self-funding (Cervero and Wilson 2001).

It is necessary to differentiate *learning* from *education* in this discussion. While learning may best be described as primarily individualistic, lifelong and life-wide (an activity in which we all engage often in an incidental and/or informal manner), education consists of systematic, organised learning usually provided by an agency which may be credentialed. When participation in older adulthood education is examined there is a tendency to observe a decline in participation as age cohorts get older (Lamdin and Fugate 1997). Hence, the third age signifies opportunities for active participation for many seniors in the mainstream; the fourth age is epitomised by almost total neglect. However, if we look at learning in later life in a broad sense, a different picture can emerge, akin to Tough's notion of learning projects (1971), wherein some older people develop their own learning pathways outside the education system (Hiemstra 1976). Beyond the public gaze, much learning continues of a self-directed type and is largely unaccounted for in any official statistics. We need to also consider learning that occurs in non-educational arenas in social institutions in which older people have a more prominent voice (e.g. voluntary agencies; sports clubs; men's sheds). Education occurs not only in education facilities but also in other

aspects of life in which older people engage. Hence, it is problematic to distinguish between ‘learners’ and ‘non-learners’ or ‘participants’ and ‘non-participants’ as demonstrated by Withnall’s (2010) research in the UK. She argued for a more nuanced understanding of learning itself and who might be so engaged. Accordingly, we may underestimate the learning undertaken by older people even while participation in education may have reduced.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Learning in later life is a fast-moving field. In the discussion on developments that follows, much of the deliberation focusses on the UK context, illustrative of more general trends in some instances.

In the first decade of the new millennium further reports, especially those from the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) in the UK, and books emerged in which authors endeavoured to provide more holistic explanations of learning in later life. Among NIACE publications, several focussed on learning in later life, including *Learning to Grow Older and Bolder* (Carlton and Soulsby 1999), *The Impact of Learning on Health* (Aldridge and Lavender 2001), *Demography and Older Adults* (Tuckett and McAulay 2005), *What Older People Learn* (Aldridge and Tuckett 2007) and McNair’s *Older People’s Learning: An Action Plan* (2009). Hence, in the first decade of the new millennium, these reports signalled the growing interest in dealing with learning issues facing larger numbers of older people in most societies. The titles themselves reveal some points of central concern (some of which are discussed later in this chapter). More academic titles also emerged in this period to include *Teaching and Learning in Later Life* (Glendenning 2000), Jarvis’s *Learning in Later Life* (2001) and Finsen’s *Learning Later* (2005a), a blending of adult learning and social gerontology. Later Finsen and Formosa (2011) considered the major achievements, trends and issues in what is now a more plentiful literature in *Lifelong Learning in Later Life*. In other research, Withnall (2010) in *Improving Learning in Later Life*, based her critique on a national research project of the Economic and Social Research Council’s Teaching and Learning Programme to depict the complexities of learning in later life.

In Europe, a stronger commitment to fostering intergenerational learning was manifested in the edited volume entitled *Learning Across Generations in Europe* (Schmidt-Hertha et al. 2014). This publication also exemplified a new interest in cross-national and/or international analyses of learning in later life. Almost in parallel, Boulton-Lewis and Tam in *Active Ageing, Active Learning* (2012) concentrated their attention on how nations in the Asia/Pacific region are dealing with a major restructuring of age structures and the educational implications. Another publication, in which 42 countries/regions are analysed in terms of mapping older adult learning, has just emerged in *International Perspectives on Older Adult Education*, edited by Finsen and Formosa (2016).

The above academic and policy documents signal considerable global and national interest in older people and their associated learning. The next section discusses emergent issues and trends, some of which have been encapsulated in prior mentioned documents.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

While the selection of issues in this section is arbitrary, these concerns have surfaced across many contexts wherein older people's learning/education is of paramount interest to multiple stakeholders.

ICT Developments

One of the most pronounced innovations over the last two decades has been the ICT revolution. Even futurists would have had difficulty predicting such rapid change and the resultant impact on our lives, especially for current older adults. While younger cohorts such as the baby boomers have had direct experience of ICT as part of everyday life, as in workplaces, for older generations relevant knowledge and skills have had to be acquired from a low base. Many older adults do not own a computer, particularly in developing countries, despite increasing numbers of 'silver surfers' emerging from current baby boomers. There is still a positive correlation between the IT divide and the learning divide amid seniors (McGivney 2004). As a compensatory form of education, mechanisms such as Seniornet, have provided older people with both the confidence and skills needed to undertake commonplace activities such as searching online, banking, health checks on databases and e-mail communication. In particular, the need for grandparents to be in touch with grandchildren (intergenerational communication) has accelerated this trend (Schmidt-Hertha et al. 2014). A major future challenge will be to ensure that ICT capabilities are equitably shared across generations and cultures.

Health and Education

As some of the earlier NIACE publications implied, the connections between older people's health and their education are becoming increasingly important at both governmental (particularly in policy), institutional and individual levels. Clearly, there is a dialectical relationship operating between learning/education and health/well-being: people in good health are more likely to participate in more active forms of learning/education; learning/education can provide a sound basis for improved mental and physical health. Many recent reports have emphasised the importance of well-being in later life, as in NIACE's *Choice and Opportunity: Learning, Well-Being and Quality of Life for Older People* (McNair 2010). In Aldridge and Lavender's (2000) *The Impact of Learning on Health*, many benefits of learning are identified and discussed from a holistic approach. In studies undertaken by the National Seniors Australia Productive Ageing

Centre (2010) several benefits of learning are discussed including cognitive performance and improvements to well-being. Hence, Education is seen to have a major role in sustaining well-being whether through formal or informal learning. This observation is reinforced in the UK Government's action plan within its Public Sector Agreements (PSA targets). Specific targets include: *tackle poverty and promote greater independence and well-being in later life; promote better health and wellbeing for all* (McNair 2009).

One of the emergent strong developments connected to health, gender and well-being has been closely associated with the advent of men's sheds. Trends for participation for men and women have been well researched in which women in later life dominate liberal education ('soft' subjects) and men vocational learning ('hard' subjects) (see McGivney's work in *Excluded Men* 1999). Based on the (perhaps erroneous) assumption that boys and men are doing less well in schools and life, some attention has shifted to their concerns and contexts. Men's sheds are typically reflective of local circumstances but tend to allow for men (many unemployed; some with low education credentials; many retired) to associate collectively in a friendly manner in an informal learning environment in both rural and urban contexts. Inspired by the keen enthusiasm of Barry Golding in Australia, the shed movement has expanded into many corners of the world and has helped to focus attention of how gender, well-being and learning interact to produce favourable outcomes (Golding 2015).

Governments around the globe are expressing interest in this link between education and good health. It is currently a tenuous relationship but the research evidence is mounting. Undoubtedly, a primary motive of governments is to reduce the public spending on health, to be seen to minimise expenditure for a cohort in society that typically demands proportionately large slices of the economic pie (see NIACE's *Learning in Later Life: A Public Spending Challenge* [2006] for greater elaboration on this issue).

Learning in the Fourth Age

In relation to the lifelong learning theme of social exclusion, the stark reality is that in many countries those people in the fourth age—one of increased frailty and dependency—receive minimal attention in educational terms. Aside from family in Western societies, many seniors in the fourth age live in retirement centres (at least, the more active ones) and in residential homes. While there are programmes across the globe providing learning opportunities for the 'old-old', these are sporadic and often tokenistic. A positive strategy at a micro level has been to devise mentoring schemes where one-to-one interchange is possible and activities are created to suit the individual learner's needs. On a more extensive scale, intergenerational programmes involving young children and old people in residential homes are believed to enhance the quality of life for the residents (Schmidt-Hertha et al. 2014). In these settings, informal learning is deemed most appropriate though formal education can still occur, perhaps in small groups. As is the case for early childhood education, education in the fourth age

requires a balancing of learning and care related to the specific contexts of older learners. As an instance of learning for long-term care patients, Formosa (2015) documents practices in Malta under the jurisdiction of the government, private–public partnerships or the Church. Such learning often has a significant effect to counteract loneliness and social isolation quite prevalent in later life.

Workplace Learning

It has become much more serious for contemporary governments to develop more coherent policy around the continuing employment of older adults in the workforce. As the age for a public pension is climbing in many countries (even in Asian countries such as Japan and Malaysia where traditionally ‘young-old’ have been forced to retire from the public service at 55), more older workers seek to continue employment to maintain a steady income, to add meaning to their lives, to sustain professional relationships (Lundberg and Marshallsay 2007). Older workers (arbitrarily defined as 65+) constitute an important component of sustaining industries and organisations in this rapidly changing world. Not all employers have been proactive in responding to this new phenomenon as they adhere to ageist attitudes (Centre for Research into the Older Workforce 2005). Perhaps they still provide preferential treatment to young staff for training and professional development opportunities.

The lifecourse track of individuals going from education to work to leisure, previously commonplace in Western societies, has been severely interrupted by globalisation. This traditional pattern has been largely replaced by more complex life transitions (Ecclestone et al. 2010) in which individuals may engage in education/work/leisure simultaneously (Riley and Riley 1994). Older adults, who in previous generations may have conceptualised a retirement path involving mainly recreation, have had to readjust to a new financial reality where continuing work is increasingly likely and accompanying education a necessity.

Intergenerational Learning/Education

The recent decade has witnessed a burgeoning of interest in intergenerational learning/education programmes. The locations of such programmes have been diverse—the workplace; schools; retirement centres; churches; families. In short, wherever older people establish social relationships with others outside their own generation. In some instances, the learning objectives may be explicit (e.g. to share knowledge, skills and experience across generations) or they may be assumed as part of wider dynamics (fostering long-term social relationships between young children and lonely older adults). At the heart of these interactions is the idea of co-learning in a lifelong learning framework between older and younger generations (Findsen and Formosa 2011).

The benefits of intergenerational programmes have been investigated but are still tentative. According to Newman and Hatton-Yeo (2008), it is the establishment of social capital that is crucial in these arrangements. They identify

three significant effects: benefits, reciprocity and empowerment. This last category of effect is consistent with the Freirean philosophy of conscientization and praxis in which older people may assume greater autonomy in decision-making. Yet, the development of future programmes would be enhanced by more favourable social policy or at least acknowledgement that cross-generational exchange is an important dimension of later life learning. The excitement around the potential of intergenerational learning/education is encapsulated in the recent publication, *Learning Across Generations in Europe* (Schmidt-Hertha et al. 2014).

There is a distinct trend in emergent adult learning/education literature to describe and analyse learning in later life from a holistic and interdisciplinary stance, particularly where educational participation of older people is heavily contextualised and better understood in conjunction with elders' other domains of living. New fields of enquiry are emerging, as in developments to understand the dynamics of fourth age learning and intergenerational learning (Formosa 2012), where a critical stance will be required continually to interrogate practice.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This portrayal of learning in later life has been necessarily selective. Technically known as educational gerontology, this field has been influenced heavily by adult education and social gerontology (a focus which entails the social issues which older people face in their lives). Adult education appears to be a dying concept (Findsen and Formosa 2011), largely replaced by the notion of lifelong learning. Hence, in this appraisal of later life learning, the framework of lifelong learning has held a central place. The kinds of issues faced by seniors are inextricably linked to the themes of economic sufficiency, self-fulfilment, active citizenship and social inclusion. While for nations and individuals alike the economic imperative is prevalent, other aspects of what it means to be human in older age need to be equally acknowledged and critiqued.

Older adults have differential access to formal education related to their own personal and social histories but also connected to the broader contextual factors in their societies. Engagement in non-formal education and informal learning is certainly more plentiful among seniors but we are far from a satisfactory resolution to the perennial issue of limited opportunity due to social inequalities and unsupportive governmental policies. The increasing commodification and commercialisation of education by private providers is an escalating trend across diverse geographical locations (Findsen and Formosa 2011). While peer learning among seniors is developing considerable impetus (as witnessed in the U3A movement worldwide), this does not mean that nations should wash their hands of responsibility to provide educational opportunity to the most marginalised in society, especially older people in the fourth age.

In the most recent decade of the millennium, there has been no shortage of reports advocating for active engagement of seniors (via active ageing; productive ageing) to discard old notions of a functionalist paradigm which argued

for the withdrawal of older people from contributing to nation's welfare. In many countries, it has been the case that lifelong learning policy has embraced older people as fundamental to the creation of a decent society. (This rhetoric does not necessarily translate into financial support for practice). In addition, there is a mounting academic literature supporting a more critical analysis of what older age means and the implications for governments, providers and individuals for learning in later life.

Finally, this article traversed some of the issues that have developed prominence across the globe. The advent of ICT developments has the potential to alienate or cohere around the interests of older people; this is essentially a challenge for emergent older generations and there is plenty of room for optimism here. Issues related to seniors' health and well-being, connected to educational opportunity, are not so readily cast in a positive fashion and will require considerable advocacy to improve provision and outcomes for older people, especially those in the fourth age who are in danger of being ostracised. The area of workplace learning has assumed greater importance as greater numbers of older people either choose to continue to work or are forced to do so because of pecuniary disadvantage. The possibilities inherent in intergenerational learning/education are huge but need to be tempered by a clearer idea of what is to be achieved and by better practical support at the ground level for implementation and on-going evaluation of efficacy. The tackling of these multiple, often interlinked, issues will require a collaborative effort across generations and nations to achieve a realistic, positive outcome.

REFERENCES

- Aldridge, F., & Lavender, P. (2000). *The impact of learning on health*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Aldridge, F., & Tuckett, A. (2007). *What older people learn: The whys and wherefores of older people learning*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Barnett, R. (1999). Learning to work and working to learn. In D. Boud & J. Garrick (Eds.), *Understanding learning at work*. London: Routledge.
- Battersby, D. (1987). From andragogy to geragogy. *Journal of Educational Gerontology*, 2(1), 4–10.
- Beatty, P. T., & Visser, R. M. S. (Eds.). (2005). *Thriving on an aging workforce: Strategies for organizational and systematic change*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: Towards a new modernity*. London: Sage.
- Bernard, M., & Scharf, T. (Eds.). (2007). *Critical perspectives on ageing societies*. Bristol: The Policy Press.
- Boulton-Lewis, G., & Tam, M. (Eds.). (2012). *Active ageing, active learning: Issues and challenges*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Bourdieu, P. (1974). The school as a conservative force. In J. Eggleston (Ed.), *Contemporary research in the sociology of education*. London: Methuen.
- Carlton, S., & Soulsby, J. (1999). *Learning to grow older and bolder*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Centre for Research into the Older Workforce. (2005). *Do employers need older workers?* (Briefing Paper No. 5). Surrey: South East England Development Agency.

- Cervero, R. M., Wilson, A.L., & Associates. (2001). *Power in practice: Adult education and the struggle for knowledge and power in society*. San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Collins, M. (1998). *Critical crosscurrents in education*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing.
- Ecclestone, K., Biesta, G., & Hughes, M. (Eds.). (2010). *Transitions and learning through the lifecourse*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Estes, C. L., Biggs, S., & Phillipson, C. (2003). *Social theory, social policy and ageing: A critical introduction*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Field, J. (2003). *Social capital*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Findsen, B. (2005a). *Learning later*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing.
- Findsen, B. (2005b). Older adults' learning. In L. M. English (Ed.), *International encyclopedia of adult education*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Findsen, B., & Formosa, M. (Eds.). (2016). *International perspectives on older adult education: Research, policy and practice*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Findsen, B., & Formosa, M. (2011). *Lifelong learning in later life: A handbook on older adult learning*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Formosa, M. (2000). Older adult education in a Maltese University of the third age: A critical perspective. *Education and Society*, 15(3), 315–339.
- Formosa, M. (2012). Late-life learning in Europe: Issues for public and social policy. In C. N. Phellas (Ed.), *Ageing in European societies*. New York: Springer.
- Formosa, M. (2015). *Ageing and later life in Malta: Issues, policies and future trend*. Valletta: International Institute on Ageing (United Nations—Malta).
- Formosa, M., & Higgs, P. (Eds.). (2013). *Social class in later life: Power, identity and lifestyle*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Freire, P. (1984). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Glass, C. (1996). Factors affecting learning in older adults. *Educational Gerontology*, 22, 359–372.
- Glendenning, F. (Ed.). (2000). *Teaching and learning in later life: Theoretical implications*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Golding, B. (Ed.). (2015). *The men's shed movement: The company of men*. Champaign, IL: Common Ground Publishing.
- Hiemstra, R. (1976). The older adults' learning projects. *Educational Gerontology*, 1(4), 331–341.
- Jamieson, A., Harper, S., & Victor, C. (Eds.). (1997). *Critical approaches to ageing and later life*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Jarvis, P. (2001). *Learning in later life: An introduction for educators and carers*. London: Kogan Page.
- Lamdin, L., & Fugate, M. (1997). *Elderlearning: New frontier in an aging society*. Phoenix, AZ: The Oryx Press/American Council on Education.
- Laslett, P. (1991). *A fresh map of life: The emergence of the third age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lundberg, D., & Marshallsay, Z. (2007). *Older workers' perspectives on training and retention of older workers*. Adelaide: National Centre for Vocational Education Research.
- Manheimer, R. J. (2005). The older learner's journey to an ageless society: Lifelong learning on the brink of a crisis. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 3(3), 198–221.
- McClusky, H. Y. (1974). Education for ageing: The scope of the field and perspectives for the future. In S. M. Borowski & W. D. Mason (Eds.), *Learning for ageing*. Washington, DC: Adult Education Association of the USA.
- McGivney, V. (1999). *Excluded men: Men who are missing from education and training*. Leicester: NIACE.

- McGivney, V. (2004). *Men earn, women learn: Bridging the gender divide in education and training*. Leicester: NIACE.
- McNair, S. (2009). *Older people's learning: An action plan*. Leicester: NIACE.
- McNair, S. (2010). *Choice and opportunity: Learning, well-being and quality of life for older people*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Merriam, S. B., Caffarella, R. S., & Baumgartner, L. M. (2007). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey Bass.
- Moody, H. (2002). The changing meaning of aging. In R. S. Weiss & S. A. Bass (Eds.), *Challenges of the third age*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- National Institute of Adult Continuing Education. (2006). *Learning in later life: A public spending challenge*. Leicester: NIACE.
- National Seniors Australia. (2010). *Making good connections: How community participation enriches learning, wellbeing and a sense of identity in older men*. Canberra: National Seniors Australia Productive Ageing Centre.
- Neugarten, B. (1976). Time, age and the life cycle. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 136, 887–893.
- Newman, S., & Hatton-Yeo, A. (2008). Intergenerational learning and the contributions of older people. *Ageing Horizons*, 8(1), 31–39.
- Peterson, D. A. (1980). Who are the educational gerontologists? *Educational Gerontology*, 5(1), 65–77.
- Phillipson, C. (1998). *Reconstructing old age: New agendas in social theory and practice*. London: Sage.
- Phillipson, C. (2013). *Ageing*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Riley, M., & Riley, M. (1994). Structural lag: Past and future. In M. Riley, R. Kahn, & A. Foner (Eds.), *Age and structural lag*. New York: Wiley.
- Schmidt-Hertha, B., Kravosec, S. B., & Formosa, M. (Eds.). (2014). *Learning across generations in Europe: Contemporary issues in older adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Sutherland, P., & Crowther, J. (Eds.). (2006). *Lifelong learning: Concepts and contexts*. London: Routledge.
- Swindell, R. (1999). New directions, opportunities and challenges for New Zealand U3As. *New Zealand Journal of Adult Learning*, 28(1), 23–31.
- Tough, A. (1971). *The adults' learning projects: A fresh approach to theory and practice in adult learning*. Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Tuckett, A., & McAulay, A. (2005). *Demography and older learners: Approaches to a new policy challenge*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Withnall, A. (2010). *Improving learning in later life*. London: Routledge.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Brian Findsen is currently a Professor of (Adult) Education in the Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, New Zealand. He teaches adult education/lifelong learning at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. His main research interests are learning in later life, international adult education and social equity issues. His latest major work (co-edited with Marvin Formosa) is *International Perspectives on Older Adult Education: Research, Policies and Practice* (Springer, 2016).

Lifelong Learning for Older Adults: Culture and Confucianism

Maureen Tam

Abstract The chapter examines culture and learning with regard to contemporary views and theories that contribute to a major debate on Eastern and Western scholarship. Focusing on lifelong learning for senior adults, this chapter draws on findings from a cross-cultural study to compare and contrast the elderly in Hong Kong and Australia, with regard to ageing and learning. The Confucian perspective of learning is then examined to compare and contrast the Eastern and Western ideas of lifelong learning. The chapter concludes by drawing attention to the factor of age in learning, which in turn establishes the relevance of the Confucian view of lifelong learning to older learners.

INTRODUCTION

The concept of lifelong learning is value-laden and culturally determined. ‘Lifelong learning is by definition a holistic, visionary, narrative and value-laden concept’ (Tuijumann and Bostrom 2002: 12). People with different value systems and cultural backgrounds may perceive and understand the concept differently, resulting in different definitions and conceptualisations by people in different cultural contexts (Tam 2014a). According to sociocultural theorists, learning is inherently social in nature and is shaped by cultural context and cultural tools (Lave 1996; Taylor et al. 2006). This chapter focuses on older adults’ learning in later life and discusses the cultural meaning of lifelong learning for older people; in particular, the way they understand and conceptualise learning in their cultural and social contexts.

M. Tam (✉)

The Education University of Hong Kong, Room 05, 2/F.,
Block D3, Tai Po, The New Territories, Hong Kong
e-mail: msltam@ied.edu.hk

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_44

857

In the literature, there is never a shortage of research studying the relationship between the meaning of lifelong learning and culture. Yet much of it is confined to the comparisons between Eastern and Western cultures, yielding a myriad of observations and findings focusing more often on the East–West differences, rather than similarities. This chapter discusses theories, each of which focuses on a different aspect of the concept of culture; and examines the explanations they offer to the understanding of the East–West differences as they take little cognisance of the similarities that might exist in learning. The results of a cross-cultural study conducted in Hong Kong and Australia were drawn on to illustrate both the similarities and differences of the conceptualisations of ageing and learning by senior adults in the two cultures, including their involvement in continued learning and important learning issues like interests and instructional preferences. The research has also examined the reasons and barriers to participation in the two different cultural contexts. It is one of the aims of the cross-cultural study to yield knowledge and insights into the similarities and differences in reasons, choices, and processes used by elders in two different cultural contexts as they conceptualise, experience, and negotiate ongoing learning.

In very broad terms, Eastern and Western scholarship and learning are perceived to be polar opposites and very often are described in terms of the Confucian—Western dichotomy (Ryan and Louie 2007). Because of its deep-rooted influence on the cultural meaning of learning among people with an Eastern cultural background, the Confucian perspective on learning in particular, lifelong learning is discussed in this chapter. In the context of lifelong learning, Confucianism conceptualises learning as a lifelong process through which learners of any age learn to become a virtuous person and to lead a morally excellent life. The reason for engaging in learning, according to Confucius, is to enrich one's life and character (Sun 2008). Direct quotes and extrapolations from the original teachings of Confucius in the *Analects* (a collection of Confucius' sayings and teachings recorded and authored by his disciples, students, and followers) are used to substantiate the claim that the Confucian philosophy of lifelong learning is a radical departure from that of the contemporary West, characterised by instrumental and competitive-oriented notions of lifelong learning for survival or competitive purposes in a knowledge-based society. Further, there is discussion about the relevance of the Confucian view of learning in the context of lifelong learning for and by older adults, where the age factor might influence learning behaviour and motivation. It is undisputed that older adulthood constitutes a unique phase in the lifecycle which encompasses social and psychological transitions in addition to physical changes. Because of the differences, older learners depart from their younger peers in many ways; in terms of learning needs, interests, motivations, approach, and strategies, as well as the meaning of learning that is important to them (Tam 2014b).

With a focus on culture and learning, the scope of this chapter covers discussions that aim at comparing Western–Eastern views on culture and learning,

and by extension, lifelong learning, to claim for similarities as well as differences; pinpointing at similarities between Confucian and the more emancipatory Western views of lifelong learning; and addressing the pertinence of the Confucian view to learning in old age. With an understanding of how and why older adults learn, we should be able to draw insights for future development and provisions of later life learning, with the aim for elders to live a more fulfilled life through continued learning.

IMPORTANCE OF LIFELONG LEARNING IN OLD AGE

Lifelong learning in this chapter is referred to as the participation in learning, be it formal, informal, or non-formal, that takes place in the later years of one's lifespan. As Robertson and Merriam (2005) put it, learning is a lifelong process that is also possible in old age. Interest in the concept of lifelong learning developed from the 1960s when changes in the economic, social, and technological domains advanced. Lifelong learning was believed to enable everyone to keep abreast of the changes in a society that emphasised equality of opportunity, and education for all, regardless of age (Tight 1996). Jarvis (1997) aptly points out that the traditional division of life into schooling in youth, working in adulthood, and retirement in old age is archaic and is no longer useful in preparing people for the challenges of the future. No longer is it possible for one to expect to learn enough during youth; only by continued learning can a person be equipped with the knowledge needed to serve a lifetime. Similarly, Cross (1981) argues that learning can no longer be relegated to youth, work to adulthood, and leisure to old age. Learning should not be conceived as a one-time segment of life, but rather a repeated, continuous lifelong process that spans the whole life.

The benefits of learning in later life are being increasingly recognised. Many studies have shown that learning plays a vital role in maintaining cognitive functioning and capability even in old age (for example, Glendenning 1997; Ardelt 2000; Dench and Rogan 2000; Withnall 2000; Boulton-Lewis et al. 2006). There is much research evidence to support the view that older adults who are stimulated mentally experience a smaller decline in memory and intellectual ability (for example in Cohen 2001; Cavannaugh and Blanchard-Fields 2006; 2006; Sherman 2006). Learning can also be a rewarding activity in itself, improving the individual's social relations as he/she interacts with, and learns from, others, be they young or old (Ala-Mutka et al. 2008). Tam (2012) has summarised some of the benefits of later life learning, in particular, those relating to mental health, intellectual stimulation, and social networking. Simply put, older persons benefit from maintaining social connections in many ways through participation in learning. Moreover, there are other benefits that relate to personal development; empowerment, self-esteem, confidence, and a more positive outlook towards life all contribute to the enhancement of the overall quality of life in old age (Schuller et al. 2004). In summary, continued learning in later life not only benefits health, but also positively impacts quality of life,

financial security, social participation, as well as reducing dependency and care costs (Cusack 1995; NIACE 2002; Cusack and Thompson 2003; Hammond 2004; Hansen 2004). Because of these benefits, learning is recommended in order to aid adjustment to ageing, to provide mental stimulation, and to supply the knowledge and skills necessary for new roles in life, for example as grandparents, volunteers, or caretakers (Davey and Jamieson 2003).

EASTERN–WESTERN VIEWS ON LIFELONG LEARNING

From a sociocultural perspective, the concept of lifelong learning is essentially constructivist (Tusting and Barton 2006); the way they interpret learning is affected by how learning connects to their lives, and relates to their self-understanding, experiences as well as their cultural and social contexts. Such a view is echoed by sociocultural theorists; learning is inherently social in nature and is shaped by cultural context and cultural tools (Lave 1996; Taylor et al. 2006). In other words, learning must not be conceived as the acquisition of abstract representation, but rather a socially enacted process (Lave 1996). In the context of lifelong learning for older adults, we are keen to identify the cultural meaning of learning among older people; in particular, the way they understand and conceptualise learning as relevant to their cultural and social contexts.

In the literature, there is never a shortage of research that studies the relationship between the meaning of lifelong learning and culture. Yet, much of the research is confined to comparisons between Eastern and Western cultures, yielding a myriad of observations and findings of East–West differences. Jarvis (2013) views culture not as a universal form, but as different patterns of meanings and systems of symbols that people in different parts of the world use to communicate and develop understandings about life. Such differences in patterns of meanings and systems of symbols basically underpin the East–West debate on culture and learning. Different theories focusing on a different aspect of the concept of culture have tried to provide plausible explanations of the East–West differences in learning. For example, Schwartz (1999) gives explanations relating to the different value emphases between hierarchy and egalitarianism; between conservatism and autonomy; and between mastery and harmony. According to Schwartz (1999), Eastern societies are found to value hierarchy, conservatism, and harmony, whereas most Western societies regard intellectual and affective autonomy and egalitarianism as most important. With a focus on the structure of relationships, Hofstede (1980) offers explanations in terms of the contrasts between individualism for the Western culture and collectivism, which is to him characteristic of the Eastern culture. Nisbet et al. (2001) have tried to explain East–West differences in terms of cultural cognition; they describe the East as holistic and the West as analytic. Holistic cognition gives attention to the whole picture, seeing the relationship between objects and the context, involving multiple perspectives. Analytic cognition applies abstract rules by detaching objects from their context. Focusing on the self, Markus and Kitayama (1991) compare self-construal between Eastern and

Western cultures. Western cultures are characterised by an independent self-construal which focuses on the inherent separateness of the individual whose inner feelings, thoughts, and actions are unique and independent of others. The Eastern interdependent self-construal values social relationships which influence and determine the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the individual in relation to others.

All these plausible explanations of the East–West differences have highlighted certain aspects where the Eastern and Western learning cultures might differ. However, the fundamental questions still remain—Is the East–West polarisation an adequate explanation of all cultural differences in learning? Apart from differences, are there similarities that are equally valid in cross-cultural comparative research on learning?

This chapter argues that the East–West dichotomous view of culture and learning is debatable as there could be similarities apart from differences. For instance, James Legge, the nineteenth century translator of the Analects, was impressed by the similarities between Chinese and Western philosophies. Also, the East–West dichotomy is considered overly simplistic in that the two cultures appear to be conveniently categorised into two general directions as if they are static. For example, Hofstede’s explanation of East–West differences in terms of individualistic versus collectivistic relationships has led to the notion of national culture difference (Signorini et al. 2009), resulting in constructs of national students such as ‘the Chinese learner’. Critics, including Gu and Maley (2008) and Kennedy (2002), argued against the use of such national construct as ‘the Chinese learner’ because it assumes homogeneity in the group and ignores intra-cultural differences caused by gender, age, socioeconomic background, location, etc. Furthermore, in most East–West comparisons, it is cultural *differences* that are emphasised; commonalities are almost always ignored or glossed over. However, there are often cases where the two cultures overlap and coincide. The commonalities found in the two cultures explain how becoming bicultural is possible (Alred, et al. 2003). Individual differences exist within cultures when people differ according to the extent of their adherence to the values, structures, and morals of that culture (Geertz 1973). An important aspect of culture is that it is not static, but is flexible and subject to change (Lewis 2011). As Jarvis (2009) has aptly pointed out, we are not just two cultures that have gone different ways, and we are more than just parts of different cultural groups. Recognising that there are profound cultural differences does not preclude the possible existence of similarities between us.

Cultures cannot be treated as static and immutable concepts; we need to emphasise the existence of both differences *and* commonalities within and across cultures for a deeper understanding of the value systems and predominant cultural values in a particular context. Such a broader view of culture as opposed to the overly simplistic East–West comparison warrants the need for cross-cultural research that can identify the major differences and similarities across and within cultures, as well as capture the nuances and intricacies that

exist in each individual's understanding and conceptualisation of cultural constructs such as lifelong learning. In other words, cross-cultural research is needed to establish the relationship between cultural values and understandings of lifelong learning. Such research would enable us to delve into both cultural values and understandings of the construct to explain why and how individuals in the same or different cultures perceive and conceptualise the meanings of lifelong learning with reference to their own value systems and orientations.

CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH ON LIFELONG LEARNING

A cross-cultural study conducted by Tam et al. (GRF 2012–2014) draws explicit comparisons between elders in Australia and Hong Kong, as far as ageing and learning are concerned. Results found more commonalities than differences between the two cultures, for instance, both groups rated quality of life to be more important to successful ageing than living longer. Another such commonality was that elders were primarily motivated to learn for expressive (that is, gaining new knowledge and expanding their personal horizons), rather than instrumental purposes (such as gaining skills for employment or re-employment).

Surveying a sample of 519 elders in Hong Kong and 421 in Queensland, Australia, the comparative study found that background characteristics differed considerably between the two groups. Of the Hong Kong sample, 77.8% were educated to primary and secondary school level; 93.2% of the Australians had completed their education at either secondary school, a technical institute or at university. 75.3% of the Hong Kong elders were currently living with their family, as opposed to 53.3% for the Australian sample. Though the majority of both population samples were retired, the Australian sample reported a higher percentage of participation in full/part-time employment (18.8% for Australia, 5.3% for Hong Kong). Hong Kong elders reported having a better financial status, with 86.4% of them assessing themselves to be 'fairly well off' and 'very well off', as compared to just 61% of the Australian sample who said likewise about their financial position. Also, more Hong Kong elders perceived that they were valued by the community (92.5%) compared to Australian elders (75.1%). Finally, a slightly higher percentage of Hong Kong elders (54.5%) reported that they had engaged in organised learning over the past six months than Australian elders (47.3%).

The two groups were also found to differ in their learning preferences. Of the three most preferred ways of learning, two learning methods were common to both samples—'learning in a group' and 'reading newspapers, magazines, books or journals'. The other preferred way of learning for Hong Kong elders was 'in a formal teacher-classroom situation'; while the Australian counterparts liked 'to do something hands on'. Interestingly, the Australian group selected the formal teacher-classroom as one of their *least* preferred ways of learning. Both groups selected 'find self-study courses', and 'online learning' as their two least

preferred ways of learning. Additionally, the Hong Kong group indicated 'gather information then teach myself' as one their least preferred choices. With respect to instructional preferences, it seems that the Hong Kong group preferred more traditional ways of learning by sitting in a classroom and learning in a group; while the Australian group preferred to do things hands-on and least preferred to learn in a formal teacher-classroom situation. Both groups were similar in their dislike of the idea of solo learning, given that online learning and self-study courses were least preferred.

With respect to commonalities, both groups rated learning as being very important during retirement or in later life, which was also found to be significantly related to their self-ratings of successful ageing, happiness, life satisfaction, and general health status. This finding is consistent with those from previous studies where participation in learning is linked to a greater chance of ageing successfully (Rowe and Kahn 1999; Ardel 2000; Glendenning 2001; Jarvis 2001; Boulton-Lewis et al. 2006; Withnall 2006).

Regarding the meaning of lifelong learning, again, elders in both places shared similar, rather than different, views. Both samples valued 'the acquisition of new knowledge' and the 'broadening of horizons' most highly. They differed in that Australian elders tended to conceive learning as a lifelong process, while Hong Kong elders were more likely to conceptualise learning in later life as having practical value in helping keep them physically and mentally healthy. However, both groups saw little value in learning for the purpose of acquiring skills for employment or re-employment. These findings are consistent with previous research, where older adults favour learning in later life for expressive reasons, including gaining new knowledge and expanding of personal horizons (O'Connor 1987; Silverstein et al. 2001) rather than for instrumental or pragmatic purposes.

With regard to the barriers to their participation learning, both groups of elders indicated that they were more concerned with barriers such as personal health and wealth rather than barriers such as not feeling welcome on campus, and bad school experiences. With reference to the typology of barriers by Cross (1981) and Darkenwald and Merriam (1982), who classified learning barriers into dispositional (such as lack of confidence, interest, or motivation), situational (such as health, time, and financial issues), and institutional (such as administrative bureaucracy, admission requirements, and limited course offerings), it seems that older learners in both study locations were more affected by situational barriers rather than institutional and dispositional barriers.

The fact that there are more commonalities, rather than differences, between the two samples of elders from two different cultures supports the claim that cultures very often overlap and coincide, and need not be seen as polarised, where becoming bicultural is possible (Alred, et al. 2003). It is therefore important for cross-cultural comparative research to identify cultural differences, while at the same time recognising the existence of similarities between cultures.

THE CONFUCIAN VIEW OF LIFELONG LEARNING

Many Chinese philosophies and views of learning are influenced by Confucius whose preaching has remained deep-rooted in the Chinese learning culture for millennia of years. The fact that Confucius is revered as the ‘teacher and model for eternity’ does not imply that his thoughts and views on learning are outdated and irrelevant to the contemporary world. Many scholars have in fact found a great deal of relevance between the Confucian pedagogy and many contemporary interpretations of human learning. For instance, Cheng (2011) has alluded to the fact that Confucius teaching is not about transmission of knowledge, but rather inspiring students towards certain directions of learning as Confucius seldom initiated questions but only responded to students’ questions when asked. Such an approach to teaching and learning is akin to the contemporary view that learning is an active construction of knowledge by the learner who must, in the first place, possess an eagerness to learn. Also, Cheng (Ibid.) claims that a good teacher in Confucian terms is a ‘scaffolder’, whose main task is to build on students’ prior learning and help develop their capacities to learn.

In a similar vein, Kennedy (2002) draws attention to certain myths that prevail in the modern interpretations of Confucius learning in the Western literature. One of the myths is about the collectivism and conformity that are supposed to characterise ‘the Chinese Learner.’ He cited from Lee (1996: 34) that Confucius in fact also emphasised individuality in learning as the purpose of it is to perfect the self and to cultivate oneself as an all-round person with both knowledge and virtues. Another myth, according to Kennedy (2002), is that people have been wrong about rote learning or memorisation. As Cheng (2011) puts it, rote learning involves two intertwined processes of learning: application and understanding, which should not be seen as two separate stages where understanding must precede application. Such a view resonates with what Biggs (1996) terms as the biased interpretation of the Chinese traditional way of learning where memorisation plays a significant role in deep learning and the discovery of new meaning for the Chinese learner.

Of the numerous myths that are related to Confucius learning, what is most fallacious is perhaps the link of the Confucian approach to learning with the Imperial Civil Examination introduced in the seventh century. According to Cheng (2011), the open-ended pedagogy espoused by Confucius was replaced by the Imperial Civil Examination introduced by the reigning sovereignty in around 603 CE, almost a thousand years after the death of Confucius. Cheng (2011: 594) termed it as a ‘disruption of Confucius open-ended pedagogy’ when learning was driven mostly by the motivation to succeed in the Civil Examination for a brighter future with fame and fortune. The lives of many scholars for thousands of years have been preoccupied with learning the classical texts by heart and regurgitating contents in the examination in the hopes of satisfying the styles and tastes prescribed by the Emperor. By dispelling the aforementioned myths about Confucian learning, it provides support to the

argument that there could be differences, as well as similarities between Western and Eastern learning; and that the East–West debate as ‘polar opposites’ is too simplistic and inadequate.

Lifelong learning is an ongoing activity across the lifespan with the aim of improving knowledge, skills, and competence. It is construed not only as a lifelong process in the sense that it begins in the cradle and ends in the grave; but it is also a life-wide experience that takes place not only in formal settings, but also through informal and non-formal ways of learning. The right and access to lifelong learning is not just confined to school-age children and working adults, who need training and retraining for employment. In fact, learning is for all, and must continue throughout life, regardless of age, through the provision of formal, non-formal, and informal learning opportunities in a variety of settings and contexts. As Robertson and Merriam (2005) put it, learning is a lifelong process that is also possible in old age. Two decades ago, Cross (1981) asserted that learning can no longer be relegated to youth, work to adulthood, and leisure to old age. Learning should not be conceived as a one-time segment of life, but rather a repeated, continuous lifelong process that spans the whole life. Jarvis (1997) concurs that the traditional division of life into schooling in youth, working in adulthood, and retirement in old age is archaic and no longer useful to prepare people for the challenges of the future. It is not possible for one to expect to learn enough during his or her youth. Only by continued learning can he or she be equipped with the required knowledge that will serve for a lifetime. Also, on lifelong learning, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Institute for Lifelong Learning offered an authoritative definition of learning as ‘an inevitable human activity from birth to old age ... essential for the realisation of human potential and the spread of human rights and democratic ideals’ (UNESCO, UIL website).

Jarvis (2007) summarises the four main purposes of lifelong learning as active citizenship, personal fulfilment, social inclusion, and employment. Out of these four mandates for lifelong learning, the employment goal always takes precedence and receives more attention in terms of policy development at government level. As Collins (1998) has aptly pointed out, the focus on increasing employability always distorts the development of an educated citizenry, because the vocational education/training aspect of lifelong learning is emphasised over its contribution to personal growth and democratic expression. To this effect, the competitive, trained, or retrained individual through lifelong learning will become more highly valued than his or her peer who strives for personal growth through learning in the arts or community affairs. To summarise, two opposing views prevail; first, there is the neoliberal discourse that promotes lifelong learning as a means of developing human capital for a modern knowledge economy in an ever-changing world. Second, there is the emancipatory discourse that promotes lifelong learning as a means of fulfilling individual, social, and political roles through active citizenship; living fulfilling lives, and engaging with the world as active, critical citizens (Zepke 2009).

Learning, or lifelong learning, from the Confucian perspective is more akin to the second view of the contemporary West, which sees learning as an emancipatory means to personal growth, social development, and political participation (Tam 2015). It is the neoliberal view of lifelong learning that the Confucian perspective mainly departs from, and offers a non-instrumental, holistic view of lifelong learning that encompasses all aspects of human existence. According to Confucian beliefs, lifelong learning is an effort made throughout one's lifespan to inculcate a morally excellent life and to develop into a virtuous person. The reason for engaging in learning, according to Confucius, is to enrich one's life and character (Sun 2008).

In his teachings as recorded in the *Analects*, Confucius sums up the importance of learning and knowledge this way:

Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn and readily gain possession of knowledge are the next. Those who are dull and stupid, and yet manage to learn are another class next to these. As to those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn – they are the lowest of the people. (*Analects*, XVI 9)¹

Knowledge is conceived by Confucius not as a cognitive grasp of objective truths, nor an acquisition of internalised skills; but rather an understanding of one's mental state and inner feelings of what it is to be human (Tu 1985). To Confucius, a person lacking a love of learning is prone to six kinds of confusion:

There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to a foolish simplicity. There is the love of knowing without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to dissipation of mind. There is the love of being sincere without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to an injurious disregard of consequences. There is the love of straightforwardness without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to rudeness. There is the love of boldness without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to extravagant conduct. (*Analects*, XVII 6)²

According to Sun (2008), the quest for knowledge is akin to the search for humanity (*Ren*) and for the *Tao* of heaven; the way humans act in harmony with the arrangement of cosmos. The role of education and lifelong learning is to provide access to the process of developing a balanced character, which is the state of humanity or *Ren* in Confucian terms. In other words, the potential to know *Ren*, the *Tao* of human, and the ability to make use of the *Tao* of heaven, can be cultivated and developed through education and learning, which is a lifelong process. To Confucius, *Tao* can be learned, 'If one learned to realise the *Tao* of human in the morning, one would never regret dying the same evening' (*Analects*, IV 8, cited in Sun 2008: 564).³ The purpose of learning is therefore to self-cultivate to become a moral person; however, without learning this is

impossible, and the results may differ from person to person subject to the level of effort expended (Sun 2008). Confucius made very explicit the need to learn by commenting that ‘a man who in eagerness for study forgets to eat, in his enjoyment of it, forgets his problems and is unaware of old age setting in’ (Analects, VII 19).⁴

A virtuous and moral person, in Confucian terms, is referred to as ‘Jun Zi—an educated person with morality and outstanding knowledge to practice humanity. Jun Zi always engages in self-cultivation and perfection. Three times a day, he/she will pose the questions: ‘Have I been unfaithful in planning for others? Have I been unreliable in conversation with friends? Am I preaching what I have not practiced myself?’ (Analects I 4, cited in Sun 2008: 569).⁵ Jun Zi embraces not only Ren but also social responsibility, and is therefore concerned about social issues. Jun Zi ‘accepts others with openness, assimilates yet stays different; harmonises without being an echo’ (Analects, XIII 23, cited in Sun 2008: 569).⁶ Jun Zi always seeks opportunities to better oneself through continued learning, who therefore is also a person of Zhi (Wisdom). Wisdom, in Confucian terms, refers to the understanding of the will of heaven, the limitations of human beings, knowing others, knowing oneself, telling right from wrong, acting appropriately, and not feeling anxious in face of complexities (Sun 2008). To Confucius, one cannot be a Jun Zi without Zhi, which can only be acquired through lifelong learning; ‘Learn as if you could not reach your object, and were always fearing also lest you lose it’ (Analects, VIII 17, cited in Sun 2008: 570).⁷ Jun Zi should never cease learning, and will enjoy learning simply for the sake of learning itself. Confucius said, ‘To merely know is nothing compared to being interested to know, being interested to know is nothing compared to deriving joy from learning it’ (Analects, VII 18).⁸ The education of Jun Zi remains the highest ideal of Confucian education, and determines the realistic purpose of lifelong learning.

In a broad sense, lifelong learning in Confucian terms can be conceived as learning for the sake of learning, because learning is pleasurable in itself. The reason for engaging in learning, according to Confucius, is simply for the joy of learning. Confucius said,

To learn and then practice it time and again is a pleasure, is it not? To have friends come from afar to share each other learning is a pleasure, is it not? To be unperturbed when not appreciated by others is gentlemanly, is it not? (Analects, I 1)⁹

Learning from the Confucian perspective is enjoyable, transformative, and lifelong as well as *life-wide*; for Confucius, learning is life itself (Kim 2009), that is, to learn is to understand the way to live as a human being. In summary, the Confucian philosophy of learning provides a holistic view of the purpose of lifelong learning, the content to be taught, as well as the strategies and approaches to be adopted in order to fulfil the ideals of Confucian education—the education of Jun Zi.

In contemporary times, lifelong learning is promulgated in the West because of the imperative to propagate economic growth through changes in the educational system (Lindgren 2002). It is construed as a solution by many nations to address an array of economic woes and social problems; and is used as a government instrument that is concerned with a knowledge society, skill training and retraining, multi-skilling, and employment (Schemmann 2002). Such views are underscored by a neoliberal perspective of lifelong learning in the West, where the focus is on economic individualism, which endorses the view of life as a matter of individual success and economic gain (Kim 2009). In this light, lifelong learning is viewed as a means to solving many economic and social challenges, and is therefore featured in almost any policy agenda for social change and educational reform. Lifelong learning is believed to be able to ‘cure employment, help career development, encourage flexibility and change, raise personal and national competitiveness, help become ‘complete human beings’, sustain local community, and overcome social exclusion’ (Holford 1997: 24). The neoliberal perspective of lifelong learning is predicated on economic individualism. This creates tension between individual freedom and social responsibility, between economic efficiency and moral accountability, and between self-interest and the public good (Kim 2009). This view of lifelong learning departs from that of Confucius’, which conceives lifelong learning as a lifelong, transformative, and self-cultivating process towards self-fulfilling learning rather than learning for an instrumental, extrinsic purpose. Confucius said

He who aims to be a man of complete virtue in his food does not seek to gratify his appetite, nor in his dwelling place does he seek the appliances of ease; he is earnest in what he is doing, and careful in his speech; he frequents the company of men of principle that he may be rectified – such a person may be said indeed to love to learn. (Analects, I 14)¹⁰

Despite the imperative to seek self-fulfilment, the fulfilled relational self, in Confucius’ view, maintains interdependence with others and seeks harmonious relationships. With a focus on economic individualism, the neoliberal notion of self is different from Confucius’ Ren-oriented relational self, which has a social dimension where the self is understood, formed, and transformed within the context of social relationships (Kim 2009). In summary, Confucius places the individual learner at the centre of learning, which consciously and constantly transforms the learners, serves, and connects them to the self, family, society, and universe without losing sight of the importance of wholeness and the imperative of flourishing together (Sun 2008). The aim of presenting the Confucian view of lifelong learning and the lifelong learner alongside the Western view and its learner is to further elucidate the East–West debate to show that despite differences, there are also similarities between Western and Eastern views that are worth attention.

RELEVANCE OF THE CONFUCIAN VIEW OF LEARNING TO LIFELONG LEARNING BY OLDER ADULTS

The Confucian notion of lifelong learning is particularly relevant to describing later life learning, or continued learning, by older people (Tam 2015). There are two very popular aphorisms of Confucius that espouse the need to keep on learning even in old age: ‘There is no boundary to learning’ and ‘Keep on learning as long as you live’. Confucius states that ‘learning should be a lifelong, transformative, self-cultivating process’ (Kim 2009: 145). It is through learning that a person seeks self-fulfilment in constantly bettering themselves and others, through family, society, and even in Confucius’ view, the cosmos. Empirical research has proved that older adulthood constitutes a unique phase in the lifecycle, encompassing social and psychological transitions in addition to physical changes (Formosa 2011). Because of the uniqueness, Marcus (1972, cited in Lebel 1978) gives four reasons for using different approaches to teaching older adults from younger adults. First, older adulthood, like adolescence, is conceived by society as a specifically identifiable period of human life. Second, contemporary social changes and developments require that special emphasis be placed on elder education. Third, older adults may experience learning difficulties that are unique to them. Fourth, elders may have different motivations for engaging in learning, in particular, of the formal kind.

In a similar vein, Duay and Bryan (2008) also claimed that learning in later life differs considerably from learning in younger adulthood because of the changes in physical and cognitive abilities, as well as, the unique life events and transitions associated with old age (see also Merriam and Lumsden 1985; Twitchell et al. 1996; Jones and Bayen 1998; Kim and Merriam 2004). Previous research has identified significant differences between learning in older and younger adulthood in various dimensions, including physical (for example, Glass 1996; Jones and Bayen 1998; Merriam and Caffarella 1999), cognitive (for example, Czaja and Sharit 1993; Echt et al. 1998; Brigman and Cherry 2002), sociocultural (for example, Havighurst 1972, 1976; Aslanian and Brickell 1980; Jun and Evans 2007), and motivational (for example, Boshier and Riddell 1978; Bynum and Seaman 1993; Martin 2002; Kim and Merriam 2004). Such differences between younger and older learners will impact the approach and way they learn, as well as the design and delivery of learning programmes and activities for older adults (Duay and Bryan 2008). The life changes and different experiences inevitably entail motivations, interests, and approaches to learning that are wider and more varied than that of younger people (Jun and Evans 2007). With respect to interests and motivations, McClusky (1974) suggests that older adults are motivated to learn by five types of needs: coping, expressive, contribution, influence, and transcendence. Based on McClusky’s classification, Tam (2013) offers explanations of the five types of needs. Coping needs are related to the management of changes brought about by ageing. Expressive needs enable a person to engage in meaningful and developmental activities. Contributive needs are the desires to make

contributions to others and society. Influence needs refer to intentions to exert a positive influence on others, and the environment. Finally, transcendence needs are the needs to rise above the age-related limitations. According to Formosa (2011), the fulfilment of transcendence needs requires a reflective mode of thinking to contemplate the meaning of life.

Corresponding to these five types of elder learning needs, Hiemstra (1976) suggests examples of programmes, such as adult basic education for coping needs, hobby courses for expressive needs, leadership training for contributive needs, community action education for influence needs, and the study of literature or philosophy for transcendence needs. Among these five types of needs, Hori and Cusack (2006) claims that the need for transcendence is unique for older learners. Similarly, Lowy and O'Connor (1986), and Merriam (1990) also argue that contemplative needs, or needs for life review, are unique to older adults. To this effect, learning for older adults should focus on transcendental goals and objectives (Moody 1986; Jarvis 1992), to aim at the development of a reflective mode of thinking to facilitate older learners to contemplate the meaning of life, come to terms with their past, and hone their quest for self-fulfilment and spiritual advancement (Findsen and Formosa 2011). In other words, it is the cultivation of wisdom rather than mastery and competence that later life learning should be directed at, where the later years provide ample opportunities for the emergence of wisdom (Ardelt 2000). Wisdom is conceived by Jarvis (2001: 103) as the 'biological store of knowledge, opinions, and insights gained often through long years of life.' Wisdom is not something that can be taught, but an outcome of learning. Older learners, though many of their functional and cognitive abilities are declining, can still continue to learn well into old age, resulting in wisdom and a repertoire of knowledge and insights that give older learners an edge over their younger peers. Such a view of learning for and by older adults is resonant with the Confucian view of lifelong learning, where the purpose of learning is to cultivate Zhi (Wisdom), with a transcendence purpose of understanding oneself, the society, the world, and the universe at large.

Seeing older adults as a distinct group of learners who have particular needs for learning, Formosa (2011) conceptualises learning for senior adults as transformative, where older people need to learn to adjust to changes in older adulthood as a result of declining physical strength and health, changing circumstances (including retirement), reduced income, death of spouse, and the assumption of new social roles such as grandparents or volunteers. To this end, lifelong learning for senior adults can serve a few important purposes, including the 'liberation of elders', where older persons are empowered with the 'advocacy skills needed to counteract the social and financial advantages brought on by neoliberal policies of ageing' (Formosa 2011: 386). Humanists, however, see the purpose of lifelong learning for elders as a personal quest for older adults to achieve their potentials. The transcendence view conceives elder learning as an opportunity for older learners to explore goals that younger adults are too busy to pursue. Elders develop a reflective mode of thinking and contemplate the

meaning of life as they reach the final stage of the lifecycle with death not far in sight.

Mercken (2010: 9) defines older learning as a process through which older adults 'individually or in association with others, engage in direct encounter and then purposefully reflect upon, validate, transform, give personal meaning to, and seek to integrate their views of knowing'. In the context of lifelong learning, Tusting and Barton (2006) give a constructivist's view of learning in which they are most interested in the meaning that learners give to their tasks or activities, the way they interpret meaning as connected to their lives, and how it relates to their self-understanding, potentiality, and social networks. Jarvis (2009) conceptualises learning as a human process, as opposed to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, and a change in behaviour as a result of experience. 'Learning is a human process, it is part of our being, our human-ness; it is almost synonymous with conscious experience itself' (Jarvis 2009: 563). Hodkinson et al. (2008: 179) assert that learning for older people is akin to an ongoing subjective process of 'becoming', rather than the acquisition of knowledge and skills as if they were objective commodities. In the process of becoming, older learners undergo a process of personal construction and reconstruction, resulting in new identities and understandings about the self.

Lifelong learning for and by senior adults is a transformative process, in which learners undergo a process of becoming, change, construction, and reconstruction through reflective thinking and critical inquiry, to find meaning in the context of their own lives. Also, older learners have wider interests and more varied needs than younger people's, so much so that they are motivated to learn to respond to their wide-ranging needs, interests, abilities, as well as the diverse meanings of lifelong learning they perceive as important to them.

CONCLUSION

Lifelong learning is referred to as the Confucian educational objective of pursuing self-growth and betterment to become a virtuous person and to develop wisdom as a result of learning. It departs radically from the contemporary neoliberal view of lifelong learning in the West, which is characterised by the instrumental and competition-oriented notions of lifelong learning, for survival or competitive purposes in a knowledge-based society. Elder learning needs are wide-ranging and diverse, which encompass coping needs that are practical for survival, expressive needs for personal development, contributive needs for social responsibility, influence needs for social interdependence and flourishing together, and transcendence needs for reflective thinking and the cultivation of wisdom. It transpires that older learners do not learn just for personal survival nor for self-development, but rather for a wide range of needs that encompass, on one hand, the many ideals of Confucian education of self-betterment and social responsibility; on the other, the Western neoliberal goals of thriving in a knowledge-based society through lifelong learning for everyone regardless of age.

From empirical research and literature, Eastern and Western scholarship and learning are often described as polarised and focused mainly on the observed differences as being indicative of the East–West dichotomy. However, such an East–West dichotomous view of learning is too simplistic to assume that cultural differences, mainly cross-cultural ones, are due to the two general directions or cultural orientations that the cultural group in question is subjected to, that is, either Eastern or Western. Moreover, the East–West comparison assumes that cultures are static and immutable, resulting in nationality classifications such as the Chinese learner versus the Western learner. Findings from a cross-cultural study comparing Hong Kong and Australian elders in terms of their background characteristics; engagement in learning; conceptualisations of successful ageing and later life learning; reasons for learning; barriers to learning; areas of interest; and instructional preferences, were drawn from to shed light on the differences, as well as similarities, found between the two cultural groups. In fact, the findings provide evidence of more similarities than differences between elders in Hong Kong and Australia, in particular, *inter alia*, their conceptualisations of what learning means to them in later life.

Confucian and the Western contemporary views of learning were examined, with an attempt to clarify notions of lifelong learning from different philosophical perspectives. Discussions were focused on the meaning of lifelong learning to elucidate the differences and/or similarities between the Chinese Confucian and Western contemporary ideas of learning and scholarship, and to establish the relevancy of the Confucian view of learning to older learners. Lifelong learning for and by senior adults, in particular, was examined to draw attention to the age factor that might influence the approach, motivations, needs and interests, and ways of processing knowledge and information by learners of an older age. Though far from being conclusive, the discussion will provide valuable insights into lifelong learning for and by senior adults, to help inform policies and research to address what elders want to learn—including their needs and interests, and how they wish to be engaged in the lifelong learning process in order to age actively. These insights into the perspectives, experiences, and views of older adults concerning lifelong learning warrant the need for more empirical research and field studies to help guide future development and provisions of later life learning, with the aim for elders to live a more fulfilled life through continued learning.

NOTES

‘Analects’ is a collection of Confucius’ sayings and teachings recorded and authored by his disciples, students, and followers. Direct quotes from ‘Analects’ in this chapter include:

1. [16–9] 孔子曰。生而知之者、上也。學而知之者、次也。困而學之、又其次也。困而不學、民斯爲下矣。‘Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn and readily gain possession

of knowledge are the next. Those who are dull and stupid, and yet manage to learn are another class next to these. As to those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn – they are the lowest of the people’. (Translation from <http://www.humanistictexts.org/confucius.htm>).

2. [17–6] 子曰。由也、女聞六言六蔽矣乎。對曰、未也。居、吾語女。好仁不好學、其蔽也愚。好知不好學、其蔽也蕩。好信不好學、其蔽也賊。好直不好學、其蔽也絞。好勇不好學、其蔽也亂。好剛不好學、其蔽也狂。‘There is the love of being benevolent without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to a foolish simplicity. There is the love of knowing without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to dissipation of mind. There is the love of being sincere without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to an injurious disregard of consequences. There is the love of straightforwardness without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to rudeness. There is the love of boldness without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to insubordination. There is the love of firmness without the love of learning – the confusion here leads to extravagant conduct’. (Translation from <http://www.humanistictexts.org/confucius.htm>).
3. [4–8] 子曰。朝聞道、夕死可矣。‘If one learned to realize the Tao of human in the morning, one would never regret dying the same evening’. (Translation from Sun, Q., 2008: 564).
4. [7–19] 葉公問孔子於子路、子路不對。子曰。女奚不曰、其爲人也、發憤忘食、樂以忘憂、不知老之將至云爾。The Teacher said, ‘Why didn’t you just tell him that I am a man who in eagerness for study forgets to eat, in his enjoyment of it, forgets his problems and who is unaware of old age setting in?’ (Translation from <http://www.acmuller.net/con-dao/analects.html>).
5. [1–4] 曾子曰。吾日三省吾身、爲人謀而不忠乎。與朋友交而不信乎。傳不習乎。‘Have I been unfaithful in planning for others? Have I been unreliable in conversation with friends? Am I preaching what I have not practiced myself?’ (Translation from Sun, Q., 2008: 569).
6. [13–23] 子曰。君子和而不同。小人同而不和。Jun Zi ‘accepts others with openness, assimilates yet stays different; harmonizes without being an echo’. (Translation from Sun, Q., 2008: 569).
7. [8–17] 子曰。學如不及、猶恐失之。‘Learn as if you could not reach your object, and were always fearing also lest you lose it’. (Translation from Sun, Q., 2008: 570).
8. [6–20] 子曰。知之者不如好之者、好之者不如樂之者。‘To merely know is nothing compared to being interested to know, being interested to know is nothing compared to deriving joy from learning it’. (Translation from <http://www.chinese-wiki.com>).
9. [1–1] 子曰。學而時習之、不亦說乎。有朋自遠方來、不亦樂乎。人不知而不慍、不亦君子乎。‘To learn and then practice it time and again is a pleasure, is it not? To have friends come from afar to share each other learning is a pleasure, is it not? To be unperturbed when not appreciated by others is gentlemanly, is it not?’ (Translation from <http://www.chinese-wiki.com>).
10. [1–14] 子曰。君子食無求飽、居無求安、敏於事而慎於言、就有道而正焉、可謂好學也已。
‘He who aims to be a man of complete virtue in his food does not seek to gratify his appetite, nor in his dwelling place does he seek the appliances of ease; he is earnest in what he is doing, and careful in his speech; he frequents the company of men of principle that he may be rectified – such a person may be said indeed to love to learn’. (Translation from <http://ctext.org/analects>).

Acknowledgements This chapter is related to a General Research Fund (GRF) project 'Towards a cross-cultural understanding of learning by senior adults: Hong Kong and Australia' (HKIED 843912), funded by the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee of Hong Kong (2012–2014).

REFERENCES

- Ala-Mutka, K. N., Malanowski, N., Punie, Y., & Cabrera, M. (2008). *Active ageing and the potential of ICT for learning*. European Commission, Joint Research Centre, Institute for Prospective Technology and Studies. Retrieved October 10, 2016, from <http://ftp.jrc.es/EURdoc/JRC45209.pdf>.
- Alred, G., Bryam, M., & Fleming, M. (2003). *Intercultural experience and education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Limited.
- Ardelt, M. (2000). Intellectual versus wisdom-related knowledge: The case for a different kind of learning in the later years of life. *Educational Gerontology*, 6, 771–789.
- Aslanian, C. B., & Brickell, H. M. (1980). *Americans in transition: Life changes as reasons for adult learning*. New York: College Entrance Examination Board.
- Biggs, J. (1996). Western misinterpretation of the Confucian-heritage learning culture. In D. Watkins & J. Biggs (Eds.). *The Chinese learner: Cultural, psychological and contextual influences*. Hong Kong: Comparative Education Research Centre, Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong.
- Boshier, R., & Riddell, G. (1978). Education participation scale factor structure for older adults. *Adult Education*, 28(3), 165–175.
- Boulton-Lewis, G., Buys, L., & Lovie-Kitchen, J. (2006). Learning and active aging. *Educational Gerontology*, 32(4), 271–282.
- Brigman, S., & Cherry, K. E. (2002). Age and skilled performance: Contributions of working memory and processing speed. *Brain and Cognition*, 50, 242–256.
- Bynum, L. L., & Seaman, M. (1993). Motivations of third-age students in learning-in-retirement institutes. *Continuing Higher Education Review*, 57(1), 12–22.
- Cavanaugh, J. C., & Blanchard-Fields, J. C. (2006). *Adult development and aging* (5th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Thomson Learning.
- Cheng, K. M. (2011). Pedagogy: East and west, then and now. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 43(5), 591–599.
- Cohen, G. D. (2001). *The creative age: Awakening human potential in the second half of life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Collins, M. (1998). *Critical crosscurrents in education*. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing.
- Cross, P. (1981). *Adults as learners*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Cusack, S. A. (1995). Developing a lifelong learning program: Empowering seniors as leaders in lifelong learning. *Educational Gerontology*, 21(4), 305–320.
- Cusack, S. A., & Thompson, W. J. A. (2003). Mental fitness for life: Assessing the impact of an 8-week mental fitness program on healthy aging. *Educational Gerontology*, 29, 393–403.
- Czaja, S. J., & Sharit, J. (1993). Age differences in the performance of computer-based work. *Psychology and Aging*, 8(1), 59–67.
- Darkenwald, G. G., & Merriam, S. B. (1982). *Adult education: Foundations of practice*. New York: Harper Row.

- Davey, J., & Jamieson, A. (2003). Against the odds: Pathways of early school leavers into university education from England and New Zealand. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 22(3), 266–280.
- Dench, S., & Regan, J. (2000). *Learning in later life: Motivation and Impact*. Nottingham: DfEE.
- Duay, D. L., & Bryan, V. C. (2008). Learning in later life: What seniors want in a learning experience. *Educational Gerontology*, 34, 1070–1086.
- Echt, K. V., Morrell, R. W., & Park, D. C. (1998). Effects of age and training formats on basic computer skill acquisition in older adults. *Educational Gerontology*, 4, 3–25.
- Findsen, B., & Formosa, M. (2011). *Lifelong learning in later life: A handbook on older adult learning*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.
- Formosa, M. (2011). European Union policy on older adult learning: A critical commentary. *Journal of Aging and Social Policy*, 24(4), 384–399.
- Geertz, C. (1973). *The interpretation of culture*. New York: Basic Books.
- Glendenning, F. (1997). Why educational gerontology is not yet established as a field of study. *Education and Ageing*, 12, 82–91.
- Glendenning, F. (2001). Education for older adults. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(1/2), 63–70.
- Gu, Q., & Maley, A. (2008). Changing places: A study of Chinese students in the UK. *Language and Intercultural Communications*, 8(4), 224–245.
- Hammond, C. (2004). Impacts of lifelong learning upon emotional resilience, psychological and mental health: Fieldwork evidence. *Oxford Review of Education*, 30(4), 551–571.
- Hansen, C. (2004). *Chrysalis 2004: Examining the role of senior centres in the 21st century*. Paper presented at the Seniors Recreation Programmers Conference, Richmond, British Columbia.
- Havighurst, R. J. (1972). *Development tasks and education* (3rd ed.). New York: McKay.
- Havighurst, R.J. (1976). Education through the adult life span. *Educational Gerontology*, 1: 41–51.
- Hiemstra, R. (1976). Older learning needs. *Educational Gerontology*, 1, 227–236.
- Hodkinson, P., Ford, G., Hodkinson, H., & Hawthorn, R. (2008). Retirement as a learning process. *Educational Gerontology*, 34, 167–184.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). *Culture's consequences: International differences in work-related values*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Holford, J. (1997). Lifelong learning: Rhetoric, reality, public policy. *Adults Learning*, 9(1), 24–27.
- Hori, S., & Cusack, S. (2006). Third age education in Canada and Japan: Attitudes toward aging and participation in learning. *Educational Gerontology*, 32, 463–481.
- Jarvis, P. (1992). *Paradoxes of learning: On becoming an individual in society*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Jarvis, P. (1997). *Ethics and education for adults in a late-modern Society*. Leicester: National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE).
- Jarvis, P. (2001). *Learning in later life: An introduction for educators and carers*. London: Kogan Page.
- Jarvis, P. (2007). *Globalisation, lifelong learning and the learning society: Sociological perspectives*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2009). *Learning to be a person in society*. London: Routledge.
- Jarvis, P. (2013). Learning to be a person—East and West. *Comparative Education*, 49(1), 4–15.

- Jones, B. D., & Bayen, U. J. (1998). Teaching older adults to use computers: Recommendations based on cognitive aging research. *Educational Gerontology, 24*, 675–689.
- Jun, S. K., & Evans, K. (2007). The learning cultures of third age participants: Institutional management and participants' experience in U3A in the UK and SU in Korea. *KEDI Journal of Educational Policy, 4*(2), 53–72.
- Kennedy, P. (2002). Learning cultures and learning styles: Myth-understandings about adult (Hong Kong) Chinese learners. *International Journal of Lifelong Education, 21*(5), 430–445.
- Kim, K. H. (2009). Appropriating Confucius' conception of lifelong learning: Reconsidering neoliberal perspective. *Korean Journal of Educational Policy, 6*(2), 141–160.
- Kim, A., & Merriam, S. B. (2004). Motivations for learning among older adults in a learning retirement institute. *Educational Gerontology, 30*, 441–445.
- Lave, J. (1996). Teaching, as learning in practice. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 3*(3), 147–164.
- Lebel, J. (1978). Beyond andragogy to gerogogy. *Lifelong Learning: The Adult Years, 1*(9), 16–18, 24–25.
- Lee, W. O. (1996). The cultural context for Chinese learners: Conceptions of learning in the Confucius tradition. In D. Watkins & J. Biggs (Eds.), *The Chinese learner: Cultural, psychological and contextual influences*. Hong Kong: The Comparative Education Research Centre, Faculty of Education, University of Hong Kong.
- Lewis, J. (2011). Successful aging through the eyes of Alaska native elders. *The Gerontologist, 51*(4), 540–549.
- Lindgren, A. (2002). Lifelong learning in a changing world. In K. Harney, A. Heikkinen, S. Rahn, & M. Schemmann (Eds.), *Lifelong learning: One focus, different systems*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Lowy, L., & O'Connor, D. (1986). *Why education in the later years?* Lexington, MA: Lexington Books.
- Markus, H. R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implication for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98*, 224–253.
- Martin, C. L. (2002). Learning in retirement institutes: The impact on the lives of older adults. *Dissertation Abstracts International, 63*(1), 55. (UMI No. 3039375).
- McClusky, H. Y. (1974). Education for aging: The scope of the field and perspectives for the future. In S. Grabowski & W. D. Mason (Eds.), *Learning for aging*. Washington, DC: Adult Education Association of the USA.
- Mercken, C. (2010). *Education in an ageing society*. Baarn: Odyssee.
- Merriam, S. B. (1990). Reminiscence and life review. In R. Sherron & D. Lumsden (Eds.), *Introduction to Educational Gerontology* (3rd ed.). Washington, DC: Hemisphere Publishing.
- Merriam, S. B., & Caffarella, R. S. (1999). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. B., & Lumsden, D. B. (1985). Educational needs and interests of older learners. In D. B. Lumsden (Ed.), *The older adult as learner: Aspects of educational gerontology*. Washington, DC: Hemisphere Publishing.
- Moody, H. R. (1986). Late life learning in the information society. In D. A. Peterson, J. E. Thornton, & J. E. Birren (Eds.), *Education and aging*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

- National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE). (2002). *Older people and learning —Some key statistics*. Leicester: NIACE.
- Nisbett, R. E., Peng, K., Choi, I., & Norenzayan, A. (2001). Culture and systems of thought: Holistic versus analytic cognition. *Psychological Review*, *108*, 291–310.
- O'Connor, D. M. (1987). Elders and higher education: Instrumental or expressive goals? *Educational Gerontology*, *13*, 156–174.
- Robertson, D. N., Jr., & Merriam, S. B. (2005). The self-directed learning process of older rural adults. *Adult Education Quarterly*, *55*(4), 269–288.
- Rowe, J. W., & Kahn, R. L. (1987). Human aging: Usual and successful. *Science*, *237*, 143–156.
- Rowe, J. W., & Kahn, R. L. (1999). *Successful aging*, 99–122. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Schemmann, M. (2002). Lifelong learning as a global formula. In K. Harvey, A. Heikkinen, S. Rahn, & M. Schemmann (Eds.), *Lifelong learning: One focus, different systems*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Schuller, T., Preston, J., Hammond, C., Brassett-Grundy, A., & Bynner, J. (2004). *The benefits of learning: The impact of education on health, family life, and social capital*. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1999). A theory of cultural values and some implications for work. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, *48*, 23–47.
- Sherman, A. (2006). Toward a creative culture: Lifelong learning through the arts. *Generations*, *30*(1), 42–46.
- Signorini, P., Wiesemes, R., & Murphy, R. (2009). Developing alternative frameworks for exploring intercultural learning: A critique of Hofstede's cultural difference model. *Teaching in Higher Education*, *14*(3), 253–264.
- Silverstein, N. M., Choi, L. H., & Bulot, J. J. (2001). Older persons on campus. *Gerontology & Geriatrics Education*, *22*(1), 13–30.
- Singh, M. (2002). The global and international discourse of lifelong learning from the perspective of UNESCO. In K. Harvey, A. Heikkinen, S. Rahn, & M. Schemmann (Eds.), *Lifelong learning: One focus, different systems*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Sun, Q. (2008). Confucian educational philosophy and its implication for lifelong learning and lifelong education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *27*(5), 559–578.
- Tam, M. (2012). Active ageing, active learning: Elder learning in Hong Kong. In G. Boutlon-Lewis & M. Tam (Eds.), *Active ageing, active learning: Issues and challenges*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Tam, M. (2013). Perceptions of successful ageing and implications for late-life learning. *Studies in Continuing Education*, *35*(3), 281–298.
- Tam, M. (2014a). Understanding and theorizing the role of culture in the conceptualizations of successful aging and lifelong learning. *Educational Gerontology*, *40*(12), 881–893.
- Tam, M. (2014b). A distinctive theory for the teaching and learning of older adults: Why and why not? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *33*(6), 811–820.
- Tam, M. (2015). The Confucian view of lifelong learning: Relevancy to the teaching and learning of older adults. In C. M. Lam & J. Park (Eds.), *Sociological and philosophical perspectives on education in the Asia-Pacific region*. Dordrecht: Springer.

- Tam, M., Boulton-Lewis, G., Buys, L., & Chui, E. (2012–2014). General Research Fund (GRF) project ‘Towards a cross-cultural understanding of learning by senior adults: Hong Kong and Australia’ (HKIEd 843912), funded by the Research Grants Council of the University Grants Committee of Hong Kong.
- Taylor, M., Evans, K., & Abasi, A. (2006). *Towards a learning and teaching model in adult literacy: A close-up look at experiences in Canada and the United Kingdom*. Paper presented at the 25th Annual Conference of Canadian Association for the study of Adult Education (CASAE). Retrieved August 12, 2013, from <http://www.oise.utoronto.ca/CASAE/cnf2006/2006onlineProceedings/CAS2006Maurice%20Taylor.pdf>.
- Tight, M. (1996). *Key concepts in adult education and training*. London: Routledge.
- Tu, W. M. (1985). *Confucian thoughts: Selfhood as creative transformation*. Albany: State University of New York Press.
- Tuijnman, A., & Bostrom, A. (2002). Changing notions of lifelong education and lifelong learning. *International Review of Education*, 48(1/2), 93–110.
- Tusting, K., & Barton, D. (2006). *Models of adult learning*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education (NIACE).
- Twitchell, S., Cherry, K. E., & Trott, J. W. (1996). Educational strategies for older learners: Suggestions from cognitive aging research. *Educational Gerontology*, 22, 169–181.
- UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. *Lifelong learning policies and strategies*. Retrieved July 20, 2015, from <http://www.unesco.org/uiil/>.
- Wain, K. (2004). *The learning society in a postmodern world: The educational crisis*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Withnall, A. (2000). Older learners—Issues and perspectives (Working Papers of the Global colloquium on supporting lifelong learning). Milton Keynes: Open University. Retrieved October 14, 2016, from <http://www.open.ac.uk/lifelong-learning>.
- Withnall, A. (2006). Exploring influences on later life learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 25(1), 29–49.
- Zepke, N. (2009). A future for adult lifelong education in Aotearoa New Zealand: Neoliberal or cosmopolitan? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 28(6), 751–761.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Maureen Tam is Associate Professor with the Department of International Education and Lifelong Learning at The Education University of Hong Kong. Also, she is Deputy Director of the Centre for Lifelong Learning Research and Development, and Head of the EdUHK Elder Academy. Her research interests are wide-ranging and cover elderly education, lifelong learning, professional and vocational education, quality assurance, outcomes-based education, teaching, learning and assessment in higher education.

Disabilities and Adult and Lifelong Education

Jovita M. Ross-Gordon

Abstract In this chapter, Ross-Gordon examines evolving perspectives on disability within adult and lifelong education. First, the chapter looks at perspectives that have traditionally been reflected in literature with the field of adult and lifelong education. Next, the chapter acquaints the reader with perspectives on disability that have emerged within the interdisciplinary field of disability studies, and how these have influenced recent work within adult and lifelong education. Finally, it discusses the evolution of the author's perspectives, ending with a framework representing her current thinking about this important domain of adult and lifelong education.

A document tracing the evolution of attention to the issues facing persons with disabilities over the last 50 years estimates that at least 500 million people globally, or 10% of the world population, have disabilities (The United Nations and Disabled Persons 2015). On a UN website titled United Nations Enable, site visitors are encouraged to consider sponsoring or engaging in activities related to the International Day of Persons with Disabilities, with the explanation that 'It is important to note that disability is part of the human condition, and that all of us either are or will become disabled to one degree or another during the course of our lives.' (United Nations Enable 2015). One of 29 booklets documenting workshops held at the Fifth International Conference on Adult Education in Hamburg Germany in 1997 was devoted to persons with disabilities (UNESCO, 1999). These sources suggest the importance of incorporating a focus on adults who have disabilities in a handbook on adult and

J.M. Ross-Gordon (✉)
CLAS Department, Texas State University, 601 University Drive,
San Marcos, TX 78666, USA
e-mail: jross-gordon@txstate.edu

lifelong education. This chapter begins with an overview of adult education literature focusing on disability framed in more conventional medical and economic perspectives, followed by an overview of literature originating from the interdisciplinary field of disabilities studies. The chapter will next look at a growing body of literature in adult and lifelong education that is substantially informed by the social and sociocultural lens perspectives on disability developed by scholars in disability studies. Finally, I will discuss how my own perspective on disability and adult learning has been transformed from a heavily medical model to a more holistic one, thanks to the influence of the discourse on disabilities originating in disability studies and translated by adult education and lifelong learning colleagues. Although I have attempted to also cite scholarly literature on the topic from other parts of the world, my perspective is clearly embedded in the U.S. context where I have spent my entire professional life.

MAINSTREAM LITERATURE OF ADULT AND LIFELONG EDUCATION

Much of the existing adult education literature focusing on disability can be interpreted as situated within the medical and economic perspective, as described by Rocco and Fornes (2010). This model is distinguished by its focus on physically based impairments (even if invisible), to be remedied or accommodated through medical, therapeutic, and educational interventions. This perspective also focuses on presumed limitations in economic productivity as an outcome of impairment, and the degree to which ‘reasonable’ accommodations can be made to higher education and work environments in order to enhance the employability and productivity of individuals with disabilities.

Adults with disabilities have long been a focus within the domain of adult literacy practice, although this discussion has focused largely on those adults in literacy programmes who *are known or suspected* to have learning disabilities. Publications on this topic flourished during the last two decades of the twentieth century, often beginning with questions about the prevalence of adults with learning disabilities in literacy and adult basic education programmes, and ending with recommendations for providing basic skills instruction to this population (e.g. Travis 1979; Bowren 1981; Ross-Gordon 1989; Ross-Gordon 1992; Sturomski 1996; Vogel and Reder 1998). Notably, studies and reports published since 2000 continue to point to the challenge of determining the prevalence of adults with learning disabilities within adult literacy programmes, with prevalence estimates ranging from one tenth to one half of individuals participating in adult basic education and literacy programmes (Corley and Taymans 2002), compared to 6% of adults self-reporting Learning Disabilities (LD) according to data from the National Association of Adult Literacy (Kutner et al. 2007).

In the US this continues to be a concern because of the need for documentation of a disability in order to establish entitlement to programme accommodations such as modified administration of tests including the GED,

set against the reality that many adults who either self-identify or are presumed by instructors to have learning disabilities, have never been formally assessed and the assessment procedures needed to acquire such documentation are expensive, and often not accessible or affordable for adults populating literacy programmes (Ross-Gordon et al. 2003; Patterson 2008). Compounding these issues are continuing debates regarding definitions and assessment procedures for identifying learning disabilities among both children and adults, although notably, several of the definitions codified in laws for determining access to services refer to ‘intrinsic disorders’ or presumed ‘central nervous system processes’ (Taymans 2012). These medically oriented definitions, along with the programmatic emphasis on identifying the adults’ specific learning disabilities as a basis for planning individually tailored educational interventions, rather than an interest in helping adults develop awareness of their own learning capacities as well as the self-advocacy skills needed to gain access to those legally permitted accommodations that might help them enable to accomplish their immediate educational goals more efficiently. As an exception, Covington (2004) pointed to the need for both strategy and intervention-based instruction, and suggests that ‘By incorporating a variety of strategies in an emotionally safe and accepting environment, teachers will help not only those with learning disabilities, but all students’ (p. 100).

A second domain of educational practice for which there has been considerable discussion of disabilities is that of higher education. Arguably much of this literature does not distinguish those students who fit the classic notion of adult learners in higher education as those 25 and older. Notably, however, recent discussions of non-traditional students in higher education have extended beyond an exclusive focus on age as a marker of non-traditional status, to include those who have delayed college enrolment after completion of secondary level education; who have come to higher education via a path other than a standard secondary school diploma; who work full time; who attend part-time; who are financially independent; and those who have dependents other a spouse; including single parents Choy (2002). Myers, Lindburg and Niev (2014) reported that undergraduate students reporting disabilities are more likely to be over 24 years of age, to be financially independent, and to be veterans. Given this context, it seems reasonable to discuss the higher education educational context as one including adults with disabilities.

Oslund (2015) discusses the historical foundation for the field of disability services within higher education in the U.S., tracing its origins to the efforts of Ed Roberts, a disability activist inspired by the Civil Rights movement to form the Center for Independent Living at Berkeley in 1972. Shortly after, The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 provided a legal prohibition against discrimination against those with disabilities in institutions receiving federal funds. These developments led campuses to hire specialists who would work with others on campus to address the needs of disabled students on campus. This emerging professional group formed The Association on Higher Education and Disability (AHEAD) in 1977, an organization which according to its current website is

the ‘premiere professional association committed to full participation of persons with disabilities in postsecondary education’ (AHEAD 2015). Further legal support for the work of disability specialists was provided later in the U.S. by the authorization of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA), expanding the prohibition of discrimination based on disability to institutions not receiving federal funds.

While the origins of disability service offices may have grown out of the activities of disabilities rights advocates, Oslund (2015) describes the work of the staff in Disabilities Services offices as fairly pragmatic, in contrast with the more theoretical and research oriented roles of faculty specializing in Disabilities Studies. Leake and Stodden (2014) substantiated this observation, based on a review of peer-reviewed research articles on students with disabilities published between 1982 and 2012. They noted that most research articles addressed ‘technical’ topics focusing on interventions that involve ‘medical, educational, or assistive technologies applied at the individual level’ (p. 403), and speculated that the prevalence of the medical model may be an unintended consequence of legislation that emphasizes ‘equal access’ to academic programmes and removal of physical barriers. They were encouraged to find that 30 of the 68 articles they were able to locate relating to social issues faced by students with disabilities appeared in the most recent 5-year period studied.

A third domain of adult education and lifelong learning practice addressed in the literature on adults with disabilities is that of work. In this domain, the approach to disability might best be described as an economic perspective, which tends to focus on productivity, job-related accommodations, and wages (Rocco and Fornes 2010). Ricardo Pagán has conducted a series of studies examining factors associated with workplace satisfaction among disabled workers in Europe, including older workers (Pagán and Malo 2009; Pagán 2011, 2013, 2014). A recent study focused on disability, training, and job satisfaction among workers with and without disabilities in Germany (Pagán-Rodríguez 2015). Framed in a human capital perspective Pagán-Rodríguez analysed longitudinal data from the German Socio-Economic Panel (GSOEP) for the years 1989, 1993, 2000, 2004, and 2008, hypothesizing that participation in further training raises job satisfaction scores for all workers but particularly for workers with disabilities, and that the intensity of participation of training (number and duration of courses) would positively affect job satisfaction, again to a greater degree for workers with disabilities. Findings indicated that while job satisfaction was positively associated with participation in further training, this increase was lower for workers with disabilities; no effects were observed in relation to the intensity of training. In discussing implications, Pagán-Rodríguez emphasized promoting and subsidizing ‘specific and adapted training courses among workers with disabilities in order to cover their educational deficits and skill shortages’ (p. 882).

Also employing a human capital perspective, Jones (2010) utilized data from the 2008 Quarterly Labour Force Survey (QLFS) in the UK to examine differences in educational qualifications, employment status, and participation in

further training for disabled and non-disabled individuals. Findings indicated that individuals with disabilities generally had lower educational qualifications and were more likely to be unemployed, with some differences associated with the nature of the disability. For young adults (age 16–24), non-employed individuals with disabilities were less likely to have participated in training during the last 13 weeks (21%) than non-employed individuals without disabilities (34%); however, among the employed, similar rates of participation in training were found for disabled and non-disabled. Similar patterns were observed for those 25 and over, with only 3.4% of disabled non-employed individuals participating in education or training in the last 13 weeks, compared to approximately 10% of those both non-employed and non-disabled, while similar rates of participation (approximately 25% were observed for both disabled and non-disabled among the employed. Noting that rates of education and training fell dramatically for those classified as economically inactive, the author noted and ‘in all cases inactive disabled people were in all cases accumulating less human capital than the corresponding non-disabled group. This is likely to be both a cause and consequence of them being further away from entering the labour market’ (p. 36).

PERSPECTIVES FROM THE FIELD OF DISABILITIES STUDIES

Beyond the boundaries of adult and lifelong learning research and practices an interdisciplinary field has developed and grown over last 50 years, which along with parallel grassroots efforts for disability rights, has contributed to a paradigm shift in the ways that disabilities are viewed. As within the field of adult education and lifelong learning, this field has been characterized by diversity of viewpoint and spheres of activity. To better inform readers of the sources of ideas regarding disability that have more recently been introduced into adult education scholarship and practice, a brief overview of the field of disabilities studies is included here.

DOMINANT DISCOURSES IN DISABILITIES STUDIES

The field of Disabilities Studies traces its roots to the grass roots efforts of organizations of disabled persons whose voices emerged in the 1960s on the heels of other civil rights movements. Activists, particularly in the U.S. and Europe campaigned for change in the ways disability was understood and persons with disabilities were treated. From their perspective, disability should not be seen as a problem focused on a person’s body, to be treated by health care and social work professionals, but rather as a politically and socially constructed problem. Soon academics embraced their cause. Roulstone et al. (2012) point to three key elements that emerged as part of the disability studies agenda: (a) that disabled people are marginalized, (b) that they constitute a minority group, and (c) that disability should be reconstructed as a social problem rather than a medical one. Michael Oliver (1983) is credited with

labelling the ‘social model’ of disability, wherein disability came to be described in terms of social discrimination and barriers (Barnes 2012; Roulstone et al. 2012). In the social model, disability is seen as something imposed on top of any physical impairment, in the ways that disabled individuals are excluded and oppressed across societies. Attention is paid to the various barriers faced by those with disabilities across various institutions and sectors of society. Sherry (2008) points out that disabling barriers may be physical, social, visual/audio-based, environmental, financial, or attitudinal.

According to Barnes (2012), the social model of disability became evident over time in the language of official policies of the UN and World Health Organization, although he questions the impact these policies have had. One may wonder how much influence the social model of disability has had in reflecting on the definition of disability referenced in the *Introduction to the United Nations and Disabled Persons—The First Fifty Years* (2015). That document notes:

Disability is a ‘restriction or lack (resulting from an impairment) of ability to perform an activity in the manner or within the range considered normal for a human being.’ It describes a functional limitation or activity restriction caused by an impairment. Disabilities are descriptions of disturbances in function at the level of the person. Examples of disabilities include difficulty seeing, speaking or hearing; difficulty moving or climbing stairs; difficulty grasping, reaching, bathing, eating, toileting. (The United Nations and Disabled Persons 2015)

Only in defining the term ‘handicap,’ are references made to the socio-cultural context:

A handicap is a ‘disadvantage for a given individual, resulting from an impairment or disability, that limits or prevents the fulfilment of a role that is normal (depending on age, sex and social and cultural factors) for that individual’...Handicap describes the social and economic roles of impaired or disabled persons that place them at a disadvantage compared to other persons. These disadvantages are brought about through the interaction of the person with specific environments and cultures. Examples of handicaps include being bedridden or confined to home; being unable to use public transport; being socially isolated. (The United Nations and Disabled Persons 2015)

The influence of the social model of disability seems more apparent in the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (United Nations Enable 2015), *entered into force* in 2008 once the Convention obtained twenty ratifications, although it is still receiving ratifications today. The eight guiding principles listed in the Convention are as follows:

1. Respect for inherent dignity, individual autonomy including the freedom to make one’s own choices, and independence of persons
2. Non-discrimination

3. Full and effective participation and inclusion in society
4. Respect for difference and acceptance of persons with disabilities as part of human diversity and humanity
5. Equality of opportunity
6. Accessibility
7. Equality between men and women
8. Respect for the evolving capacities of children with disabilities and respect for the right of children with disabilities to preserve their identities.

Still, considering information on education and employment of individuals with disabilities appearing in this chapter, one might question as Barnes (2012) does, the impact these policies have had. Numerous recent documents and studies indicate that individuals with disabilities continue to be disadvantaged related to the non-disabled when it comes to educational attainment, employment, and wages (Pagán and Malo 2009; Jones 2010; Lindstrom et al. 2012; Pagán-Rodríguez 2015).

As has occurred within the field of adult education and lifelong learning, philosophical debates have ensued over the years among those with different viewpoint within disabilities studies. For instance, Shakespeare (2013) acknowledges numerous strengths of the social model of disability, but is critical of its failure to acknowledge impairment as a factor in the lives of many individuals with disabilities, noting that qualitative researcher have discovered it is hard to clearly delineate the effects of impairment and social barriers, saying that ‘in practice it is the interaction of individual bodies and social environments which produces disability’ (p. 218). He questions whether the removal of social discrimination would in fact remove all intrinsic limitations. Barnes (2012) in turn criticizes the work of Shakespeare and others he sees as part of the ‘American approach’ to disabilities studies, which he sees as contributing to the ‘significant de-radicalization of the social sciences generally and a retreat from racial theories which post a direct challenge to a capitalist neo-liberal world view (Harvey 2010)’ (p. 21). Barnes also resists claims that the social model denies the existence of impairment, arguing that ‘the social model impairment disability dichotomy is a pragmatic one that does not deny that some impairments limit people’s ability to function independently’ (p. 22), but adds ‘The fact that increasing numbers of people with impairments do not have access to these resources in both rich and poor nation states is due in large part to the globalization of a particular materialist world view that prioritizes the pursuit of profit over equality and social justice’ (pp. 22–23).

DISABILITY AND INTERSECTIONALITIES

Similar critiques and counter-critiques can be seen among scholars writing recently regarding intersectionalities of disability with race, ethnicity, gender, socioeconomic status and sexual orientation. Books edited by Hall (2011) and Smith and Hutchison (2004) illustrate the large and diverse body of work

contributed by scholars examining the impact of intersections of gender and disability. Hall (2011) cites Garland-Thompson (2005), a pioneer in feminist disability studies, with observing that feminist disability studies reimagines disability, rather than merely combining the two fields; Hall adds from her own perspective, that it also reimagines gender, hence transforming both fields. Garland-Thompson is also credited with introducing the concept of the *normate*—‘the figure outlined by an array of deviant others whose marked bodies shore up the norm’s boundaries’ (Garland-Thomson, cited in Hall 2011: 3). As Bonnie Smith (2004) notes, ‘The complexity of disability is compounded when set in dialogue with issues of gender, which today is also seen as a complicated set of practices, ways of being, sexualities, politics, and artistic and social visions. No longer does the term *gender* refer to one’s biological sex or does it serve as a synonym for women or feminism’ (Smith 2004: 1–2). As both these edited volumes illustrate, scholars examining gender and disability have incorporated culture, identity, representation of disability, and artistic expression into the discussion of disability, extending beyond the original social model.

Other DS scholars have focused on the intersections of race, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and sexual orientation with disability, but again often with diverse perspectives. For instance, while discussing both race and ethnicity, Sherry (2008) suggests that in discussions of diversity and disability the term *ethnicity* is preferable to that of race because it is less *problematic*, elaborating that: ‘The term “race” is often considered anachronistic within sociological literature because of its pejorative and racist undertones, as well as its lack of scientific grounding’ (p. 19). Erevelles and Minear (2013), on the other hand, deliberately employ a Critical Race Feminist lens in attempting to theorize ‘oppression faced at the multiple fronts of race, class, gender, sexuality, and disability’ using as one example the case of Eleanor Bumpurs, an obese, poor, elderly, black woman with psychological disabilities killed by New York City police while resisting eviction from her apartment.

While acknowledging intersections with social structures including race and class, Sherry (2008) is critical that lenses focusing on class and socioeconomic status have not been used in the literature on disability, including chronic illness, and notes that many illnesses, including asthma, cardiovascular disease, and depression, are more common among those with lower socioeconomic status. He cites lower rates of health care insurance and limited access to preventive services as barriers facing those with limited resources. Wendell (2013) problematizes the discussions of chronic illness, and avoidance of such discussions, within disability studies. She distinguishes between healthy disabled and unhealthy disabled, and arguing that the UN definition of impairment which attaches it to medical institutions that set the standards for ‘normality,’ combined with the interest of disability activists to assure nondisabled people that disability is not illness, has contributed to avoiding discussion of chronic illness as, or in conjunction with disability, and inadequate attention to issues facing the unhealthy disabled. She argues ‘some unhealthy people, as well as some healthy people with disabilities, experience physical or psychological burdens

that no amount of social justice can eliminate. Therefore, some very much want to have their bodies cured, not as a substitute for ableism, but in addition to it' (p. 162). She suggests that is 'is possible to pay more attention to impairment while supporting a social constructionist analysis of disability' (p. 165), especially if a focus is maintained on individuals' experiences with impairment rather than accepting a medical approach.

Queer theory and identities have served as an additional locus in the discussion of intersectionalities within disability studies. For instance, Samuels (2013) makes connections between coming out as queer and as disabled from her position as a femme lesbian who is not obviously queer and a person with an invisible disability, also relating these experiences to scholarly discussions of deliberate and unintentional 'passing' by light-skinned African Americans. She observes how individuals who make a concerted effort not to pass must cope with others who do not necessarily welcome or acknowledge spontaneous declarations of invisible identity, and notes how other members of the in-group may also receive them with varying responses. While McRuer (2013) does not focus on intersecting identities per se, he draws on queer theory scholars' discussions of compulsory heterosexuality to put forward a theory of what he calls 'compulsory able-bodiedness' and a call for queer/disability studies. He argues that Garland-Thomas's concept of the 'normate' and Susan Wendell's concept of 'normalcy' help to explain how compulsory able-bodiedness that emanates from everywhere and nowhere makes it seem acceptable for someone to say to a deaf adult, 'In the end, wouldn't you rather be hearing' (p. 372). Yet, he posits, 'able-bodied status is always temporary, disability being the one identity category that all people will embody if they live long enough' (p. 374).

EVOLVING PERSPECTIVES ON DISABILITY IN ADULT AND LIFELONG EDUCATION

For the last decade or so scholars from within the field have begun to integrate concepts and scholarship from disabilities studies into the scholarly discourse on adult and lifelong education. (Ross-Gordon 2002; Rocco 2005; Clark 2006; McClean 2011). In a chapter on the 'Sociocultural Context of Disability' published in 2002, I suggested the need to reframe the subject from the interventionist model currently reflected in much of the current work on adults with disabilities, originating in special education and vocational rehabilitation, to reflect contributions from early disability studies scholars (Pfeiffer 1993; Zola 1993; Linton 1994; Adrian 1997). I also highlighted the relevance of culture to understand adults with disabilities, both in terms of cultural influences on definitions of disability and societal responses to them, and in terms of conversations surrounding the existence specific cultural groups with the disabilities community as well as a broader notion of 'disability culture.' Finally, I emphasized the importance of equal access as a precondition for self-determination, drawing on Wehmeyer's (1998) differentiation of

self-determination into two elements: (a) personal—having to do with controlling one's own life, and (b) political—the right of a people to self-governance.

In an article published in *Adult Education Quarterly*, Clark (2006) similarly encouraged the field of adult education to develop an interdisciplinary relationship with disability studies. She categorized the extant literature on disability within the field of adult and lifelong education into three domains: (a) literature including disability as a type of diversity, with a focus on inclusion of disabled through educational accommodations; (b) literature discussing sociocultural, political, and economic power issues that interfere with the lives of adult disabled learners; and (c) literature framing disability within a transformative or self-directed learning paradigm. She critiqued this literature for its failure to interrogate the complex social realities of adult learners with disabilities and its failure to analyse power issues associated with living in a culture of ableism. Furthermore, she argued that with rising numbers of adults with disabilities participating in higher and adult education, the field has much to gain from an interdisciplinary relationship with disability studies.

Arguably, Tonnette Rocco has offered the most sustained critique of the failure of adult education scholars to view disability through a critical lens examining issues of power and oppression as found in disability studies. In a paper presented at the Adult Education Research Conference, Rocco (2005) discussed various forms of oppression faced by those with disabilities in formulating a critical disability theory, relating it to critical race theory and citing contributions by numerous disability studies scholars. Rocco has continued to promote attention to disability and the incorporation of sociopolitical perspectives from disability studies in subsequent works, including a chapter she co-authored with Sandra Fornes published in 2010, and an edited sourcebook focused on challenging ableism (Rocco and Fornes 2010; Rocco 2011a). In the opening chapter of the sourcebook (Rocco and Delgado 2011) she and co-author Antonio Delgado pointed out that disability is rarely theorized or researched as a social construct or political designation within the field of adult education, challenging scholars in the field to undertake this effort. In the final chapter of this sourcebook Rocco (2011b) asserted that the social construction of disability supports the privileged status of able-bodied people much in the same way that social construction of race supports white privilege. McClean (2011), a lecturer in disability studies contributing to the same sourcebook, made the case for adult education as a vehicle to challenging and dismantling ableism, starting with experiences that disrupt the hegemonic assumptions about what is 'normal.' She also suggested adult educators should begin this work at home, seeking experiences that will provide them with a deeper understanding of disability and creating similar learning opportunities for their non-disabled students and colleagues involved in professional development.

In addition to these more conceptual treatments of disability, a limited body of empirical work focusing on adult learners appears to be informed by the

critical perspectives on disability found in the literature of disability studies. In this section, several such studies are reported, representing each of the contexts of adult education discussed in the opening section on ‘mainstream’ literature on adults with disabilities—adult literacy, higher education, and work-related education. Rule and Modipa (2012) reported on a project in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa that took an emancipatory action research approach to involving adults with disabilities in conceptualizing and conducting the research with a goal of collective learning. Their research team included two nondisabled members and four with disabilities—three with visual impairments and one with a physical impairment. The project was conducted under the auspices of Enable Education Training and Development Initiative (Enable), initially *a programme within an* adult literacy Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), and by the end of the project, an independent NGO in its own right. After citing the social model of disability along with critiques of the model, they embraced an interactional view of disability ‘as a function of the relationship between an individual and his or her environment, including biological, cultural, psychological, and sociopolitical aspects’ (p. 142).

The research project progressed through one cycle of action research, including (a) problem identification, (b) research design, (c) data collection and analysis, and (d) application of findings to practice. Six men and six women were interviewed and four focus groups were conducted, two in rural areas and two in urban area, with the authors noting the cultural importance of including focus groups. Three core themes were identified: (1) Experiences of schooling, (2) Disability in family and community, and (3) Education and transformation. Although some of the adult learners never attended *school*, those who did reported negative experiences related to their disability. Others left school due to barriers related to poverty or gender discrimination—pointing to the intersectionality of race, class and gender with disability. Some participants suffered discrimination and marginalization related to the stigma of disability within the *family and community*, similar to that experienced in school. Participants also described *changes in self-esteem* and sense of capability, at least partially attributed to participation in the *adult literacy programme*. As a result of this emancipatory research, project ENABLE extended its focus to include awareness-raising workshops in communities as a way to change attitudes of others toward people with disabilities. At one such workshop a traditional leader spoke openly for the first time about his own son’s disability. The authors concluded that engagement of adults with disabilities in collective learning and action has the potential to be transformational at both personal and social levels.

Mara (2014) reported on a project aimed at increasing the inclusion of adults with disabilities in the higher education environment in Romania, citing the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union and the comparatively low rate of employment of disabled individuals in Romania (4% as compared with 13% in Bulgaria, 22% in Turkey, and 29% in the UK), and pointing to discrimination as a primary factor in barriers to societal participation. The target groups for the project included 300 students with disabilities, 100 faculty

members in three partner universities, and 50 private social partners. To reduce barriers the project provided financial support for disabled students, equipment for the universities adapted to the needs of the participating students, training in educational and ICT mentoring for faculty student mentors, and network support for students, faculty, student and staff mentors, and project experts. As outcomes Mara reported that many students made progress toward their academic goals—including exams, internships, and graduation—as well as progress in social engagement.

Lopez Gavira and Moriña (2014) cited both a social model theoretical framework and the legal requirements for non-discriminatory education laid out in Organic Law 4/2007 for Universities for their investigation of ‘lost voices’ in a university in Spain. They used a biographical-narrative approach to conduct interviews with 44 students, mini-life histories with sixteen, and in-depth life histories with eight as a means of identifying perceptions of students with disabilities regarding institutional, classroom, and social barriers and supports. They concluded that although students were able to identify a number of helpful supports at each level, including the office for Service to Students with Disability, barriers exceeded support. Institutional barriers included inadequate availability of ramps, too many stairs, poor signage, poor classroom acoustics and lack of a designated space for students with disabilities. Regarding the classroom, they wanted faculty to recognize and accommodate their special needs, and perceived faculty as lacking training about disability. They also expressed difficulty with making friends and problems with teamwork. The authors noted that some of the improvements wanted by students with disabilities would be helpful to other students as well, such as improved classroom acoustics and greater faculty use of available technologies.

A study by Duff and Ferguson (2011) provided a rare look at the negative impact of disabilities within a professional group—looking specifically at the experiences of practicing accountants with disabilities. While acknowledging the relevance of an interaction approach such as that favoured by Shakespeare, they framed the study primarily within a social model of disability. They used an oral history approach in interviews with 12 individuals in the UK identified as having varying impairments; participants also varied with regard to whether their impairments were present from birth, or were acquired before or during their careers. From the literature on accounts from other marginalized groups, the authors identified issues with stereotyping, the use of the ‘client’ to legitimize discrimination, the value ascribed to appearance and image in accounting employment, and the time commitment typically required of professional accountants. Study findings highlighted the difficulty accountants with disabilities faced in finding employment, along with a tendency for them to be relegated in large firms to roles that involved less client contact. Participants noted that common expectations that accountants should be willing and able to work excessive hours and travel on short notice posed problems for them, as did physical barriers in their work that might be readily addressed. Nearly all perceived they had been discriminated against, most often with regard to being less

well paid. Notably, participants reported virtually no support from professional organizations. Several either became self-employed or sought out smaller accounting firms to escape the conditions typically experienced in larger firms; at least one reported being pushed out after he acquired a disability. These study findings suggest numerous possibilities for human resource and professional development in the field of accounting. Additional research of this sort would be valuable to ascertain the degree to which similar conditions are encountered by individuals with disabilities employed in other professions.

MY PERSONAL JOURNEY TOWARD AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF DISABILITY

In this section, I present an integrated model of disability that I believe may be useful for the development of theory, research and practice in adult learning and education. While this model is substantially informed both by the literature reviewed above, most notably by Rocco (2005, 2011a, 2011b) and Rule and Modipa (2012) from the adult education literature and Shakespeare (2013) from the literature of disabilities studies, it has also been shaped by own personal, academic, and professional development. Thus I will present the model as it emerged developmentally for me, as a way of illustrating the role that both personal and professional experience and exposure to scholarly literature of the field contribute to shaping adult educator's perspectives on disability.

In the Association for the Study of Higher Education monograph *Allies for Inclusion*, Myers et al. (2014) open by asking the question: 'Where were you when you first experienced disability?' Of course, this question implicitly refers to the reader's first salient and memorable experience with disability. For me, this 'experience' encompassed the first and several subsequent encounters during my elementary school years (late 1950s–early 1960s) with my cousin who lived in another state and who happened to be deaf. I saw Diana only a few times during visits to my grandmother who lived in the same city. I remember being frustrated in each instance with my inability to communicate with her. I also remember being surprised that she attended a state-sponsored boarding school rather than a local school where she could remain with her family. As I considered what subject to major in as I went off to college, memories of my encounters with Diana resurfaced when someone advised me that jobs as an educator were fairly competitive at the time, and that it might be worth considering a major in some form of special education. When I learned that the nearby college I had recently gained admission to had an excellent programme in Education of the Hearing Impaired, I indicated that programme for my choice of major. I was impressed with the faculty, including the programme chair who was deaf, although not so impressed with my own initial efforts as learning sign language or the grade I earned in that class. To this point in time my conception of disability still centred largely on a communicative model, with the idea that teachers who wished to work with hearing impaired had an

obligation to gain communication skills that would facilitate their work, rather than the onus for improved communication being placed entirely on the hearing impaired. The programme emphasized 'Total Communication,' an approach aimed at teaching sign language to hearing impaired students in addition to teaching lip reading and using amplification for those it might benefit, an approach that in its day circa 1970 was considered progressive, compared to the approach used in a school I would teach at a few years later, where signing was discouraged. I was disappointed when I learned after one semester that this degree programme was being phased out, but quickly decided upon a major in Speech and Language Pathology.

In that programme, I was introduced to a medical model of disability, as the title of the programme implied. The emphasis was on learning the biological basis of speech and language 'disorders,' both developmental and acquired, as well as using therapeutic techniques aimed at 'fixing' the communication disabilities of children and adults impacted by these impairments to the degree possible. In this programme considerable emphasis was placed on what was known at the time (early 1970s) about the neurological basis of speech and language differences, including those evident from infancy and those manifests after strokes and traumatic brain injury. My academic and career journey would take me next to the field of learning disabilities at the master's level, given my growing perception during practicum experiences in my senior year that a major in speech and language pathology was not leading me to a career that closely enough matched my desire to be an educator. Given the department where I earned my bachelor's degree also had a strong reputation in the area of learning disabilities, I continued there, where I was further exposed to a medical model emphasizing the presumed neurological basis for the 'cognitive disorders' said to underlie learning disabilities—although it would not be until years later that brain imaging techniques became advanced enough to offer some support for these knowledge claims.

I continued on to earn my master's degree in learning disabilities (LD), and begin my professional career working with children diagnosed as having learning disabilities prior to entering first grade, as well as participating as a member of a diagnostic team at the same private school for LD and hearing impaired children. This was around the time of the passage of Public Law-94-142 (the initial U.S. legislation entitling those with disabilities to an inclusive education in public schools, later codified as IDEA), which for the first time ensured special education services for children enrolled in public schools in the U.S., and my next job would take me to what was called a 'resource room' serving young adolescents in a public school setting. In both these jobs I began to observe that when and how students were diagnosed, which schools they wound up in, and how they were served by the education system, had much to do not only with their diagnosed disability, but also with their race, gender, and social class (Ross-Gordon 2002). These questions later found resonance in the work of Carrier (1987), who questioned the degree to which the category of 'learning disability' had been socially constructed, defined, and utilized. At the same time, I continued to believe, as I do now, that some *proportion* of learning

differences that have been labeled ‘learning disabilities’ do have a neurological basis. Yet I also questioned (Ross-Gordon 1989), the claims made by some authors of the period, that as many as 80% of adults in adult literacy programmes had learning disabilities. To present my model of disability as it has evolved so far in this story, I offer the following graphic as a placeholder.

Biological Influence (Impairment or presumed impairment)
 ⇔ Social Influence(Social responses including discrimination)

The next phase in my development came when I moved to a state where my professional credentials specific to the field of learning disabilities did not translate to employability in the public school system, at which point I made my career transition into adult and higher education. I applied for a job in a university learning assistance centre, where I was hired as the centre’s point of connection with the office of academic support for student athletes, although curiously, my degree in learning disabilities was seen as an asset for this role—not to mention allowing for a ‘two for one hire’, at a time when college support programmes for students with learning disabilities were just beginning to emerge. As I began to work with both student athletes and the occasional student with learning disabilities referred to the learning assistance centre by the campus office for disability services, I became aware of a new element that I find important to include in an integrative model of disability and adult learning—the psychological dimension of disability. While the social model of disability developed out of an awareness that earlier psychological models were inadequate, my personal awareness of the psychological dimension evolved after my awareness of the social dimensions of disability, from my interactions with adults in college who in some cases bore the psychological scars of years of the stigma of being in ‘special’ classes, and in other cases carried the psychological baggage of wondering why they had struggled for so many years in school. I would argue that the psychological dimension is an important one to consider as well, both in terms of the positive self-concept and identity which may be fostered by appropriate responses to a person who has physical, cognitive or mental impairments, and in terms of the psychological damage that can be created by various forms of social oppression including stereotyping, stigma, and discrimination (Fig. 1).

Finally, I would add culture as a dimension to an integrative model of disability, the relevance of which I learned first through literature in the fields of learning disabilities and adult education and later began to incorporate in my own writing, before more recently gaining a more experiential understanding of its importance. My scholarly reading and writing relating culture to disability has focused on such matters as the cultural bias implicit in assessment tools, the likelihood that individuals from non-dominant cultures might be perceived as cognitively disabled on the basis of what are really cultural differences, and the degree to which cultures may vary in what aspects of human difference are regarded as disabilities (Ross-Gordon 1996, 2002). Although I had also written about Deaf culture (Ross-Gordon 2002), it was not until I recently interacted on

an ongoing basis with a doctoral student who many would perceive as hearing impaired but who is culturally Deaf that I totally ‘got it.’ While it remains a matter of debate whether there is any such thing as ‘disability culture’ (Peters 2000), it seems important to include culture as part of an integrative model of disability when considering all the factors mentioned thus far. Adding the dimensions of psychological impact of disability and cultural factors relating to disability to this integrated model, a graphic representation of this model is presented below (Fig.1).

Both my personal and professional experience and my familiarity with various models of disability presented in the literature suggest that it is essential to acknowledge the role that society plays in constructing disability and thereby shaping the experiences of individuals with various types of impairments, often in a negative way. Yet, I would agree with Wendell (2013) in suggesting that it is possible to pay attention to impairment while supporting a social constructionist analysis of disability, especially if attention is placed on individuals’ experiences of impairment, including the psychological impact of the impairment in interaction with the sociocultural context, rather than focusing on the medicalized aspects of impairment. It would also seem that if the field of adult and lifelong education is to develop a comprehensive understanding of disability that informs practice as well as our research, the ablest assumptions of non-disabled individuals and the systemic policies and practices that abet discrimination and oppression must also be the subject of study.

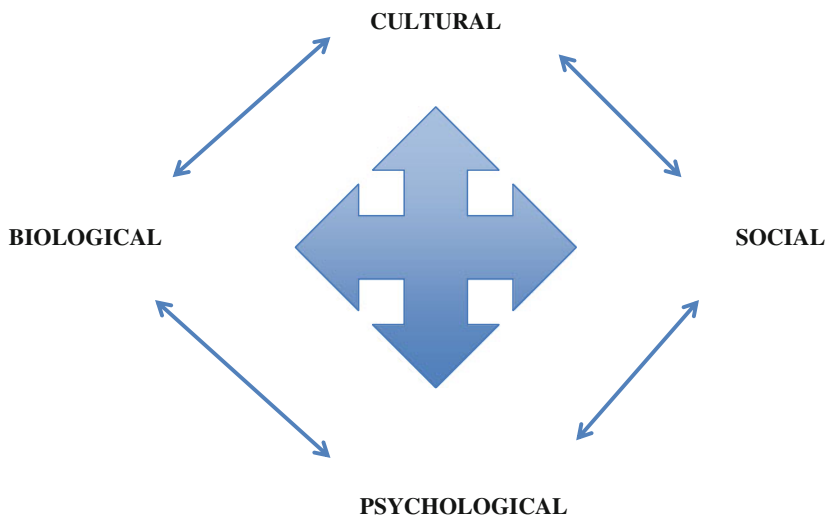


Fig. 1 Integrative model of disability in adult learning and education

Acknowledgement I wish to acknowledge the contributions of doctoral research assistants Renée Jones and Merih Uğurel Kamişli who provided assistance with literature searches and reference checks.

REFERENCES

- Adrian, S. E. (1997). Disability, society and ethical issues: A first-year experience for university Students. *Intervention in School and Clinic*, 32, 178–184.
- AHEAD. (2015). *Association on Higher Education and Disability*. Retrieved October 25, 2015, from <http://ahead.org/>.
- Barnes, C. (2012). Understanding the social model of disability past, present and future. In N. Watson, A. Roulstone, & C. Thomas (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of disability studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Bowren, W. F. (1981). Teaching the learning disabled to read. *Adult Literacy and Basic Education*, 5(3), 179–184.
- Carrier, J. G. (1987). The politics of early learning disability theory. In B. M. Franklin (Ed.), *Learning disability: Dissenting essays*. London: Falmer Press.
- Choy, S. (2002). *Nontraditional undergraduates*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.
- Clark, M. A. (2006). Adult education and disability studies, an interdisciplinary relationship: Research implications for adult education. *Adult Education Quarterly: A Journal of Research and Theory*, 56(4), 308–322. doi:10.1177/0741713606289661.
- Corley, M., & Taymans, J. (2002). Adults with learning disabilities: A review of the literature. In J. Cummings & B. Garner (Eds.), *Annual review of adult learning and literacy: A project of the National Center for the Study of Adult Learning and Literacy*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Covington, L. E. (2004). Moving beyond the limits of learning: Implications of learning disabilities for adult education. *Adult Basic Education: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Adult Literacy Educational Planning*, 14(2), 90–103.
- Duff, A., & Ferguson, J. (2011). Disability and the socialization of accounting professionals. *Critical Perspectives on Accounting*, 22, 351–364.
- Erevelles, N., & Minear, A. (2013). Unspeakable offenses: Untangling race and disability in discourses of intersectionality. In L. Davis (Ed.), *The disability studies reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Garland-Thompson, R. (2005). Feminist disability studies. *Signs*, 20(2), 1557–1587.
- Hall, K. Q. (2011). *Feminist disability studies*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Jones, M. (2010). Disability, education and training. *Economic & Labour Market Review*, 4(4), 32–37.
- Kutner, M., Greenberg, E., Jin, Y., Boyle, B., Hsu, Y., & Dunleavy, E. (2007). *Literacy in everyday life: Results from the 2003 National Assessment of Adult Literacy* (NCES 2007-480). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.
- Leake, D. W., & Stodden, R. A. (2014). Higher education and disability: Past and future of underrepresented populations. *Journal of Postsecondary Education and Disability*, 2(4), 399–408.
- Lindstrom, L., Doren, B., Post, C., & Lombardi, A. (2012). Building career PATHS (Post-school Achievement through Higher Skills) for young women with disabilities.

- Career Development Quarterly*, 61, 331–338. doi:10.1002/j.2161-0045.2013.00059.x.
- Linton, S. (1994). Reshaping disability in teacher education and beyond. *Teaching Education*, 6(2), 9–20.
- Lopez, G. R., & Moraña, A. (2014). Hidden voices in higher education: Inclusive policies and practices in social science and law classrooms. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*, 19(4), 365–378. doi:10.1080/13603116.2014.935812.
- Mara, D. (2014). Higher education for people with disabilities – Romanian education experience. *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 142, 78–82. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2014.07.591.
- McClean, M. D. A. (2011). Getting to know you: The prospect of challenging ableism through adult learning. In T. Rocco (Ed.), *Challenging ableism, understanding disability, including adults with disabilities in workplace and learning spaces* (New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, No. 132). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- McRuer, R. (2013). Compulsory able-bodiedness and queer/disabled experience. In L. Davis (Ed.), *The disabilities studies reader* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Myers, K. A., Lindburg, J. J., & Nied, D. M. (2014). *Allies for inclusion: Disability and equity in higher education* (ASHE Higher Education Report, 39 (5)). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Oliver, M. (1983). *Social work with disabled people*. Macmillan: Basingstoke.
- Oslund, C. M. (2015). *Disability services and disability studies in higher education: History, contexts, and social impacts*. New York: Palgrave.
- Pagán, R. (2011). Ageing and disability: Job satisfaction differentials across Europe. *Social Science and Medicine*, 72, 206–215. doi:10.1016/j.socscimed.2010.11.007.
- Pagán, R. (2013). Job satisfaction and domains of job satisfaction for older workers with disabilities in Europe. *Journal of Happiness Studies*, 14, 861–889. doi:10.1007/s10902-12-9359-x.
- Pagán, R. (2014). What makes workers with disabilities happy? The importance of non-pecuniary characteristics. *Health Economics Letter*, 23, 241–247. doi:10.1002/hec.2905.
- Pagán, R., & Malo, M. A. (2009). Job satisfaction and disability: Lower expectations about jobs or a matter of health? *Spanish Economic Review*, 1(1), 51–74. doi:10.1007/s10108-008-9043-9.
- Pagán-Rodríguez, R. (2015). Disability, training and job satisfaction. *Social Indicators Research*, 122(3), 865–885. doi:10.1007/s11205-014-0719-2.
- Patterson, M. B. (2008). Learning disability prevalence and adult education programme characteristics. *Learning Disabilities Research & Practice*, 23(1), 50–59. doi:10.1111/j.1540-5826.2007.00262.x.
- Peters, S. (2000). Is there a disability culture? A syncretisation of three possible world views. *Disability & Society*, 15(4), 583–601.
- Pfeiffer, D. (1993). Overview of the disability movement: History, legislative record, and political implications. *Policy Studies Journal*, 21(4), 724–734.
- Rocco, T. S. (2005). From disability studies to critical race theory: Working towards critical disability theory. In *Proceedings of the 46th Annual Adult Education Research Conference*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia.
- Rocco, T. S. (Ed.). (2011a). *Challenging ableism, understanding disability, including adults with disabilities in workplace and learning spaces* (New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, No. 132). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

- Rocco, T. S. (2011b). Moving forward: Two paradigms and takeaways. In T. S. Rocco (Ed.), *Challenging ableism, understanding disability, including adults with disabilities in workplace and learning spaces* (New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, No. 132). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rocco, T. S., & Delgado, A. (2011). Shifting lenses: A critical examination of disability in adult education. In T. S. Rocco (Ed.), *Challenging ableism, understanding disability, including adults with disabilities in workplace and learning spaces* (New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education, No. 132). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Rocco, T. S., & Fornes, S. L. (Eds.). (2010). Perspectives on disability in adult and continuing education. In C. E. Kasworm, A. D. Rose, & J. M. Ross-Gordon (Eds.), *Handbook of adult and continuing education*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Ross-Gordon J. (1989). *Adults with learning disabilities: An overview for the adult educator* (Information Series No. 337, ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 315 664). Columbus, OH: ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career and Vocational Education.
- Ross-Gordon, J. M. (1992). Literacy and the adult with specific learning disabilities. In A. M. Scales & C. William (Eds.), *Perspectives from adult literacy to continuing education*. Dubuque, IA: Brown Publisher.
- Ross-Gordon, J. M. (1996). Sociocultural issues affecting the identification and service delivery models for adult with learning disabilities. In N. Gregg, C. Hoy, & A. F. Gay (Eds.), *Adults with learning disabilities: Theoretical and practical perspectives*. New York: Guilford Press.
- Ross-Gordon, J. (2002). Sociocultural contexts of learning among adults with disabilities. In M. Alfred (Ed.), *Learning and sociocultural contexts: Implications for adult, community, and workplace education* (New Directions for Adult & Continuing Education, No. 96). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Ross-Gordon, J. M., Plotts, C., Noble, J., & Wells, R. (2003). Assessment of adult learning disabilities: Multiple perspectives. *Adult Basic Education: An Interdisciplinary Journal for Adult Literacy Educators*, 13(3), 131–145.
- Roulstone, A., Thomas, C., & Watson, N. (2012). The changing terrain of disability studies. In N. Watson, A. Roulstone, & C. Thomas (Eds.), *Routledge handbook of disability studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Rule, P., & Modipa, T. R. (2012). ‘We must believe in ourselves’: Attitudes and experiences of adult learners with disabilities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 62, 138–158. doi:10.1177/074/4171361400303.
- Samuels, E. (2013). My body, my closet: Invisible disability and the limits of coming out. In L. Davis (Ed.), *The disabilities studies reader* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Shakespeare, T. (2013). The social model of disability. In L. Davis (Ed.), *The disabilities studies reader* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Sherry, M. (2008). *Disability and diversity: A sociological perspective*. New York: Nova Science Publishers.
- Smith, B. G. (2004). Introduction. In B. G. Smith & B. Hutchison (Eds.), *Gendering disability*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Smith, B. G., & Hutchison, B. (Eds.). (2004). *Gendering disability*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Sturomski, N. (1996). Literacy needs for adults who have learning disabilities. In N. Gregg, C. Hoy, & A. F. Gay (Eds.), *Adults with learning disabilities: Theoretical and practical perspectives*. New York, NY: Guilford Pub.

- Taymans, J. M. (2012). Legal and definitional issues affecting the identification and education of adults with specific learning disabilities in adult education programmes. *Journal of Learning Disabilities*, 45(1), 5–16. doi:10.1177/0022219411426857.
- The United Nations. (2015). *The United Nations and Disabled Persons*. Retrieved September 24, 2015, from <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/enable/dis50y00.htm>.
- Travis, G. Y. (1979). An adult educator views learning disabilities. *Adult Literacy and Basic Education*, 3, 85–93.
- United Nations Enable. (2015). *International Day of Persons with Disabilities*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/disabilities/default.asp?id=1637>.
- UNESCO. (1999). *Persons with disabilities: Making education accessible and available to all persons with disabilities*. Part 8d, Confintea V Booklets. Hamburg, Germany: UNESCO Institute for Education. Retrieved from <http://www.unesco.org/education/uie/confintea/pdf/8d.pdf>.
- Vogel, S. A., & Reder, S. (Eds.). (1998). *Learning disabilities, literacy and adult education*. Baltimore, MD: Paul Brookes Publishing.
- Wehmeyer, M. L. (1998). Self-determination of individuals with significant disabilities: Examining meaning and misinterpretations. *Journal of the Association for Persons with Severe Handicaps*, 23(11), 5–16.
- Wendell, S. (2013). Unhealthy disabled: Treating chronic illnesses as disability. In L. Davis (Ed.), *The disability studies reader* (4th ed.). New York: Routledge.
- Zola, I. K. (1993). Self, identity and the naming question: Reflections on the language of disability. *Social Sciences and Medicine*, 36(2), 167–173.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Jovita M. Ross-Gordon is a Professor of Adult, Professional and Community Education at Texas State University (USA), where her courses include adult learning and foundations of adult and continuing education. A Co-editor-in-chief of *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education* (Wiley), her work has focused on adult/higher education and on diversity and equity. Her latest publications include *Foundations of Adult and Continuing Education* (2016, with Amy D. Rose and Carol E. Kasworm) published by Jossey-Bass.

Queering Transformative Learning: The Unfolding of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, and Ally Lives

Matthew A. Eichler and Racidon P. Bernarte

Abstract Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and ally (LGBTQIA) lives remain complex at a time when LGBTQIA individuals and communities, as sexual and gender minorities, face unequal rights throughout the world. For those who may be coming out of the closet (revealing their identities to others) or coming to understand their own sexuality and gender, family, friends, and the local community may be more or less supportive of their choice to come out. Transformative learning is a helpful theory for understanding the shifting landscape of LGBTQIA lives, whether shifting due to time or location. The complexity of LGBTQIA lives leads to an unfolding of personal identity through time given this rapidly shifting landscape.

At this point in time, the lives of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and allies (LGBTQIA) people have unprecedented change when it comes to rights, social transformation, and connection. Sexual and gender

The use of LGBTQIA to include allies is deliberate in this chapter. As is further explained in the chapter, allies include those who do not take on one of the labels (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or intersex) but are included in this grouping of sexual and gender minorities, whether due to political orientation (in the case of straight allies who receive stigma based on their beliefs), sexual practices, gender, or some other reason. Allies also leave the door open to other individuals and groups which may align themselves with the movement for any given reason. This choice is meant to be inclusive and expansive.

M.A. Eichler (✉)

Department of Occupational, Workforce, and Leadership Studies, Texas State University, 601 University Dr, San Marcos, TX 78666, USA
e-mail: me21@txstate.edu

R.P. Bernarte

Polytechnic University of the Philippines, Maynila, Philippines
e-mail: rpbernarte@pup.edu.ph

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_46

minorities have a high degree of complexity as their lives unfold. This complexity is due to the fluidity of gender and sexuality existing within systems in which rigid dichotomies that define and shape many social practices. For example, in many places, the use of the washroom remains a gendered experience based on two choices, men or women, males or females (depending on how the washroom might be labelled). For those whose identities are fluid or for those whose physical appearance do not match their gender expression, a complex choice is needed. Weighing the choice of which washroom to use might take into account the desire to 'out' or reveal one's gender or sexual identity to others, the desire to stay safe from physical threats from others who view the presence of a gender non-conforming individual to transgress strict social boundaries, or the desire to use equipment that might be present in one or the other washroom. An individual who may not feel safe in this situation may choose not to use the washroom at all. What is an everyday experience of using the washroom for many is quite a challenge for those who do not strictly fit into a dichotomous gender structure.

The purpose of this chapter is to highlight elements of the current context of LGBTQIA issues and their relationship to adult learning and development. Specifically, we aim to frame transformative learning as a valuable way of making sense of the unfolding lives of LGBTQIA individuals. For LGBTQIA individuals and groups, transformative learning provides the necessary means for reconsideration and adjustment of the worldview to match social and political realities of LGBTQIA lives. To provide an overview of LGBTQIA development, we have defined relevant terms and developmental theories in the context of the unfolding lives of LGBTQIA individuals. Further, we describe contextual issues which are social, political, and historical, in regards to LGBTQIA development.

For LGBTQIA individuals who may be coming out of the closet (revealing their sexual and/or gender identity to others) or coming to understand their own sexuality and gender, family, friends, and the community may be more or less supportive of their choice to come out and their lives in general. Many communities may be quite supportive of LGBTQIA people, however, this support is not universal, or in all regards. Dichotomous thinking is prevalent, which oversimplifies the lives of LGBTQIA individuals and communities (for example, being in or out of the closet, being straight or gay, being transgender or not transgender) The reality lived by LGBTQIA people (and probably the population as a whole) is often more fluid, with identity, practices, and behaviour changing over time and in particular contexts (Rosario et al. 2006).

A variety of developmental models and theories have been made in regards to sexual and gender identity (Bilodeau and Renn 2005) These range from clinical models which have historically (and currently) posited that order and disorder among bodies (subjected to psychosocial or medical gazes) account for differences in sexual orientation and gender identity to stage-based models, in which an individual moves through a series of stages from having very little knowledge of the individual's burgeoning sexual or gender development to an integration of identity, to feminist and queer perspectives, which claim that gender and sexual

identities are socially constructed within systems of power, race, culture, ability, and so on. In any case, a primary need for LGBTQIA individuals is learning about their own sexuality and/or gender (and quite possibly how the two are integrated), which stands outside the majority experience, or at least the hegemonic.

Individuals may lack family, friends, or community members to whom they can safely discuss and learn about their own identity. For some, who have supportive families, communities, and live in a context where LGBTQIA are respected and have laws providing for their equality within society, coming out and seeking sources of information may be less of a struggle than for those who may be coming out from families, communities, or nations where LGBTQIA people are not respected, subject to harassment, or at worst, killed.

THE LGBTQIA

Until this point, we have thrown about the terms lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and ally. While not within the purview of this chapter to discuss the meanings of these terms in great detail, we will share a bit about our understanding of these terms and how they fit together. First, it may be necessary to give our own cultural-historical introductions in relation to the ways in which our chapter is shaped. Matthew, who was born and lives in the United States, was raised in rural Minnesota in a farm family. As a white, middle-class academic in the United States, Matthew has had a number of opportunities to travel internationally. While attending a research conference in the Philippines, Matthew met Racidon, an academic born and raised in the Philippines. We have maintained a professional relationship via social media and e-mail and Matthew's periodic trips to the Philippines related to research and conferences. It is in those interactions with one another, clarifying assumptions, comparing the world of LGBTQIA people in the United States and Philippines that we have learned a great deal about the lives of LGBTQIA people, their learning needs, and the need for transformation.

LGBTQIA, first, is not a unitary group, but rather a group that shares similar social and political dispositions because of their sexual orientations and gender identities. While the complex nature of sexual orientation and gender identity do not allow universal agreement on language or labels for categories of gender identity and sexual orientation, we will share some simple definitions, with the understanding that they may be contested by various members of the community as a whole. (There are even individuals that resist the categorization as an over-medicalization of LGBTQIA identities.) *Lesbian* and *gay* refer to females (lesbians) and males (gay) who experience and act on homosexual attraction, meaning attraction to the same sex (Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns 1991). *Bisexual* is used to refer to 'people who relate sexually and affectionately to women and men' (Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns 1991: 973). *Transgender* is an adjective, an 'umbrella term for people whose gender identity and/or gender expression differs from what is typically associated with the sex they were assigned at birth' (GLAAD n.d.). *Queer* is a term

used as a reclaimed term (from the former pejorative use), in which individuals resist categorisation while still declaring their sexual orientation and/or gender identity non-normative (PFLAG n.d.). According to the United Nations Free and Equal campaign, *intersex* is an ‘umbrella term used to describe a wide range of natural body variations’ primarily including those who are ‘born with sex characteristics (including genitals, gonads and chromosome patterns) that do not fit typical binary notions of male or female bodies’ (United Nations Free and Equal n.d.: 1). *Allies* are those individuals and groups of individuals who may not identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or intersex, yet support and advocate for change towards equal rights and social inclusion of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, and intersex individuals (Eichler 2010). Allies may also include those in other categories who advocate for those in another category, such as gay men towards transgender individuals.

We do note that the issue of grouping together these disparate classifications is at times troublesome and has the potential to allow the needs and desires of some to overshadow the needs of others (Bernstein 2002). Bernstein chronicles cases in which ‘butch’ acting women, feminine acting men, and transgender members of the movement were kept ‘behind the scenes’ as a matter of what was viewed as strategy for securing normalization, awareness, and respect for groups of lesbian, gay, and transgender people. We also understand that in postmodern times, there are problems in the changing nature of group and individual identity characteristics that mean that individuals may move in and out of identity categories to meet contextual demands and the changing socially constructed membership definitions of groups. Our own experiences tell us that definitions and social expectations of these categories changes based on location, whether speaking of immediate spaces or region of the world. Identity is certainly a dynamic process. The grouping together of these identity categories remains an act of convenience in some cases, an acknowledgement of similar subject dispositions in others, and yet a political act in the banding together of a coalition of like players in the marketplace of identity transactions. Eliason and Schope (2007) discuss the dilemma of language and the struggle to find inclusive language in the ‘shifting sands’ (p. 4) of identity theory and practice. Historically, the grouping has been subjected to pathologizing gaze of various professions, which also provides impetus for the coalition. For example Plummer (1975) in his (then) seminal work on ‘homosexual’ development stages uses the term ‘sexual deviants’ to refer to a group that included ‘homosexuals’ and others now in the LGBTQIA. Indeed this language has fallen out of use, and with new language comes new possibility, and sheds some of the baggage of earlier language. We do use the term LGBTQIA in a way that hopefully can be viewed as inclusive and offers an expansive nod to groups and individuals that may see benefits in coalition building with others in the group, particularly those who see themselves affected by sexual and gender minority issues.

Like us (the authors) others who identify as LGBTQIA have utilized the Internet as a space for discussion, coalition, information, and camaraderie. Like any other marginalized group, LGBTQIA individuals may be subject to limited

access to the Internet due to poverty, or lack access to the needed information due to censorship and Internet content filtering. Internet technology and access has also changed the ways in which LGBTQIA people meet each other for dating or friendship. The Internet has also provided information on a variety of sexual styles, behaviours, and identities previously unavailable to many, giving rise to those who are *genderqueer*, *straight but not narrow*, *demisexual*, and *pansexual*, among many others (Eliason and Schope 2007). This also means individuals with Internet access may have access to knowledge about their sexual and gender identity much earlier in life than previous generations. The Internet has also changed the ways in which individuals may engage with one another, creating relatively anonymous spaces when desired, or spaces across with physical limitations such as distance do not impede discourse. The Internet has played a key role in the shaping of the LGBTQIA movements and modern identity formation, which is an impetus not only for the continued work of the authors halfway around the world, but also for the information availability and organizing possible. The Internet has played an important role in the gathering of information and support needed for transformation, particularly for those who feel isolated due to the gender or sexual identities. The opportunities offer liberation; however, much higher levels of complexity are involved in making decisions about identity and choices about how to live one's life.

UNFOLDING OF LIVES

We see adults in a continual process of development of process and change. Levinson's (1986) conception of adult development, while still having steps in development,¹ recognizes the interplay between environment (constituted by multiple parts: social, historical, etc.) and the individual. Adult development then constitutes not just who one is, but what one can do (including thinking and action), and the context in which one does the thinking and action. Certainly, there is no one universal path of development that all adults follow. Development is closely aligned with learning and changes in thinking and identity. Further, development needs to take account of the body as a sociobiological entity. The body is not only a host to development processes, but is also bounded by political boundaries (thinking about where one is born, where one lives, and where one situates one's body), which also shape how social customs around the body are formed (how one is allowed to alter, use, and derive pleasure of the body) Adult autonomy as sexual and gendered beings is bounded by the cultural and political realities of space and their effects on the body.

Prevalent heterosexism causes most LGBTQIA people to be assumed straight and cis-gendered² by default, until either the LGBTQIA individual 'comes out' or until they are presumed or perceived to be LGBTQIA by someone else. One decision that may need to be made is to come out, to whom, and in what contexts. An individual may decide, for example, to be out, or share their true identity, with close friends, with family members, or in the workplace. Their level of being out may not be the same in all contexts. In some situations, being out

may be unsafe. We have known colleagues who have not felt safe in being out in the university workplace, for fear of not receiving good evaluations of their teaching or for not getting renewed or tenured and promoted at the appropriate times. Whether legal or allowed by policy or not, LGBTQIA individuals may face discrimination as related to their sexual orientation or gender identity (SOGI).

Many decisions about life become complicated by the nature of LGBTQIA identity and the contexts in which it operates. In some areas, individuals may choose not to come out to health care providers, and receive inappropriate care. When moving to another country, individuals need to consider the laws, practices, and even the ability to receive appropriate health care within these areas. Transgender people need to consider if, how, and when they might carry out legal documentation, such as the reissuing of a birth certificate or passport, change their name, change physical appearance, or even seek medical treatment or surgeries to change their body. These changes would ‘out’ the individual, so careful considerations are often made. Gay or lesbian individuals may be compelled to be coupled and married in a ‘straight’ relationship. They may even have children with their husband or wife and not reveal their sexual orientation until later in life, if at all. For some individuals in the LGBTQIA group, dating and later coupling can be especially challenging, as there is a need to safely identify potential partners. While in some places, there are easy ways to meet other LGBTQIA people, in some areas, it may be unsafe to identify outwardly as LGBTQIA, due to either local culture or laws.

Unfolding LGBTQIA lives are shaped by many of the same markers and decisions regarding the lifecourse. Circling back to Levinson’s (1986) developmental model, which includes the notion of ‘seasons’ of life—meaning particular life tasks often occur within certain age bands, we can think about the development of autonomy from family, the development of individual identity, formation of family, development of vocation, decisions to have children, and so on as important markers of LGBTQIA lives. More recent models of adult development emphasize the interconnectedness of various aspects of adult lives, such as biological, cognitive, psychological, vocational, social, spiritual, and political aspects. Each decision or season of life can lead to further need for development, further growth, and further needs for decision making. (We can think of the *spaces* between these seasons as ripe for transformation, or as transformation ending one season and thereby moving someone to the next season.) The periods between major decisions can be periods of relative stability, which are marked by periods of change and transition. A useful conceptualization for understanding the change and learning within LGBTQIA lives is transformative learning, which is discussed in the following section.

THE NEED FOR TRANSFORMATION

Transformational learning attempts to address both individual (as in the change of individual worldview) and societal (as in the change which leads societal action) change. This tension between individual transformation and change and

societal transformation and change, discussed by Cranton and Taylor (2012), continues to plague transformative learning theory and research. Hoggan (this volume) emphasizes the deep nature of personal change needed as well as the result of the transformation, whether a change in the view of self, worldview, epistemology, ontology, behaviour, or capacity (or a combination thereof). The change brought forth by transformative learning related to personal identity and SOGI can have an array of effects within this list of potential changes. For example, in our experience, an individual does not simply come with the idea that he is a gay man. This is brought forth by wrangling with feelings about attraction which may or may not match the sorts of attraction others around him experience and express. At some point, this individual comes to the conclusion that his sexual orientation (whether he understands this is a concept yet) is not heterosexual, and may seek to associate with other gay men, come to ideas about his future, change the way he views others, and society as a whole as a result of his newly formulated and declared sexual orientation. This probably have the idea of reshaping what it means to have a family and how one chooses to love others. In some circles, the sharing of this identity may be celebrated or shunned, and so the individual may choose to tell others or not or even to change social circles. This example is quite simplistic and male oriented, but does reflect our experiences in many ways.³ For us, coming to terms with our own ways of understanding our own identities was transformative and transformational. We were irreversibly changed and continue to change as a result of these pivotal moments. As Hoggan suggests, this does change the way we view, conceptualize, and interact with the world. Learning is certainly a part of the process, in seeking information from other sources, integrating the information with our worldview and view of ourselves. While we cannot exhaustively imagine the learning needs of all LGBTQIA people, there are learning needs related to finding love, finding others to associate with, staying safe, understanding legal rights, and with whom and how to share your identity. These are all the result of gathering information and incorporating it into experience to develop new ways of engagement with the world. Hoggan notes that transformative learning is not just any learning, but the learning should have depth, breadth, and relative stability, all which are significant in learning about and declaring SOGI as an LGBTQIA person.

Three major philosophical underpinnings undergird transformative modern transformative learning theory and these assist in our view of the need for transformation around LGBTQIA issues in education, whether at the individual or societal level (or somewhere in-between) These three philosophical underpinnings include constructivism,⁴ humanism,⁵ and critical social philosophies⁶ (Cranton and Taylor 2012) In the following paragraphs, each of these underpinnings will be discussed briefly along with an example. We see these three philosophies driving the transformative changes individual and social groups as a whole take in the face of complexity because of their own SOGI or the SOGI of others. In the constructivist philosophy, individuals may encounter new information that challenges the way they have previously experienced the world. One

cogent example of this new information came about as the result of the widespread popular use of the Internet, when individuals who identified as intersex were able to meet others who were also identified as intersex (Preves 2004). Previously, people who were born intersexed⁷ were treated by medical and psychological practitioners and largely were ‘under the radar’ in terms of outwardly proclaiming their identity. The Internet provided opportunities for relative anonymous connecting and connecting across large distances not otherwise possible. Intersex people found one another and formed online social groups, sharing information, sharing stories about treatment, lives, and so on. Further, they began to raise awareness of the issues around children who are born intersex, which has resulted in social pressure to the medical field to address this in a more transparent manner. At this point, individuals identified as intersex found one another, which had previously been quite difficult, and faced the reality that they were not alone in this identity—nor did discussion about it have to be relegated to the physicians’ and psychologists’ practices.

Eichler’s (2010) study of ‘straight ally activists’ is an example of transformation related to humanist perspectives in that the allies, who were identified as straight, generally learned about and witnessed the oppression and unequal treatment of LGBT⁸ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) people. One respondent poignantly related her story of becoming an ally activist, in which she initially assumed that LGBTQIA people were treated equally and respected in a religious organization she took part in. She learned that the organization did not share her feelings when a lesbian was selected for a leadership position and the organization imploded. She assumed that the statement of the organization that all were welcome meant all people, regardless of sexual orientation, yet was very surprised when the organization did not fulfil this openness that she had assumed to be present. Indeed these surprises drove her transformation to become involved in justice movements within religious circles. She learned that what organizations said or how they said it may not include LGBTQIA people. Critical social action is yet another philosophical understanding which guides perspective transformation necessary for transformative learning.

Often tied to group or societal action that leads to change, Horkheimer describes critical theory as a theory which critiques the current state of affairs as it seeks to ‘liberate human beings from the circumstances that enslave them’ (1972: 246). In order to facilitate critical social action, an understanding of the current state of affairs for the oppressed group must be developed, then understood in terms of historical conditions which created or lead to this current state. Brookfield’s discussion (this volume) brings forward three strands of critical adult education theory that are compatible with the movements to identify the means of oppression (through Marxist thought), creating environments ripe for working with those in the throes of oppression (critical pedagogy), and then utilizing modern theories of critique to continue to elucidate the forces which affect the lives of LGBTQIA people in negative ways. Queer theory is but one of the theories of critique that can be utilized. As a

rather recent development, queer theory is not utilized by all who aim to create positive change for the lives of LGBTQIA people. Gamson (2000) suggests that the corpus of queer theory and its emphasis on deconstruction eliminates the helpfulness of identity categories and labels such as gay, lesbian, or transgender, since sexuality and gender are typically reduced to discourse. While we recognize the importance of deconstruction as a tool for greater understanding of the array of individual realities, experiences, and possibilities, the limitation we see is the ability to use the theory to affect change rather than just analysing sexuality and gender.

Inequities in policy, law, and practice can keep LGBTQIA individuals from achieving equality under the law and are ripe for change through transformative learning methods. For example, laws preventing marriage between two persons of the same-sex may keep a same-sex partner from receiving the partner's medical insurance benefits or allow beneficiary status on certain retirement/pension systems, which are accorded to married couples. While some countries, including the United States, allow marriage between same-sex individuals, others, including the Philippines, do not. While the marriage laws affect only a small portion of LGBTQIA individuals, namely those who are in same-sex partnerships who wish to get legally married, same-sex marriage has become an issue many have equated with LGBTQIA issues universally. The struggle for this and other rights and laws have been in part to transformation of society. LGBTQIA people had to rise up and provide evidence for changes in laws. We recall one campaign where those advocating for same-sex marriage enumerated the 'benefits' which marriage accords automatically, due to the laws. Social action involved numerous attempts at applying for marriage licenses by same-sex couples, and refusing to leave government offices when marriage licenses were not granted. Groups organized around those who were affected most by the inability to marry. For example, when one member of a same-sex couple was ill and dying, activists provided information about what they could not do because they were not married, even at the time of death. Another time when social action was embraced in transformation was the struggle for funding for AIDS/HIV. Militant groups would fight for visibility and representation for those who had HIV/AIDS, which brought forth further advocacy after many years for those affected by HIV/AIDS.

The fight for rights, inclusion and legal recognition in many places have brought forth change that brings LGBTQIA people to a similar level as non-LGBTQIA people. These social actions to bring forth a change requires transformative changes in those who fight in these struggles, as they need to be able to see themselves as deserving and rightful heirs of these struggles. Indeed, those who fight against the expansion of rights and recognition also are affected when gains are made, as they must either change their worldview to include the new situation or live understanding the political system has unjustly treated them and their viewpoints. Lastly, changes among judges and politicians, those able to change the law, were needed to have an expansive vision for society and humanity.

THE CONTEXT OF RIGHTS AND PRACTICES

Contexts set the stage for the learning and action created by learning in order to bring forth changes that near equality. LGBTQIA people have been finding ways throughout history to form affiliations, friendships, and relationships. Recent events highlighted rights and legal standing in a number of regions of the world for at least some groups included in LGBTQIA, such as the legal recognition of marriage relationships for same-sex couples and the rights of transgender people to change birth certificate records to reflect gender identity. While these are examples of increasing access to protection under the law and greater access to tools needed for the development of identity in practice, the social world may not reflect the acceptance available in the legal system, even in places with seemingly liberal and open sorts of legal systems. Families, local communities, and occupational groups vary in their acceptance and support for LGBTQIA people. These issues are further discussed as global issues, issues for LGBTQIA mobility, and the role of allies in the movement towards equal rights. While these contextual discussions are limited, they shed light on the varied contexts for LGBTQIA people around the world.

Global Issues

Manalansan (2006) challenges dominant notions of Western superiority in the migrations of queers.⁹ Certainly, particular individuals move across borders in search of better lives because of their sexuality or gender identity, the stories of migration are much more complex, with individuals moving for a variety of reasons. Even those who migrate from, what Westerners may view as places with a worse situation for LGBTQIA individuals to one with a better situation, face new responsibilities and learning over restructured inequalities and opportunities (Luibhéid 2008). Westerners hear reports of the killings and death penalties given for homosexual behaviour in the Middle East. These are extreme and horrible, and we are not arguing against the idea that these are horrible atrocities. We do note that missing from the narratives are those who do live out LGBTQIA lives successfully in these regions. Caution must be made in judging what is repressed and what is liberated (as these are both first cultural understandings we cannot shed, and do vary). Engaging in this reframing, the differences between the experiences of LGBTQIA individuals may be differently structured inequalities and opportunities. Transnational migrations of LGBTQIA are especially salient to learning needs. Not only do LGBTQIA people need to navigate the usual migration-related learning (such as national requirements for entry, learning a language or dialect, learning the local customs, and finding employment), they also need to quickly learn how to be safe, find friends, and integrate their sexual and gender identity into the local environment. For example, Eichler and Mizzi (2013), through a multiple case study approach, demonstrated the complexity with which ‘sexual-minority’ men from the Middle East immigrating to the US and Canada experience learning and

development. Largely, disappointment and reconfiguration of inequalities experienced were apparent in the interview texts. Inequalities experienced in their countries of origin may have been around sexual-minority status, however, in becoming immigrants in the US and Canada, they experienced different inequalities relating to their status as Middle Eastern immigrants (who are identified as Arab and Muslim). The context of ‘gay liberation’ in the US and Canada did not match their cultural motifs around homosexual behaviour. The tension between homosexual behaviour and gay public identity was problematic, as largely they came from places where identity was not lived ‘out’ in ways done in the US and Canada. Educators, employers, and those who otherwise work with immigrants need to be especially aware of the complexities of LGBTQIA identity formation and declaration. These struggles in identity and mobility may provide useful fuel and space for transformation.

Mobilities and LGBTQIA People

The struggles are not only those who utilize the adult education services, but for educators as well. Mizzi (2013) describes the lack of cohesive literature and theoretical nature of boundary-crossing educators, particularly those who are ‘sexual minorities’. This brings to light his own challenges as a queer adult educator working for an international educational organization as a Maltese Canadian in Kosovo (Mizzi 2009). This is not surprising considering the eco-shocks experienced, particularly those highlighted by LGBTQIA workers when relocating for professional work (Fontaine 1993; Gedro et al. 2013) Eco-shocks occur as individuals join new ecological milieu in the movement from country to country and is a notion popularized in the professional mobilities literature. These eco-shocks are part of the international mobility of many professionals and other migrants, but are especially amplified for those who are affected by power, privilege and the differing cultural dispositions toward LGBTQIA people. While some organizations probably have awareness of the learning needs of LGBTQIA individuals, others have been resistant to even the notion that LGBTQIA learners may have complex learning needs in relation to their context, identity, and considerations for living authentic lives (Hill 2006; Schmidt and Githens 2010) Such mobilities affect the lives and learning needs of LGBTQIA people, particularly when navigating locations with high degrees of difference in the cultural dispositions towards LGBTQIA people.

The Role of Allies

Allies, the ‘A’ in LGBTQIA, have been critical to the discussions and movements which have brought the needs of LGBTQIA learners to the forefront. Although not to be conflated with the identity processes, lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, or intersex individual’s experience, straight-identified allies experience identity formation processes. Further, at times, although having a greater degree of privilege in advocating for LGBTQIA issues need to consider

their own safety. Eichler (2010) brought to light the confusion and disappointment that allies sometimes experience when realizing the issues faced by LGBTQIA individuals that they had thought had not existed previously. They may presume that the status of LGBTQIA individuals is different than what it is because of the relative ease to which they associate with LGBTQIA individuals or their own thinking that ‘this is no big issue’; however, they remained surprised when it is a big issue to those who exhibit homophobia, biphobia, transphobia, and other forms of xenophobia. What seems to be important for the legitimization of LGBTQIA experiences and the relative liberation of LGBTQIA people is that allies use their voices strategically. Although it is quite possible and probably rather common that a member of the LGBTQIA group is allies to other segments, in this paper, we are especially referring to straight allies who are otherwise not a part of the LGBTQIA grouping. Allies may be especially needed in uncovering of the complexity of lives that LGBTQIA people face and the need to adjust policies, laws, and the social climate in order to welcome, embrace, and otherwise seek equality for LGBTQIA people (Brooks and Edwards 2009). Washington and Evans define ally as ‘a person who is a member of the dominant or majority group, who works to end oppression in his or her personal and professional life through support of, and as an advocate for, the oppressed population’ (1991: 195). Edwards (2006) has proposed a developmental model for social justice allies, noting that there is a likelihood that allies start at the stages of ‘aspiring ally for self-interest’ and potentially moving to higher stages of ‘aspiring ally for altruism’ and ‘ally for social justice’. Indeed, the lives of LGBTQIA individuals remain complicated, even when steps are taken in law and policy that attempt to equalize the treatment people who identify as LGBTQIA. In the next section of the paper, we will turn to individual identity fluidity, which can add another layer to identity complexity for LGBTQIA individuals.

THE FLUIDITY OF IDENTITY

In order to secure greater understanding, rights, and social credibility, gay and lesbian activists of the mid-twentieth century focused on homosexuality as essential and immutable, following the medical models of the time, treating it much like disability or disease. Thus, the reactions of others may have been due to sympathy for gay and lesbian people as deserving of understanding, even though understood as disordered. However, even the science of the time indicated a much more complicated picture of attraction, identity, and behaviour. We believe vestiges of the history of essential understandings of sexual orientation and gender identity have led to thinking mired in either/or thinking, where there is pressure to have clarity in self-concept and declared identity. One-side effect of this thinking is the assumed responsabilization of the individual to ‘determine’ and declare sexual orientation and gender identity, if it varies from heterosexual and cisgendered. Those who may not certain or experience fluid sexual attraction or identity are faced with anxiety in a regime structured on certainty and clarity of

identity. The need for learning and psychosocial development is then part of the need for LGBTQIA people to explore identity categories to which they may subscribe. However, these identity categories themselves are not fixed either from the personal standpoint or by the sociocultural understandings placed upon the identity itself. Identity creation and maintenance itself may be seen as a complex task within the larger unfolding of lives by LGBTQIA, certainly one requiring information gathering, personal reflection and transformation, and careful calculation of sharing of the identity.

Seminal research by Kinsey et al. (1948) validated a range of sexual behaviours and attraction, which has famously been called the ‘Kinsey scale’. Although this work has been criticized for its statistical bias in participant selection (relying largely on prisoners and prostitutes), later work suggests the range of behaviour and selection that continues to be used. Controversial because it discussed taboo subjects (intimate sexual behaviour and attraction) and because it defied conventional wisdom of either/or sexuality (with individuals being either heterosexual or homosexual), the work is still discussed in its ability to demonstrate the range of sexual experiences, behaviours, and attraction. Although the work by Kinsey, Pomoroy and Martin did not specifically express sexuality as fluid, they did recognize the situational contexts for sexual behaviour. Since the time of Kinsey’s work, researchers have struggled with categorizing sexual behaviour and attraction. Further, there is evidence to suggest that self-reported identity does not always coincide with behaviour or attraction. For example, it may be common for some to identify as ‘straight’ but regularly participate in same-gender sexual activity or for someone to identify as one gender identity in work and community situations, but another gender identity in the intimacy of home (Reiter 1989). The examples may not represent lying or falsification, but rather represent the identity as experienced and expressed by an individual.

The ‘slippery’ nature of sexual orientation identity versus behaviour and attraction have led to the use of language such as MSM (men who have sex with men) rather than simply gay or bisexual in health prevention and treatment literature, and the use of categories such as ‘mostly heterosexual’ and ‘mostly gay/lesbian’ to provide opportunities for greater variety of self-expression in surveys and research (Savin-Williams et al. 2012; Vrangalova and Savin-Williams 2012).

While these affordances have recognized the greater granulation for describing sexual orientation, they still regard sexual orientation and gender identity as a snapshot in time or fixed. The lived reality sheds light on the changing nature and structure of sexual orientation and gender identity over time. Indeed, we even identified as something else and explored identity categories prior to coming out in our current identities. Diamond (2000, 2003) points to change over time particularly in young women’s sexuality. Diamond also notes that young women’s sexual behaviour (who they have sexual relations with), sexual attraction (who they find themselves attracted to) and reported sexual identity (how they identify their sexuality, such as lesbian, bisexual,

straight, etc.) do not always coalesce. We believe this may also be true among men, looking, for example, at Kinsey's work—particularly issues around how identity and behaviour are not always in total alignment. Peplau and Garnets (2000) have proposed that women's sexual identity development merits separate theory than men's sexual identity development. Further, transgender gender development and sexual identity development remain undertheorized.

Some have argued that the apparent flexible, developmental, and fluid nature of sexuality suggest that sexual orientation can be changed through 'therapy', thus allowing those who experience same-sex sexual attractions to live straight lives. Although reparative and conversion therapies ('therapeutic' approaches to change sexual orientation or behaviour from homosexual to heterosexual) have been criticized as pseudoscience and potentially damaging to individuals, some professionals continue to recommend or provide access to such 'treatments'. Spitzer (2003) published a study suggesting that a large portion of individuals who identify as 'predominantly homosexual' can change from a homosexual to heterosexual orientation. Quite controversial at the time, and the subject of much critique for faulty method and science, Spitzer later issued a retraction to the work, suggesting that it had misconstrued the nature of change, instead suggesting that those who he sought to interview as part of the original study were 'highly motivated' to change, and that the changes created through such 'ex-gay' programmes were not truly changes in long-standing sexual orientation (Arana 2012). Spitzer also apologized for the harm the work had done to people. This issued a blow to what had been regarded as the strongest scientific evidence for this reparative therapy process.

The complexity of LGBTQIA lives has led to the need for transformation. LGBTQIA lives are complex, no matter what the setting, for a number of different reasons. The worlds in which LGBTQIA individuals live change and vary dramatically, from those sites where outward identity is embraced to those where choosing to come out can mean a death sentence. As individuals grow and change over time, their lives and needs change, resulting in new complications. These unfolding experiences may be tied to choices around identity, around romance, or even around vocation. Lives of LGBTQIA people will continue to change and grow, just as the political climates in which they live will change over time. Transformation is indeed part of the LGBTQIA experience.

FUTURE DIRECTION

Particular attention should be paid to culture and boundary crossers in future research. Namely, as geographic mobilities increase for economic reasons, for physical safety, and for a variety of other purposes, individuals continue to move from one culture to another that is very different. Learning is indeed part of this process of acculturation, but especially sensitive for those who are LGBTQIA identified, particularly as they navigate ways to remain safe and seek out companionship and camaraderie. Further, appropriate care and services (such as social work, psychological, medical, spiritual, and financial) are needed. These are

informed by adult and lifelong education especially in regards to development and learning needs of these individuals. The Internet and associated social media have stitched together disparate culture and groups throughout the world. These tools have created both new opportunities and new challenges for continued growth and development of LGBTQIA people. Further research and practice needs to create understanding, openness, and challenge systems which oppress.

Much of the research on transformative learning in general has focused on individuals transforming or individuals as members of a group transforming. The transformation of entire cultures or organizations due to transformative learning plays a part in the creation of spaces in which LGBTQIA people are free to identify and live out lives with authenticity. Allies, as discussed in the work of Eichler (2010), remain critically important to change at the individual and group levels. Further understanding of the ways in which ally identity is fostered, shaped, and lived out among adults is certainly needed. Both the lives of sexual and gender minorities and allies can be considered as the result of smaller and more elaborate transformative learning moments that lead to change, growth, and unfolding.

NOTES

1. Stepwise theories of development have been criticized as being normative and not representing a large number of human lives, especially the biases with regard to gender, race, and class. We would include sexual orientation and gender identity as characteristics often ignored by such theories as well. We do include the use of this conception of development, since it is a helpful platform for thinking of unfolding lives of LGBTQIA people.
2. *Cis-gendered* individuals ‘who have a match between the gender they were assigned birth, their bodies, and their personal identity’ (Schilt and Westbrook 2009: 461).
3. We do not mean to present our limited experiences here as universal, only to show how we understand transformative learning interacting with our own experiences of identity.
4. The idea that individuals interpret the world in their own way based on information perceived and how we see the world is based on prior experiences.
5. The ideas that humans are inherently good, seek self-actualization, experience individual realities, and seek sound relationships with others.
6. Processes which critique the social state of affairs as highly unequal due to structural forces, that this state is passed on as normal without the necessary questioning of it, and that carefully planned action can destabilize this current state of affairs.
7. We recognize the unpopularity and inappropriate use of the term ‘intersexed’ (vs. ‘intersex’) in current usage, however, we use it to show that people who identified as intersex were primarily treated as people with a particular body condition and not a social group or having a social identity related to what was viewed as a medical condition prior to the late 1990s.
8. This study was limited to the allies of LGBT individuals and groups.
9. Manalansan uses the terms *queer* in this work, and does so because of reasons we have outlined earlier, including the difficulty in naming this group and in regards to the political and theoretical perspectives queer theory brings.

REFERENCES

- Arana, G. (2012). My so-called ex-gay life. *American Prospect*, 23(4), 50–57.
- Bernstein, M. (2002). Identities and politics: Toward a historical understanding of the lesbian and gay movement. *Social Science History*, 26(3), 531–581.
- Bilodeau, B. L., & Renn, K. A. (2005). Analysis of LGBT identity development models and implications for practice. *New Directions for Student Services*, 111, 25–39.
- Brooks, A. K., & Edwards, K. (2009). Allies in the workplace: Including LGBT in HRD. *Advances in Developing Human Resources*, 11(1), 136–149.
- Committee on Lesbian and Gay Concerns, American Psychological Association. (1991). Avoiding heterosexual bias in language. *American Psychologist*, 46(9), 973–974.
- Cranton, P., & Taylor, E. W. (2012). Transformative learning theory: Seeking a more unified theory. In E. W. Taylor & P. Cranton (Eds.), *The handbook of transformative learning: Theory, research, and practice*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Diamond, L. M. (2000). Sexual identity, attractions and behaviour among young sexual-minority women over a two-year period. *Developmental Psychology*, 36, 241–250.
- Diamond, L. M. (2003). Was it a phase? Young women's relinquishment of lesbian/bisexual identities over a 5-year period. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84(2), 352–364.
- Edwards, K. E. (2006). Aspiring social justice ally identity development: A conceptual model. *NASPA journal*, 43(4), 39–60.
- Eichler, M. A. (2010). Joining the family: Experiences of becoming ally activists. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 8(2), 89–102.
- Eichler, M. A., & Mizzi, R. C. (2013). Negotiating the confluence: Middle-Eastern, immigrant, sexual-minority men and concerns for learning and identity. *Brock Education Journal*, 22(2), 84–98.
- Eliason, M. J., & Schope, R. (2007). Shifting sands or solid foundation? Lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender identity formation. In I. H. Meyer & M. E. Northridge (Eds.), *The health of sexual minorities: Public health perspectives on lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender populations*. New York: Springer.
- Fontaine, G. (1993). Training for the three challenges encountered in all international assignments. *Leadership and Organizational Development Journal*, 4(3), 7–14.
- Gamson, J. (2000). Sexualities, queer theory, and qualitative research. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *The handbook of qualitative research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Gedro, J., Mizzi, R. C., Rocco, T. S., & van Loo, J. (2013). Going global: Professional mobility and concerns for LGBT workers. *Human Resource Development International*, 16(3), 282–297.
- GLAAD. (n.d.). *GLAAD media reference guide—Transgender issues*. Retrieved from <http://www.glaad.org/reference/transgender>.
- Hill, R. J. (2006). What's it like to be queer here? *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 112, 7–16.
- Horkheimer, M. (1972). *Critical theory: Selected essays*. New York: Herder and Herder.
- Kinsey, A. C., Pomeroy, W. B., & Martin, C. E. (1948). *Sexual behaviour in the human male*. Philadelphia, PA: W. B. Saunders.
- Levinson, D. J. (1986). A conception of adult development. *American Psychologist*, 41(1), 3–13.
- Luibhéid, E. (2008). Queer/migration: An unruly body of scholarship. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, 14(2–3), 169–190.

- Manalansan, M. F., IV. (2006). Queer intersections: Sexuality and gender in migration studies. *International Migration Review*, 40(1), 224–249.
- Mizzi, R. C. (2009). When the down-low becomes the new high: Integrating sexual dissidence into community education programs in Kosovo. In R. Hill & A. Grace (Eds.), *Adult education in queer contexts: Power, politics, and pedagogy*. Chicago: Discovery Association Publishing House.
- Mizzi, R. C. (2013). Crossing borders to teach: A literature review of (dis)location, interconnectedness, and pedagogy. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education/La Revue canadienne pour l'étude de l'éducation des adultes*, 25(2), 53–64.
- Peplau, L. A., & Garnets, L. D. (2000). A new paradigm for understanding women's sexuality and sexual orientation. *Journal of Social Issues*, 56(2), 329–350.
- PFLAG. (n.d.). *A Definition of 'Queer'*. Retrieved from <https://community.pflag.org/abouttheq>.
- Plummer, K. (1975). *Sexual stigma: An interactionist account*. Boston, MA: Routledge & Kegan.
- Preves, S. (2004). Out of the O. R. and into the streets: Exploring the impact of intersex media activism. In L. K. Waldner, B. A. Dobratz, & T. Buzzell (Eds.), *Research in political sociology: Politics of change: Sexuality, gender, and aging* (Vol. 13). Bingley: Emerald.
- Reiter, L. (1989). Sexual orientation, sexual identity, and the question of choice. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 17(2), 138–150.
- Rosario, M., Schrimshaw, E. W., Hunter, J., & Braun, L. (2006). Sexual identity development among lesbian, gay, and bisexual youths: Consistency and change over time. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 43(1), 46–58.
- Savin-Williams, R. C., Joyner, K., & Rieger, G. (2012). Prevalence and stability of self-reported sexual identity during young adulthood. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 41, 103–110.
- Schilt, K., & Westbrook, L. (2009). Doing gender, doing heteronormativity: 'Gender normals', transgender people, and the social maintenance of heterosexuality. *Gender & Society*, 23(4), 440–464.
- Schmidt, S. W., & Githens, R. P. (2010). A place at the table? The organization of a pre-conference symposium on LGBT issues in HRD. *New Horizons in Adult Education and Human Resource Development*, 24(1), 59–62.
- Spitzer, R.L. (2003). *Archives of Sexual Behavior* 32(5), 403–417.
- United Nations Free and Equal. (n.d.). *Intersex: Fact sheet*. Retrieved from https://unfe.org/system/unfe-65-Intersex_Factsheet_ENGLISH.pdf.
- Vrangalova, Z., & Savin-Williams, R. C. (2012). Mostly heterosexual and mostly gay/lesbian: Evidence for new sexual orientation identities. *Archives of Sexual Behaviour*, 41, 85–101.
- Washington, J., & Evans, N. J. (1991). Becoming an ally. In N. J. Evans & V. A. Wall (Eds.), *Beyond tolerance: Gays, lesbians, and bisexuals on campus*. Alexandria, VA: American College Personnel Association.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Matthew A. Eichler is Associate Professor of Occupational, Workforce, and Leadership Studies at Texas State University, in San Marcos (USA), where he teaches courses on interdisciplinary learning, research methods, and teaching strategies. He serves as the

chair of the Asia-Pacific Consortium of Researchers and Educators and as an Associate Editor of several academic journals. His research interests include LGBTQIA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and ally) learners and development and online teaching and learning for adult learners.

Racion P. Bernarte is currently the Assistant Vice President for Research, Extension, Planning and Development at the Polytechnic University of the Philippines. His works entail supervision of the research programme of the university, which includes approval, monitoring, and evaluation of research projects. He is Professor in the College of Communication, Graduate School and Open University System. He has published articles in peer-reviewed international journals in the areas of media, communication and education.

Technologies for Adult and Lifelong Education

Seng Chee Tan

Abstract Seng Chee suggests taking a learning-centric approach, rather than a techno-centric approach, for the integration of technology for adult education and lifelong learning. He argues that the anchor point for design consideration should be the goals and purposes of adult learning and the corresponding learning approaches, which will help to identify pertinent technological support. Learning design should be applied based on relevant theories so as to engage adult learners towards achieving their learning goals. He presents three approaches of technology-supported learning: knowledge as acquisition supported by technologies as a tutor, learning as participation supported by Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning tools and learning as knowledge creation supported by Web 2.0 tools.

UNREALISED PROMISES OF EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGIES

Few people will deny the fact that we are living in a digital world fuelled by rapid changes in technologies. These technologies can potentially be harnessed for educational and learning purposes. Educational researchers like Collins and Halverson (2010) argued that since industrialisation created the first wave of revolution in education, technologies are spawning the second wave of revolution. Old assumptions and models of education are challenged: Does education mean acquiring skills and knowledge within the concrete school buildings through didactic instruction and standardised assessment of content knowledge? Collins and Halverson suggested that several paradigmatic shifts in educational practices are essential: customising learning to individual needs

S.C. Tan (✉)

Nanyang University Technology, 62 Nanyang Drive, North Spine,
N1.2-B1-02a, Singapore 637459, Singapore
e-mail: sengchee.tan@nie.edu.sg

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_47

917

instead of providing uniform learning; leveraging multiple knowledge sources enabled by technologies rather than funnelling of knowledge sources through the instructor; assessing students by allowing them to showcase their self-developed expertise using technologies rather than testing knowledge in the head through standardised tests and examinations; developing self-directed capacity to learn new knowledge and skills rather than covering standard curriculum; and learning through experiencing and doing rather than learning through acquiring knowledge. Although the main audience of Collins and Halverson (2010) was K-12 educators, these changes are indeed blurring the line between foundational education and adult learning. For example, self-directed learning that was once closely associated with adult education is now receiving attention in K-12 education. Changes to K-12 education have downstream implications on adult learning; they can close the gaps across age groups and make lifelong learning a seamless continuum. But how do educators deal with the promises and rapid changes in educational technologies?

Since 2002, the New Media Consortium's Horizon Project (The New Media Consortium n.d.) has been publishing the emerging trends of technology and their uptake in education. A scan of the reports for Higher Education in the past few years reveals educational technologies like Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), games and gamification, Internet of things (technologies that allow objects to collect and exchange data), learning analytics (measuring, collecting and analysing data embedded in a learning environment), flipped classroom (an instructional approach that reverses sequence of teaching and practice mode) and wearable technologies. Take, for example, MOOCs, which refer to courses that 'integrate the connectivity of social networking, the facilitation of an acknowledged expert in a field of study, and a collection of freely accessible online resources' (McAuley et al. 2010: 4). Unlike traditional university online courses, MOOCs offer free or low-cost online courses taught by university experts and are open to massive enrolment up to tens of thousands of students (Drozdoва et al. 2013). Due to accessibility and scalability, MOOCs can potentially reduce the cost of university-level education and make tertiary learning affordable for all (Yuan and Powell 2013). For these reasons, MOOCs have caught the attention of many higher education institutions. That said, however, technologies that made it to the annual list of Horizon Reports change rapidly; few stayed over three consecutive years. Such rapid changes can trigger different reactions. Some may fall prey to the attractive features of the new technologies without considering how these technologies can contribute to learning. Yet for the technophobia, it can be unnerving to keep up with these technological changes. Indeed, educators are beginning to realise the promises and pitfalls of technologies in adult education and lifelong learning.

Worldwide, there have been attempts to transform adult education and lifelong learning using technologies. Enuke and Ojogwu (2006) reported the use of information and communication technology (ICT) for the National Open University of Nigeria to promote lifelong learning and to provide flexibility of learning options and social inclusion. However, they also reported

challenges to this effort, which they attributed to technical issues like the ‘lack of compatibility of computers, lack of expertise and teachers’ resistance to computer adoption’ and that the use of ICT introduced ‘a new set of anxieties and fears...’ (p. 193). The situation was not much better in developed countries. As a case in point, the use of information technology (IT) was featured in the report ‘Get on with IT’ (DfES 2002) prepared by the Post-16 E-Learning Strategy taskforce in the UK. The rationales were to modernise adult education for the demand of the knowledge economy and to empower individuals for the ideal of social inclusion. However, Selwyn and Gorard (2003) found that provision of IT alone did not change the participation pattern in adult education because it is ‘a lifelong pattern, already presaged at school leaving age, and intrinsically related to long-term social, economic and educational factors’ (p. 177). Thus, the gulf between the reality and the rhetoric of providing universal access, personal empowerment and radical improvement in participation rate is ‘a serious distortion of technology’s potential’ (p. 178). Researchers are uncovering the barriers to the use of technologies among adult learners, which include attitudes towards e-learning as a learning approach, lack of technical skills among adult learners, concerns about lack of time, interruptions when trying to complete e-learning (Becker et al. 2013), and the intractable problem of general attitudes towards lifelong learning (Selwyn and Gorard 2004).

It is clear that bringing in technology, by itself, will not work. These failure stories have one thing in common: focusing on technologies. It might be so obvious that many people fail to see that the term ‘e-learning’ is made up of two components: literally, the electronic component and the learning component. This chapter suggests taking a learning perspective for the integration of technologies to support adult education for lifelong learning. It will start by identifying the characteristics of adult learners and perspectives of learning related to adult education and lifelong learning. Next, it will review different educational roles of technologies. This is followed by the highlight of this chapter: a clarification of how educational technologies can support different perspectives of adult education and the importance of applying appropriate learning design considerations that are critical to engaging adult learners.

ADULT EDUCATION AND LIFELONG LEARNING

This chapter concerns two key concepts: *adult education* and *lifelong learning*. According to the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) Institute for Lifelong Learning (2010–2013), lifelong learning ‘encompasses learning at all ages and subsumes formal, non-formal and informal learning.’ Thus, it embraces learning principles across a large spectrum of age groups. Adult education was defined by UNESCO as

the entire body of ongoing learning processes, formal or otherwise, whereby people regarded as adults by the society to which they belong develop their

abilities, enrich their knowledge, and improve their technical or professional qualifications or turn them in a new direction to meet their own needs and those of their society. (UNESCO Institute for Education 1997: 1)

This chapter focuses on the convergence space between adult education and lifelong learning. Taking these definitions together, it means post-secondary education for a wide range of purposes—including general literacy, professional development and self-enrichment—in formal, informal and non-formal settings.

ADULT LEARNING THEORIES

The above definitions help to define the boundary of this chapter and provide a broad-stroke depiction of what adult education and lifelong learning are. For a better appreciation of these concepts, some key theories of adult learning are reviewed.

One of the pioneers in adult education is Malcolm Knowles, who is well known for his work on the characteristics of adult learners. Knowles appropriated the term *andragogy* that originated in Europe, with the intention to differentiate adult learning from *pedagogy* for child learning. While Knowles' theory of andragogy received numerous criticisms as a theory for adult learning, his characterisation of adult learners has been generally accepted (1980, 1984):

1. A person's self-concept changes towards self-directed personality from dependent personality as the person matures
2. Adult's rich experiences can serve as resources for learning
3. Adult's social roles are related to their readiness to learn
4. Adults value immediate applications of learning, thus problem-centred rather than subject-centred approach is more appropriate
5. Intrinsic motivation is more important than extrinsic motivation in driving adult learning, and
6. Understanding the rationales for learning a topic is important to adults.

Merriam et al. (2007) highlighted other theorists who complement and extend Knowles' theory in explaining adult learning. Among them, Illeris (2002) extends learning beyond the cognitive dimension and provides a parsimonious framework that is generic for various age groups, including learning of young children. To Illeris, learning is multidimensional. The cognitive dimension refers to the acquisition of knowledge and skills, which is strongly influenced by emotional dimension that includes attitudes and motivation of the learners. Learning occurs in a social context that entails social interactions with others, sometimes in a community of practice. Complementing Illeris' theory, Jarvis (2006) presented a processual explanation for learning. To Jarvis, learning means the transformation of a person, including both mind and body. A person is more than a cognitive machine; the person's biography (life history and experience) affects his or her interaction with the environment to transform the

person. Learning is triggered when a person's existing repertoire developed through experience is not effective in dealing with a new situation; the learner deals with this disjuncture by thinking, doing and feeling. A transformed person is one who creates new meaning about the world or events, or develops new identity or confidence, or gains new experience to cope with the novel situations.

In the context of digital learning, Siemens (2004) proposed *connectivist* learning by integrating the theories related to chaos, network, complexity and self-organisation. Siemens views learning as developing actionable knowledge that is distributed across human actors and the material environments. One main aspect of learning is to integrate ideas and concepts from different fields. Cognitively, it entails decision making and metacognition (learning how to learn); socially, it leverages different opinions, perspectives and sources of information. Thus, one important design of the learning environment is to facilitate connection to different nodes of information and to empower learners to develop their own meaning connections among relevant groups and communities.

The above short review reflects changing perspectives of adult learning. Lest we are lost in the rich and nuanced ideas among the adult learning theories, it is more useful and productive to find a way to frame these theories of learning. Merriam et al. (2007), for example, categorised learning theories into five orientations to learning (see Table 1, 295–296): Behaviourist, humanist, cognitivist, social cognitive and constructivist. These five orientations to learning can be differentiated in terms of learning processes, locus of learning, purpose of learning and instructor's roles. Yet this classification does not include recent perspective of learning as knowledge creation (Tan et al. 2014), which is critical for learning in a knowledge society (Bereiter 2002). For this reason, this chapter will frame the theories using metaphors of learning suggested by Sfard (1998), as well as Paavola and Hakkarainen (2005).

METAPHORS OF LEARNING

Adult education and lifelong learning can be viewed through the metaphorical lens of acquisition, participation and knowledge creation (see Table 1). Sfard (1998) suggested viewing learning as acquisition versus learning as participation. Learning as acquisition treats knowledge as an entity or object; learning essentially involves gaining knowledge, and instruction involves transferring knowledge from the more knowledgeable to the learner. Adult learning theory by Knowles (1980) can be associated with acquisition metaphor of learning. Acquisition approach is commonly adopted in many formal credit-gaining courses, typically involving lecture, tutorial and formal assessment of learning.

Learning as participation, on the other hand, focuses on the transformation of identities and practices of a person through the process of becoming a member of a community. This perspective of learning is based on the theory of situated learning and cognition (Lave and Wenger 1991), where a person starts

Table 1 Processes and goals of three metaphors of learning and their relation to adult learning

<i>Metaphor</i>	<i>Goal</i>	<i>Process</i>	<i>Relevance to adult learning</i>
Acquisition	Gain in knowledge and skills	Transfer of knowledge	Self-direction of adult learners (Knowle 1980) in acquiring new knowledge and skills. Acquisition approach is adopted in many formal credit-gaining courses
Participation	Identity transformation in a community	Interactions with other members, engagement in practices and dialogues, enculturation	Adult learning is multidimensional (Illeris 2002) that entails transformation of identities (Jarvis 2006). Connectivist learning among network of learners is key to learning in the digital age (Siemens 2004). Participation approach is used in informal learning and self-enrichment activities
Knowledge creation	Innovation and creation of new knowledge	Creation and collaborative improvement of knowledge artefacts	Knowledge innovation and creation of knowledge artefacts are critical in the twenty-first century (Paavola and Hakkarainen 2005). Knowledge creation approach is useful for professional development related to workplace learning and innovation

as a legitimate participant of the community at the peripheral, and gradually moves towards the centre as a core member of a community as he or she develops relevant expertise. Social interaction is a necessary means for appropriating social practices and discourse in this process of enculturation. Learning theories by Illeris (2002), Jarvis (2006), and Siemens (2004) can be associated with participation metaphor of learning. Participation approach has been applied for in situ professional development activities in a community of practice, as well as lifelong learning for self-enrichment exemplified by informal interest groups.

Given the criticality of knowledge innovation in the twenty-first century, Paavola and Hakkarainen (2005) proposed the third metaphor of learning—learning through knowledge creation. A critical element of this approach of learning is the creation of knowledge artefacts as mediating learning objects. A knowledge artefact can be a written note, a digital note in an online forum, or a graph created by someone, which is captured and recorded in some media. The knowledge artefacts are then shared among members of a community so

that the ideas embedded and represented in the artefacts can be subjected to discussion and improvement. Although knowledge creation engages learners in discussion and social interactions similar to learning as participation, the distinctive feature is the production of knowledge artefacts as a tangible product, which overcomes the nebulous knowing and tacit understanding of learning through participation. In addition, the knowledge artefacts created represent the state-of-the-art knowledge of a community, yet they can be objects for further discussion and improvement. This affords infinite opportunities for continual knowledge advancement. Knowledge creation approach is critical for workplace learning where there is an intentional goal of innovation and creation of new products.

ROLES OF TECHNOLOGIES IN LEARNING

The above section presented a way to frame adult education and lifelong learning using three metaphors of learning. In this section, a way of framing technological support that is congruent with the three perspectives of learning will be examined. One way to categorise how technology is used to support learning is to examine the functional roles of the technology.

Taylor's (1980) seminal work 'The Computer in the School: Tutor, Tool, Tutee' suggested three key roles of computers. Computer as a tutor literally means computer playing the roles of an instructor: to teach and to deliver content. It is a common approach that predominates the integration of technology into teaching and learning, even until today. The use of computer-assisted instructions became popular in the 80s. Usually presented in the form of a tutorial that provides sequences of instructions with embedded quizzes or activities, it is essentially mimicking the roles of an instructor. Advancement in multimedia technologies enhances the popularity of computer-assisted instructions, which affords multimodal presentation in the tutoring system. For example, advanced 3D technologies have been used as a visualisation tool to understand 3D configurations of complex objects, such as protein and DNA molecules work. Another major enhancement to computer-assisted instructions was driven by the integration of cognitive psychology to develop intelligent tutoring system. Based on cognitive theories about how human brains process information, intelligent tutoring system is able to adjust instructional events based on the learners' performance. One example is the Cognitive Tutors developed by Carnegie Mellon University (Aleven et al. 2009). Many MOOCs, which have been gaining attention in recent years, also operate as a tutor.

Computer as a tutee reverses the roles of a learner and the computer. It is pioneered by Seymour Papert (1980) who held that learners can benefit from a computer not by receiving instruction, but by teaching the computer in the form of programming. This resulted in the use of computers as children's machines, with the development of Logo computing language and building blocks for school children. For post-secondary learners, other varieties of

programmable robots and mechatronics can also be grouped under the use of technology as a tutee. Using computer as a tutee, however, has limited application in adult education and lifelong learning.

Using computer as a tool is highly relevant to adult education and lifelong learning. Taylor (1980) used the term to refer to leveraging the computing power of technologies to support student's learning processes, such as the use of calculator or word-processing by students in their learning activities. Unlike taking on the roles of a tutor, computer as a tool augments the learning process and does not carry content knowledge. Computer as a tool has been used to support wider instructional and learning processes. For example, Learning Management System (LMS) is a common tool that supports instructors and students in the management of learning processes (e.g., announcement, discussion forum, test scoring). Incidentally, many LMSs include content delivery modules, which also fulfil the roles of computer as a tutor. Another relevant area of development is using computer as a collaborative tool, which has now developed into a field of research called Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning (CSCL). CSCL technologies (e.g., online forums) not only support communication among learners but also scaffold learners for more productive interactions and meaning making. Yet another key development is the advancement from Web 1.0 (users are mainly consumer of information) to Web 2.0, which enables learners to create their web contents, thus changing their identity beyond consumer of information, to creator of information (Cormode and Krishnamurthy 2008).

Taylor (2003), in a reflection of his earlier work, suggested using four verbs to express how students and teachers can use digital technologies for learning—access, collaborate, communicate and experience, which means access to information on the Web, collaborate via technologies, communicate with peers, teachers and experts using technologies, and experience things or events in virtual environments. Bull (2009) suggested adding the term 'fabricate' to highlight the creation of artefacts using technologies. This tweak is a radical departure from the earlier scheme of classification, from viewing the instructional or learning support roles of technologies, to affording smaller pieces of actions in learning activities. This way of classification is closer to examining the affordances of technologies, which refer to the features of an environment or an object that allows certain action possibilities (Gibson 1977). It is, however, important to recognise the possible subjective human interpretation of the features of the technology (Norman 1998). In the context of using technologies to support learning, it is critical to perform instructional design based on our understanding of how learning occurs.

SUPPORTING ADULT LEARNING WITH EDUCATIONAL TECHNOLOGIES

Integrating the information in the previous two sections, this chapter suggests an approach of using technologies to support adult education and lifelong learning: (1) Examine the goal of adult learning and the learning approaches;

(2) identify the functional roles of technological support; and (3) employ learning design, guided by appropriate learning theories, to leverage the affordances of technologies for the respective approaches in order to achieve the intended goals. Using case examples, the sections below will illustrate how each of the three approaches of learning can be supported with technologies.

Since this chapter advocates taking a learning perspective to the application of educational technologies, this section is organised using the three metaphors of learning (see the earlier section on *Metaphors of Learning*): Learning as acquisition, learning as participation and learning as knowledge creation. This is in alignment with the conceptual framework proposed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO Kozma 2011). The UNESCO's framework suggests that policy makers can enable educational change and reform by helping their citizen move up the 'knowledge ladder': from basic education, to knowledge acquisition, to knowledge deepening and finally to knowledge creation. Similarly, we can view the three learning approaches as a progression, from the goal of acquiring facts and knowledge, to applying and using what we have learnt in a community, and finally to the goal of achieving deeper understanding through collaborative work on knowledge artefacts.

ACQUISITION APPROACH

A study conducted by Abeer and Miri (2014) is a good example of using technologies for the goal of gaining knowledge and skills among adult learners. In this study, 49 undergraduate students, who enrolled in teacher training programmes at the Al-Qasemi College in Israel, were asked to register for a MOOC of their choice for three weeks. The participants chose 49 different MOOCs that focused on wide-ranging topics in various fields, including medicine, engineering, life science, physics, computer science, business and management, and data analysis.

Learning Goals and Approaches

The acquisition approach of learning is clearly reflected in the learning goals and the delivery methods. The educational goals indicated by the participants include gaining knowledge, enhancing understanding and promoting thinking skills. The delivery methods include lectures of didactic instructional style using different illustrating techniques such as animation, simulation and graphs. Online forums were commonly used for general discussion, technical help, study group and course feedback. The assessment methods include quizzes, tests and examinations, peer assessment and participation in online forums. The participants' evaluation about the course also reflected the acquisition approach—the majority liked the course because it presented an interesting approach to acquire new knowledge.

Roles and Affordances of Technologies

Coursera was the main MOOC platform used in the study by Abeer and Miri (2014). From the description of the course delivery methods, it is clear that the technology is used to mimic the roles of instructors in providing didactic instructions, assessing learners and giving feedback. This form of MOOC, called the xMOOC, has distinct characteristics of designing for mass registration, streaming of on-demand digital resources, automated assessment processes and tracking of student performance tracking. The main affordances of MOOC to learners include access to information, viewing of information through multimedia presentation, interacting with peers through online forum, self-assessment through online quizzes and automated feedback with data analytics tools.

Learning Design

Appropriate learning design is critical to the success of MOOCs, especially for xMOOCs which are well known for high attrition rate (Clow 2013). Participants in the study by Abeer and Miri (2014) suggested four design principles for effective learning in MOOCs: provide clear explanation using simple words and clear pronunciation; facilitate visualisation of abstract concepts using multimedia, animation and simulation; promote communication among students and with instructors using forums, emails and chats; use different modes of assessment to accommodate different learning styles. The participants also reflected on the competencies of the learners that could affect their participation and persistence in learning an MOOC: linguistic competence in English, prior knowledge in the subject matter, broad-mindedness, self-regulation and self-efficacy, and communication skills. These echoed the characteristics of adult learners suggested by Knowles (1980, 1984).

Strengths and Challenges

The study by Abeer and Miri (2014) shows that the xMOOCs provide their students with alternative avenues of learning through different modalities, including multimedia presentation and automatic feedback. MOOCs also afford better access to a large group of students in an online environment, breaking the constraint of physical locations. However, xMOOCs are facing some challenges, particularly the high attrition rate. From the students' feedback in the study by Abeer and Miri (2014), it is clear that development of MOOCs requires thoughtful learning design such as visualisation of abstract concept and sophisticated technique for automatic feedback. Learners need to possess a high degree of self-directedness to engage in the MOOCs. From the learning perspective, xMOOCs focus very much on the cognitive aspect of learning. There was little opportunity for the students to interact with one another, to apply

what they have learnt in solving problems, and to probe deeply into some issues. The online forums would have afforded such learning opportunities, but they were commonly used for more supportive roles of learning such as general discussion, technical help and course feedback. While there could be added values in using multimedia and automatic feedback, fundamentally, technology is used as a *tutor*, to replicate the roles of an instructor so as to transmit knowledge to the learners.

PARTICIPATION APPROACH

One of the pioneering MOOCs was the ‘Connectivism and Connective Knowledge (CCK08)’ offered by Stephen Downes and George Siemens from the University of Manitoba in 2008 (Downes 2008). This form of MOOC, known as cMOOC, is based on the principles of connectivism (Siemens 2004) that epitomises participation approach of learning.

Learning Goals and Approaches

The majority of the participants for CCK 08 registered the course for professional development and personal development purposes (Fini 2009). Even though offered by a university, CCK 008 reserved only 25 places for university students and attracted about 2200 participants; the majority were non-credit students who included professionals, lecturers and instructional designers (Fini 2009). The participation approach is reflected in the mode of delivery, which is characterised as ‘a network of technologies’ (Downes 2008). The course hub was a wiki (a technology that allows collaborative authoring of its web-based content) and weblog (a technology that allows easy authoring of web-based content by a person, though comments from others can be added). The weekly activity typically began with the course instructors presenting course content using video, audio or document; the activity in the mid-week typically featured a conference session with guest speakers and student participation; end-of-week activity included a Skype (a synchronous conferencing tool) conversation of the instructors moderated by an EdTech Talk host. There were active instructor–student interactions as well as student-directed establishment of their respective communities. Complementing instructors’ presentation and discussions were online discussion board, a Google mailing list, a course twitter and a newsletter called the *Daily*, which was a daily newspaper that aggregated students’ posts, blogs or other contents daily. Participants had the autonomy to monitor their progress, chart their own learning trajectory and start their own small communities (such as a Facebook group or a local meetup session). Such an approach is radically different from the structured instructor-directed teaching exemplified in the xMOOCs.

Roles and Affordances of Technologies

Various technologies were used in this case, including the use of weblog and wiki as the course hub, multimedia for presentation of content, video conferencing tools for synchronous discussions, asynchronous online discussion board, resource aggregator for updating information and many other tools used by the participants. Thus, the affordances of technologies include those for acquisition approach, presented in the preceding section, as well as those for knowledge creation approach, to be presented in the next section. The most distinguishing features of the use of technologies, in this case, are *connectivity* and *diversity*. The internet and web technologies make it possible to link up different nodes while each node (a site) has the potential to use the same technologies chosen by the instructors or employ a different technology (e.g., Facebook) to form a subgroup.

Learning Design

CCK 008 was designed based on the connectivist theory proposed by Siemens (2004), which is underpinned by four design principles: diversity, autonomy, openness and connectivity. It aims to provide participants with a learning environment that thrives on diversity of opinions and expertise; it uses an open course structure that accepts participants of different cultural backgrounds distributed in different geographical locations; participants direct their own learning paths and goals while the instructors facilitate connections among learners for them to develop their own knowledge through from various information sources. In terms of learners' characteristics, Fini (2009) found that the course participants were mainly adult learners who treated it as informal learning and were not concerned about course completion. The participants suggested time constraints, language barriers and ICT skills as factors affecting their learning behaviours. These are consistent with Knowles's (1980, 1984) characterisation of adult learners: learning for intrinsic motivation, self-directed and strong influence from prior experience.

Strengths and Challenges

The cMOOC by Stephen Downes and George Siemens leveraged reader/author affordances of Web 2.0 rather than confining to a closed and stagnant system of an online learning system (Bells 2011). This cMOOC employed theories of situated learning (Lave and Wenger 1991) and transformational learning (Jarvis 2006), or what they termed connectivist learning. Compared with the xMOOCs (e.g., Abeer and Miri 2014), Downes and Siemens created a networked collaborative space using various technologies for participatory learning. There was a strong presence of student-directed learning as the students assumed agency to chart their own learning trajectory. Technologies were used as tools to connect the learners, for them to interact with one another. Compared with xMOOCs, the content was not hard-wired

into the cMOOC, but there was a complement of experts' lectures and talks with learners' directed materials. On the other hand, one of the key challenges of a cMOOC is that learners' self-directedness is critical to the dynamics of the community; because of this, there could be a large variation in terms of learning outcomes for individual learners. In addition, it could be difficult to assess the learners' participation and contribution to the community. Bejerano (2008) warned that online environment might expect too much from the students in self-directing their learning; without proper guidance and scaffolding, students new to such environment are likely to fail. Reese (2015) suggested for online learning environments, a balanced approach should be adopted between connectivism and dissociation (breakdown when students are challenged beyond their means) so that the participatory affordances of Web 2.0 can be leveraged and yet dissociative effects that leave students struggling on their own can be prevented.

KNOWLEDGE CREATION APPROACH

Guided by the theory of knowledge-building community (Scardamalia and Bereiter 2006), Chai and Tan (2009) reported a knowledge creation approach for seven Singaporean teachers enrolled in a professional development programme over 18 months leading to an Advanced Diploma certification.

Teaching and Learning Processes

Adopting a collaborative inquiry approach (Wells 1999) to form a knowledge-building community (Scardamalia and Bereiter 2006), the participants went through three phases of learning activities with the explicit goal of generating knowledge artefacts about improving integration of ICT into their classrooms strategies. First, they reflected on the main problems they encountered in integrating ICT into their classrooms. These authentic problems that the participants experienced form the main anchor for inquiry. They also searched for information related to barriers to ICT integration and readings on possible approaches. The second phase focused on their design of lessons to overcome problems that have been identified and the third phase required their implementation of their plans. Analysis of the online participation patterns revealed strong social cohesion among the participants and active contribution by the participants. Using interaction analysis framework by Gunawardena et al. (1997), the participants' online discourse were found to progress through five progressive phases of knowledge co-construction.

ROLES AND AFFORDANCES OF TECHNOLOGIES

In the study by Chai and Tan (2009), the main technology supporting the interactions among participants was Knowledge Forum, a CSCL tool. All the notes that were captured in this online forum became the knowledge artefacts

for the participants to work on. These online notes represent the learner's tacit knowledge as explicit artefacts, afford opportunities for the participants to work on these artefacts collaboratively and record the development to these ideas. Wagner et al. (2014) suggested several affordances of social media in supporting knowledge creation: authoring (generating content), persistence (recording and archiving of communication), reviewability (ability to view and revisit content) and searchability (searching function to access content). Focusing specifically on CSCL technologies, Suthers (2006) suggested how CSCL can support inter-subjective meaning making among learners: the learners can create knowledge artefacts (e.g., notes), use these artefacts as referent materials for discussion, jointly improve the ideas represented in these artefacts, track the trajectory of development of ideas, and track the progress of individuals and groups.

Learning Design

The study by Chai and Tan (2009) was designed based on knowledge-building principles (Scardamalia and Bereiter 2006) that focus on solving authentic problems through knowledge-building discourse (practice-based collaborative inquiry among teachers). Chai and Tan (2009) reflected on factors that facilitated the process: (1) the participants have rich experience in classroom teaching and were committed to improving their classroom practices; (2) the participants were empowered with agency to self-direct their learning while focusing on creating explicit knowledge artefacts; (3) the instructor, who had experience in classroom teaching and expert knowledge in knowledge creation approach of learning, was instrumental in modelling, scaffolding and guiding the participants throughout their journey. Similarly, these design considerations appeal to the characteristics of adult learners (Knowles 1980).

Strengths and Challenges

Knowledge creation approach is, in many ways, similar to the participatory approach in leveraging the distributed expertise of community members for reciprocal benefits, but it has two added advantages compared with the participatory approach. First, it uses knowledge artefacts as the mediating tools for the learners to engage in collaborative idea improvement. In Chai and Tan's (2009) study, these knowledge artefacts are notes in online forum that aims at improving their technology integration practices. By so doing, the knowledge artefacts make the group learning visible and afford the instructor and learners a way to assess their learning progress. Second, it encourages idea improvement as an intentional goal, which constantly nudges the learners towards advancing their knowledge and understanding of the issues or topics they are discussing. For example, Chai and Tan (2009) engaged their participants in the collaborative improvement process for 18 months. It is noteworthy that the term *knowledge creation* does not suggest that learners will create knowledge new to the world during the course; rather, it is a way of cultivating the

knowledge-building agency and identity among learners that will lead to long-term self-directedness in idea improvement. The findings by Chai and Tan (2009) alluded to a key challenge for taking knowledge creation approach, that is, the facilitation and guidance by an experienced instructor. A study by Skinner (2007) shows that the ideal of participants co-constructing knowledge in an online forum could be threatened if there is a lack of trust among the participants and if the process is left to chance without proper scaffolding. Just as the participatory approach, learning design and facilitation is critical. Hong and Sullivan (2009) explicated the learning design of knowledge creation approach and highlighted the key theme of idea-centric and principle-based design. Essentially, the instructor needs to steer the participants towards idea improvement based on knowledge-building principles, rather than going through topics and issues in a predetermined efficiency-oriented manner. This departure from the traditional method of learning design can be challenging to instructors and learners new to the approach.

DISCUSSIONS OF THE THREE APPROACHES

This chapter advocates taking a learning approach, rather than a techno-centric approach, for the integration of technology for adult education and lifelong learning. It provides a way for making a decision on the technological support for adult learning. The main anchor question is the goal and purpose of the learning, which has matching learning approaches and relevant approaches of technological support to various modes of learning. Learning design based on relevant theories is critical to engaging learners towards achieving their learning goals. The previous section presented three perspectives of technology-supported learning, but a pertinent question remains: Which approach is better?

From the perspective of adult education and lifelong learning, it is clear that each approach is legitimate, depending on the learning goals. As a self-directed learner, one may seek to acquire new knowledge or skills when the needs arise. For example, a person preparing for a party might be looking for a YouTube video to learn how to bake an orange chiffon cake; an educational researcher might register for a MOOC course to learn a sophisticated data analysis technique. On the other hand, one might take a participation approach for a more prolonged and committed learning interest. For example, an avid photographer who is keen in enhancing photography skills might join an Instagram group to share his or her work and to exchange ideas. An instructor for a formal course on photography could also engage the learners using the Instagram to augment the other formal instructions. Finally, members in a not-for-profit organisation such as the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals might start to create knowledge artefacts (e.g., a Facebook group) to enhance awareness of the general public about animal welfare. A consortium on CSCL could collaborate using online platforms to generate new knowledge artefacts (e.g., new CSCL tools) through continual engagement and discussion. Noteworthy in the above examples is that adult learning can occur in both the formal and informal settings, and amalgamation of

the two spaces is possible (e.g., joining Instagram for both personal development and in a course). The three metaphors of learning can be viewed as a progression (c.f. UNESCO 2011), from acquiring facts and information, to deepening of understanding through engaging in professional practices, and finally to advancing knowledge (at least for the community involved). Depending on the needs and interest level, one could engage in different levels of learning using appropriate forms of technology support.

While each technology-supported learning approach has its place, we need to be mindful of their strengths and limitations. Using technology as a tutor for the acquisition of knowledge and skills is one of the most enduring modes of instruction. With the advancement in technologies, the tutoring programmes have become more sophisticated in terms of using multimedia to engage learners, using learning behaviours for relevant branching and personalised learning or using learning analytics to enhance feedback. However, development of computer-assisted instruction tutorials, intelligent tutoring system and xMOOCs require sophisticated learning design and technical skills to generate programmes that are engaging and effective. The content, once programmed, is difficult and costly to modify. The production of these resources usually requires a hefty investment, and, with time, the threat for obsolescence is genuine. Researchers (e.g., Scandura 2012) are still exploring effective and lower cost methods for automatising instructions. From the perspective of learning, it is subjected to critique from learning theorists like Illeris (2002) and Jarvis (2006) that learning is not just about cognitive gain, but there are emotional and social aspects of learning that entail total body and mind engagement with the environment. From this perspective, a cognitive gain of knowledge, by itself, may not be considered as effective learning. Nevertheless, learning by acquisition still has its place in the informal production and exchange of knowledge through social media (such as YouTube, Facebook and Instagram) for just-in-time learning.

Learning as participation seems to appeal to adult and lifelong learning, particularly for personal development purposes. This is evident in the popularity of social media and Web 2.0 tools. It is, however, challenging to be employed in a formal course. Schroeder et al. (2010) conducted an analysis of the social software in education. They acknowledged the strengths of social software in promoting collaboration and interactions among the learners and between learners and instructors, and the potential for learners to showcase their work to a wider audience. However, they highlighted the issues of increasing workload for the instructor, uneven quality of interactions and assessment challenges in collaborative activities in terms of ownership of the ideas and materials in the social software. There are also threats in terms of continual access and support for these free software packages, and the issues of illegitimate or unethical practices in these media. In addition, the emergent nature of interactions and development of events can be hard to manage for less experienced instructors (Bejerano 2008; Reese 2015).

Learning as knowledge creation could help to resolve some of the issues in participatory learning. Through the emphasis on the development of knowledge

artefacts, it helps to provide a permanent record of fleeting ideas in our minds and provide referent materials for continual improvement of ideas (Scardamalia and Bereiter 2006). Learning as knowledge creation, however, is a relatively new concept yet to be harnessed by adult educators. It can be challenging for instructors to facilitate learning using such approach (Skinner 2007). Another key challenge is the mining of many hidden wisdoms embedded in the myriads of knowledge artefacts generated by a network of people. Researchers in the field of big data and learning analytics are working on generating useful insights for learning from the ‘digital crumbs’ created by users. However, researchers from educational data mining and learning analytics (e.g., Calvet Liñán and Juan Pérez 2014; Wolf et al. 2014) opined that there is a lack of knowledge and skills among instructors and managers to employ relevant tools to understand the outputs, and more importantly, to take appropriate actions.

From the perspective of the values of technologies, Kirkwood and Price (2014) found that technologies can be used to replicate existing teaching practices, to supplement existing practices, or to transform teaching and learning processes and outcomes. Scholars in the field of computer as a cognitive tool (Jonassen and Reeves 1996) argued that while the computing power of computers can be leveraged to take the load off the learners, for learning to be effective, the critical thinking processes that learners must engage in should not be removed. Recent meta-analyses on the effect of ICT on learning provide empirical evidence to support this argument. Tamim (2011), who examined 25 meta-analyses reports that involved 1055 primary studies reported general positive effects of ICT use, with a mean effect size of 0.35. In addition, the effect size was higher when technology was used to support instruction rather than for direct instruction. Similarly, Schmid et al. (2014) examined 1105 studies from 1990 to 2010 focusing on post-secondary education. They found overall positive effective size for both achievement and attitudes outcomes. In short, the effects of technologies are more significant in pedagogical applications of technology as a cognitive support, rather than as a delivery tool for presentation of information. In other words, technologies should facilitate and transform learning processes, but not removing critical thinking needed for effective learning among learners. Following these arguments, Web 2.0, CSCL and other knowledge creation tools seem to be more promising in transforming learning. Conversely, designers for technology as tutor need to be cautious to avoid fail-safe instructions that rob the learners of the opportunity to think and learn.

CONCLUSION

Integrating technology into learning requires a systemic approach. Literature suggests that simply digitising a learning material or transferring resources to a digital platform will not work. This chapter presented three perspectives of learning, which can be supported by technologies in corresponding modes—learning as acquisition supported by technologies as tutors, learning as participation supported by CSCL and learning as knowledge creation supported by

knowledge creation tools. While each of the approaches has a legitimate place in adult education and lifelong learning, learning theorists are suggesting that effective learning goes beyond cognitive gain in knowledge. It involves social and emotional dimensions of learning and entails holistic experience of body and mind. In the context of lifelong learning, participatory approach of learning is gaining traction and from the technological perspective, the main value of technologies lies in their abilities to transform learning. The current situation seems to suggest that Web 2.0 technologies, CSCL and knowledge creation tools are likely to make a stronger impact in adult education and lifelong learning. Thus, taking a learning perspective towards planning and designing technology-supported adult education and lifelong is making a positive step forwards. Beyond learning design, successful adult education is dependent on the technical skills of the learners, the personal epistemology of the learners and the willingness to engage in lifelong learning. In short, technology-supported learning is about learners and learning, not about technology.

REFERENCES

- Abeer, W., & Miri, B. (2014). Students' preferences and views about learning in a MOOC. *Procedia-Social and Behavioral Sciences*, 152, 318–323.
- Aleven, V., McLaren, B. M., Sewall, J., & Koedinger, K. R. (2009). A new paradigm for intelligent tutoring systems: Example-tracing tutors. *International Journal of Artificial Intelligence in Education*, 19(2), 105–154.
- Becker, K., Newton, C., & Sawang, S. (2013). A learner perspective on barriers to e-learning. *Australian Journal of Adult Learning*, 53(2), 211–233.
- Bejerano, A. R. (2008). The genesis and evolution of online degree programs: Who are they for and what have we lost along the way? *Communication Education*, 57(3), 408–414.
- Bell, F. (2011). Connectivism: Its place in theory-informed research and innovation in technology-enabled learning. *International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, 12(3), 98–118.
- Bereiter, C. (2002). *Education and mind in the Knowledge Age*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.
- Bull, G. (2009). Tutor, tool, tutee: A vision revisited. *Contemporary Issues in Technology and Teacher Education*, 9(2), 89–94.
- Calvet Liñán, L., & Juan Pérez A. A. (2014). Educational data mining and learning analytics: Differences, similarities, and time evolution. *Universities and Knowledge Society Journal*, 12(3), 98–112.
- Chai, C. S., & Tan, S. C. (2009). Professional development of teachers for Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning: A knowledge-building approach. *Teachers College Record*, 111(5), 1296–1327.
- Clow, D. (2013). *MOOCs and the funnel of participation*. Paper presented at the Third Conference on Learning Analytics and Knowledge (LAK 2013), Leuven, Belgium.
- Collins, A., & Halverson, R. (2010). The second educational revolution: Rethinking education in the age of technology. *Journal of Computer Assisted Learning*, 26(1), 18–27.
- Cormode, G., & Krishnamurthy, B. (2008). Key differences between Web 1.0 and Web 2.0. *First Monday*, 13, 6. Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://firstmonday.org/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/2125/1972>.

- Department for Education and Skills. (2002). *Get on with IT: The post-16 e-learning: Strategy Task Force report*. London: DFES.
- Downes, S. (2008). Places to go: Connectivism & connective knowledge. *Innovate: Journal of Online Education*, 5(1). Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://nsuworks.nova.edu/innovate/vol5/iss1/6>.
- Drozдова, M., Dado, M., Malcik, M., & Mechlova, E. (2013). *Open education at universities, quo vadis*. Paper presented at the 2013 IEEE 11th International Conference on Emerging eLearning Technologies and Applications (ICETA), Stary Smokovec, Slovakia.
- Enuku, U. E., & Ojugwu, C. N. (2006). Information and communication technology (ICT) in the service of the National Open University of Nigeria. *ICT and Distance Education*, 127(2), 187–195.
- Fini, A. (2009). The technological dimension of a Massive Open Online Course: The case of the CCK08 course tools. *International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, 10(5), 1–26.
- Gibson, J. J. (1977). The theory of affordances. In R. Shaw & J. Bransford (Eds.), *Perceiving, acting, and knowing*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum. Hillsdale.
- Gunawardena, C., Lowe, C., & Anderson, T. (1997). Analysis of a global online debate and the development of an interaction analysis model for examining social construction of knowledge in computer conferencing. *Journal of Educational Computing Research*, 17, 397–431.
- Hong, H. Y., & Sullivan, F. R. (2009). Towards an idea-centered, principle-based design approach to support learning as knowledge creation. *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 57(6), 613–627.
- Illeris, K. (2002). *Three dimensions of learning*. Roskilde: Roskilde University Press.
- Jarvis, P. (2006). *Towards a comprehensive theory of human learning*. London: RoutledgeFalmer Press.
- Jonassen, D. H., & Reeves, T. C. (1996). Learning with technology: Using computers as cognitive tools. In D. H. Jonassen (Ed.), *Handbook of research for educational communication and technology*. New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan.
- Kirkwood, A., & Price, L. (2014). Technology-enhanced learning and teaching in higher education: What is ‘enhanced’ and how do we know? A critical literature review. *Learning, Media and Technology*, 39(1), 6–36.
- Knowles, M. S. (1980). *The modern practice of adult education: From pedagogy to andragogy* (2nd ed.). New York: Cambridge Books.
- Knowles, M. S. (1984). *The adult learner: A neglected species* (3rd ed.). Houston, : Gulf.
- Kozma, R. B. (2011). *Transforming education: The power of ICT policies*. Paris, France: UNESCO.
- Lave, J., & Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated learning: Legitimate peripheral participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAuley, A., Stewart, B., Siemens, G., & Cormier, D. (2010). *The MOOC model for digital practice*. Retrieved January 6, 2016, from http://www.elearnspace.org/Articles/MOOC_Final.pdf.
- Merriam, S. B., Caffarella, R. S., & Baumgartner, L. M. (2007). *Learning in adulthood: A comprehensive guide* (3rd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Norman, D. A. (1998). *The design of everyday things*. London: MIT.
- Paavola, S., & Hakkarainen, K. (2005). The knowledge creation metaphor—An emergent epistemological approach to learning. *Science & Education*, 14, 535–557.
- Papert, S. (1980). *Mindstorms*. New York: Basic Books.

- Reese, S. A. (2015). Online learning environments in higher education: Connectivism vs. dissociation. *Education and Information Technologies*, 20(3), 579–588.
- Scandura, J. M. (2012). The role of automation in instruction: Recent advances in AuthorIT and TutorIT solve fundamental problems in developing intelligent tutoring systems. *Cognition and Learning*, 9, 3–8.
- Scardamalia, M., & Bereiter, C. (2006). Knowledge building: Theory, pedagogy, and technology. In R. K. Sawyer (Ed.), *The Cambridge handbook of the learning sciences*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schmid, R. F., Bernard, R. M., Borokhovski, E., Tamim, R. M., Abrami, P. C., Surkes, M. A., et al. (2014). The effects of technology use in postsecondary education. A meta-analysis of classroom applications. *Computers & Education*, 72, 271–291.
- Schroeder, A., Minocha, S., & Schneider, C. (2010). The strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of using social software in higher and further education teaching and learning. *Journal of Computer Assisted learning*, 26(3), 159–174.
- Selwyn, N., & Gorard, S. (2003). Reality bytes: Examining the rhetoric of widening educational participation via ICT. *British Journal of Educational Technology*, 34(2), 169–181.
- Selwyn, N., & Gorard, S. (2004). Exploring the role in ICT in facilitating adult informal learning. *Education, Communication & Information*, 4(2/3), 293–310.
- Siemens, G. (2004). *Connectivism: A learning theory for a digital age*, Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://www.clearnspace.org/Articles/connectivism.htm>.
- Sfard, A. (1998). On two metaphors for learning and the dangers of choosing just one. *Educational Researcher*, 27(2), 4–13.
- Skinner, E. (2007). Building knowledge and community through online discussion. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 31(3), 381–391.
- Suthers, D. D. (2006). Technology affordances for intersubjective meaning-making: A research agenda for CSCL. *International Journal of Computer-Supported Collaborative Learning*, 1(4), 409–412.
- Tamim, R. M., Bernard, R. M., Borokhovski, E., Abrami, P. C., & Schmid, R. F. (2011). What forty years of research says about the impact of technology on learning: A second-order meta-analysis and validation study. *Review of Educational Research*, 81(1), 4–28.
- Tan, S. C., So, H. J., & Yeo, J. (Eds.). (2014). *Knowledge creation in education*. Singapore: Springer.
- Taylor, R. P. (Ed.). (1980). *The computer in school: Tutor, tool, tutee*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Taylor, R. P. (2003). Reflections on the computer in the school. *Contemporary Issues in Technology and Teacher Education*, 3(1), Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://www.citejournal.org/vol3/iss1/seminal/article2.cfm>.
- The New Media Consortium. (n.d.). *NMC horizon*. Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://www.nmc.org/nmc-horizon/>.
- UNESCO Institute for Education. (1997). *Adult education. The Hamburg declaration. The agenda for the future*. Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0011/001161/116114Eo.pdf>.
- UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning. (2010–2013). *Lifelong learning*. Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://uil.unesco.org/home/programme-areas/lifelong-learning-policies-and-strategies/news-target/lifelong-learning/9bf043146caa0985c05daa9e12135f5b/>.
- Wagner, D., Vollmar, G., & Wagner, T. (2014). The impact of information technology on knowledge creation: An affordance approach to social media. *Journal of Enterprise Information Management*, 27(1), 31–44.

- Wells, G. (1999). *Dialogic inquiry: Toward a sociocultural practice and theory of education*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Wolf, M. A., Jones, R., Hall, S., & Wise, B. (2014). *Capacity enablers and barriers for learning analytics: Implications for policy and practice*. Retrieved March 8, 2016, from <http://all4ed.org/reports-factsheets/capacity-enablers-and-barriers-forlearning-analytics-implications-for-policy-and-practice/>.
- Yuan, L., & Powell, S. (2013). *MOOCs and open education: Implications for higher education*. Retrieved January 6, 2016, from <http://publications.cetis.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2013/03/MOOCs-and-Open-Education.pdf>.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Seng Chee Tan is Associate Professor at the Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. He is a Deputy Director of the Centre for Research and Development in Learning (CRADLE@NTU) and an Associate Dean, Learning and Instruction, at the National Institute of Education, Singapore. His main job responsibility is to direct research activities related to teaching and learning innovation at Institutes of Higher Education. His most recent publications include the book (co-edited with Hyo Jeong So and Jennifer Yeo) *Knowledge Creation in Education* (Springer, 2014) and the book *Pushing the Frontier: A Cohesive System-wide Approach to Integrating ICT into Education* (Springer, 2017).

The Mainstreaming of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs)

Sarah Speight

Abstract Speight takes a critical look at the mainstreaming of Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) between 2008 and 2015, focusing upon their impact on the UK higher education landscape. The chapter has three themes: the political economy of MOOCs, their pedagogy, and their relationship to lifelong learning and adult education. Speight argues that early hopes for MOOCs to widen access to adult and higher education are replaced by the positioning of MOOCs as routes into fee-paying, post-experience, and certificated learning. Currently available evidence suggests that it is postgraduate learners who possess the motivation and skills to benefit most from MOOCs. There are views, however, that MOOCs support teaching enhancement and innovation more generally as universities enable greater use of digital learning.

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the phenomenon of ‘MOOCs’, the Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs), which have been unsettling higher education since their emergence in North America in 2008. MOOCs have been described as a ‘disruptive innovation’ with the potential to create new markets and value propositions for higher education (Christensen and Eyring 2011). They have been described as ‘skunkworks’ initiatives, meaning innovations tried out in the low-risk spaces at the edge of mainstream provision (Daniel 2012). The emotive terminology used indicates the extent to which MOOCs have been seen as challenges to the traditional business models of higher education built upon the transmission of knowledge from scholar to student in the lecture hall.

S. Speight (✉)

School of Education, The University of Nottingham, Jubilee Campus,
Wollaton Road, Nottingham NG8 1BB, UK
e-mail: Sarah.Speight@nottingham.ac.uk

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_48

939

Reactions to MOOCs were most polarised in 2012–2013, a period labelled by Pappano (2012) in the *New York Times* as ‘The year of the MOOC’. Subsequently, the ‘hype cycle’ that developed in the information technology industry to chart the impact of technological innovation has been applied to MOOCs. Commentators have tracked their evolution through the cycle’s 5 phases: technology trigger; peak of inflated expectations; trough of disillusionment; slope of enlightenment; and finally the plateau of productivity (Tapson 2013; Maguire 2014). Where MOOCs currently sit, in the trough or on the slope or on the plateau (it being clear that the peak has passed) depends upon the expectations and objectives behind them.

Shifting expectations and objectives are reflected in the way in which a scholarly MOOC literature is now emerging. Writing on MOOCs has moved on from opinion pieces heralding the end of university education as we know it (Harden 2012), towards peer-reviewed research: largely small-scale studies examining the impact of MOOC-style pedagogies upon learner engagement, upon tutor identity and upon traditional forms of teaching and learning (Bayne and Ross 2013). It is literature that is led by practice rather than theory (Siemens et al. 2015), but it is now established as an important corollary to the literature on the political economy of higher education.

This chapter considers the position of MOOCs in 2015, largely from a UK perspective. There are two main axes of approach: the political economy of MOOCs and the ways in which they are nudging forwards existing agendas around credentialisation and professional learning; and the pedagogy of MOOCs, including MOOCs as catalysts for teaching enhancement and self-directed learning. Both axes have something to say about the relationship of MOOCs to our understanding of lifelong learning in the digital and information age.

MOOCs are still young but they are evolving rapidly. While early claims around their potential to democratise higher education may be as yet unfounded, they may prove more influential in terms of quality. While they may not be increasing access to higher education, they may expand the continuing access opportunities for the already engaged. As they mature, they appear to be mainstreaming; losing their ‘skunkworks’ characteristics, moving from the periphery to the centre and, in so doing, focusing upon a more prescribed curriculum meeting the needs of postgraduate and post-experience learners. While adult learners seeking initial access to higher education lose out in this shift, those already in higher education may emerge as beneficiaries from pedagogic enhancement. Overall, for learners (as opposed to policy makers), we can characterise the impact of MOOC-related change as travelling in two directions, change *resulting from* and change *leading to*:

- Curriculum change *resulting from* the mainstreaming of MOOCs, a policy focus upon monetization and *leading to* ‘progression strategies’ that tie MOOCs to credit-bearing higher education aimed at the post-experience market.

- Pedagogic change *resulting from* a disruptive innovation/skunkworks initiative and *leading to* teaching enhancement and blended/online learning serving the needs of all students in higher education.

THE HISTORY OF MOOCs

Higher education has been shaken in the twenty-first century by the fast-moving emergence and spread of MOOCs. In 2008, Stephen Downes and George Siemens recruited over 2000 people to a free course, ‘Connectivism and Connective Knowledge’, which they developed out of a credit-bearing course at the University of Manitoba in Canada (Marques 2013). They used online forums and social media to engage their learners. They declared the course to be ‘open’, meaning that people could reuse and repurpose its content. They offered a certified version for a fee. Their experiment formed around Siemens’s theory of ‘connectivism’, itself a second important dimension of the ‘open’ element of the MOOC acronym (Marques and McGuire 2013).

Connectivism is a learning theory tailored for the digital and technology-enabled age. It stresses that the key to effective learning today is not the ability to know, but the ability to find out what we need to know. In this process, human networks are key. Technology enables us to network widely and efficiently, to share and to challenge, and to adapt and rethink quickly due to the speed at which the information landscape can shift. It is a learning theory foregrounding collaboration and community rather than individualism. In this way, connectivism breaks down the traditional relationships between tutors and students because it positions participants as equal contributors to collective learning. Translated into an MOOC, this means a model of ‘distributed learning’ where knowledge is shared, acquired and mediated not via tutors, textbooks and structured classes, but via networks and the outputs of these networks—blog postings and discussions forums, which are aggregated and then shared with the learner community.

Having over 2000 students on one course was big in 2008 but, subsequently, the ‘massive’ element of MOOCs increased. In 2012, 160,000 people enrolled on ‘Introduction to Artificial Intelligence’, from Stanford University in the United States (US). The harnessing of an elite higher education brand attracted media attention; other US institutions such as Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology followed, and MOOCs started to formalise into business partnerships (De Freitas 2013).

This surge in scale, and the adoption of the format by the elite, has moved MOOCs away from the ideas of the founders. Very quickly, the MOOC format has evolved through different pedagogical models—with Siemens coming up with the classification of cMOOCs for those using his and Downes’ ‘distributed learning’ model, and the xMOOC for those courses created by the university-led companies with a more traditional format (Yuan and Powell 2013). The xMOOC may be structured into weeks or units, use video, audio

and text content, quizzes and peer reviews, with the majority of content being held within a ‘virtual learning environment’.

In 2015, there were a number of MOOC providers and platforms that either built their own courses with their university partners, or translated existing courses into a target language. North America has Udacity, Coursera and EdX, Germany has Iversity, and the UK has FutureLearn. All of these emphasise the credentials of their partner institutions. China has at least four MOOC platforms, including Kaikeba, Xuetangx (hosted by the elite University of Tsinghua and owned by the Ministry of Education), Topu and the Mandarin version of Coursera. Latin America has Verduca for Portuguese speakers and Miriada X for Spanish speakers.

MOOCs are already not what they once were. The ‘open’ element’ is fast closing down. Whereas this originally referred to open-source content, many universities choose not to share their content beyond enrolled learners. ‘Open’ still means open access to those opting to enrol, but the meaning of this may change if MOOCs become rebranded as taster courses for fee-paying academic programmes.

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF MOOCs

The worldwide demand for higher education will grow exponentially from 100 million students currently to 250+ million by 2025 (European Commission 2014: 10). A sizeable chunk of this demand will come from post-experience professionals seeking further certification without risk to position and salary, and often able to access funding from their employers. Studies from both the developed world and the emerging economies reveal this demand being met by ‘online at distance’ education, where growth in enrolments has been significant and sustained now for several years, easily outstripping growth in campus-based enrolments (Allen and Seamen 2013; Hughes 2013; British Council 2014; Norton 2014; Katsarova 2015).

MOOCs are tied into this demand, quenching the appetite of the already digitally literate attracted by the convenience and global networking affordances of the format. MOOCs provide a cheaper and lower-risk alternative to older models of transnational higher education. The fact that they are offered by elite institutions such as Harvard and Stanford in the US, alongside the majority of the Russell Group in the UK, gives them a credibility that may also ease the acceptance of online learning in the emerging educational markets of the developing world (Lawton et al. 2013).

The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education (OBHE), an international think tank, has produced three reports that consider the impact of MOOCs upon the higher education landscape. In 2012, they noted an early claim that MOOCs would provide an alternative model of ‘free’ higher education in which massive numbers of students accessed a university education at low cost rather than a smaller number receiving it at high cost (Lawton and Katsomitros 2012). This early altruism has already faded and the UK institutions in the MOOC

world are following the US pioneers in experimenting with the integration of MOOCs into high-value programmes for postgraduate and professional learners (the unmet demand). If this succeeds it will change both the curriculum and the metrics of MOOCs. The successful MOOC will be the one that more than covers its costs by converting ‘learners’ to ‘students’. The ‘massive’ dimension of the acronym will be big in traditional higher education terms, but no longer staggeringly big as most MOOCs become targeted at specific audiences. A 5% conversion rate from 4000 will be more significant to a university business than outreach to 400,000. The truly massive MOOC will be the rare course supporting global demand for the same certified learning. It is not surprising that the ‘biggest-ever MOOC’ to date prepares students for the international English language testing system (IELTS). ‘Understanding IELTS: Techniques for English Language Tests’ is run by the British Council. This MOOC enrolled over 440,000 in the spring of 2015 (Parr 2015). The link to employability and access to higher education is signalled by learners’ motivations, prioritised in the pre-course survey as to improve their English (80%), to learn new things (47%) and to prepare for further studies (44%). The survey recorded 42% of respondents as in full-time employment, 21% in full-time education and 17% looking for work (FutureLearn 2015).

The British Council MOOC offers an explicit link to the most globally recognised and accepted qualification for English Language proficiency, administered by itself. It is unique in serving the needs of a global undergraduate as well as postgraduate and in-employment market, providing a strong example of how ‘MOOCs have already become inseparable from the questions of strategic-positioning and money: investments, revenues, jobs’ (Lawton and Lunt 2013).

Much of the fear around MOOCs has centred on a perceived threat to traditional models of undergraduate education (for example, MOOCs as heralding the ‘teacherless classroom’ [Cost et al. 2013]). Educause, the higher education technology association, confirms the dominance of professional learners but suggests that this may shift as universities look to integrate MOOCs into mainstream educational pathways (Educause 2012). There is little evidence for this shift so far, both for reasons of economy (the economies of scale in lecture-style undergraduate teaching) and because the research evidence suggests that it is adult professional learners who are both more satisfied by online distance learning (e.g. MOOCs), and more likely to find it effective (because of their online literacy, motivation and organisational skills) (Siemens et al. 2015). UK universities are unlikely to risk student satisfaction scores by a large-scale movement of undergraduate education online. Jonathan Tapson’s (2013) ‘slow tsunami’, in which those who cannot access the elite institutions for an undergraduate education gradually opt for free MOOCs instead, has little momentum behind it. The real at-risk area for most universities is postgraduate provision and it is around this that MOOC strategies are forming.

The OBHE view is that the impact of MOOCs is felt most keenly in higher education pedagogy; not in an ‘all or nothing’ impact (the end of the university

as we know it), but rather as an enabler for those changes in approach deemed necessary in this information age:

The smart money may be on innovations in blended learning using the flipped class model. This model depends on the continuing relevance of the kind of pedagogy that is tied to research and that supports critical analysis or hands-on laboratory work. (Lawton and Lunt 2013: 9)

The flipped class model, in which contact time is used to analyse information acquired elsewhere rather than to deliver it, can certainly draw upon the MOOCs for rich content. This is the MOOC as textbook. The MOOC as a complete course requires a higher level skills set, including the ability to negotiate across cultural and contextual boundaries and to co-join experiential and academic learning. This is the space for the professional learner, studying part-time and in the home or workplace.

The OBHE's horizon scanning places MOOCs as catalysts for the pace of change rather than as 'the future' of higher education: MOOCs supporting low-cost models and the 'unbundling' of qualifications (Lawton et al. 2013). While the certification of MOOCs is in its early stages, it points towards the possibilities for portfolio learning, for bite-sized learning, and for assessment upon demand—Yuan and Powell's idea of the 'Open Curriculum' (Yuan and Powell 2013).

The UK's Institute of Public Policy Research agrees, writing of a citizen-led education system in which learning by doing becomes the norm and students take responsibility for their own learning (Barber et al. 2013). Jeff Borden, of the global education company Pearson, captures the zeitgeist in an interview with the OBHE:

Education will be less of a 'black box' which makes students dependent on educators, and much more based on critical thinking, creativity, and authentic measures allowing students to become life-long learners (Lawton et al. 2013: 28, footnote 100).

What Borden overlooks is that we do not acquire the skills of lifelong learning by osmosis.

In 2013, the UK government's Department of Business Innovation and Skills (BEIS) published 'The Maturing of the MOOC' (Haggard 2013). Based on a literature review of over a 100 items in both the academic and journalistic press, the study identified a strong focus upon the establishment of business models and upon meaningful accreditation that would have parity with existing qualification and credit frameworks. It argued for a widespread acceptance from formal expert appraisals that MOOCs are entering a phase of maturation in which they will become a 'standardised element of credentialised University education, exploiting new pedagogical models, discovering revenue and lowering costs' (Haggard 2013: 5). Disruptive innovation theory would

characterise MOOCs as innovations offering consumers something new (and unexpected) that triggers the development of new markets; in the case of MOOCs new markets for globally networked and large-scale (in terms of student numbers) online learning (Yuan and Powell 2013). However, the report also sounded an alarm about the near-exclusive take-up of MOOCs by the elite universities and the concomitant absence of serious consideration of the needs of those with more complex support needs.

The future-scoping MOOC literature writes of personalisation and increasing consumer control. It sees MOOCs as providing demand-led flexible and responsive continuing professional development for post-experience professionals. This positioning of MOOCs within economic policy drivers is some way from the intentions of the connectivist MOOC pioneers and suggests that the future of MOOCs is firmly within the higher education mainstream, certainly in terms of their demographics. The lack of understanding of the support needs of learners for whom online learning literacy cannot be assumed hearkens back to the employability literature and to the failure to recognise how, ‘in a gendered and classed labour market, the acquisition of economically valuable skills is not a guarantee of an economically valuable job’ (Jackson and Jamieson 2009). MOOCs are certainly classed and thereby serving best those able to serve themselves, rather than those with a real need to enhance their employability to enable them to remain prosperous within the labour market.

At this point in the MOOC story, as universities search for business models, the danger is also that a two-tier system of higher education further solidifies around the mode of study. Responding to a presentation by MOOC pioneer Daphne Koller (professor at Stanford and co-founder of Coursera), online learning consultant Tony Bates declared that:

...these elite universities continue to treat xMOOCs as a philanthropic form of continuing education, and until these institutions are willing to award credit and degrees for this type of programme, we have to believe that they think this is a second class form of education suitable only for the unwashed masses (Bates 2012).

Ironically, in 2015 the danger of this is ameliorated by the drawing of MOOCs into the online at distance postgraduate and post-experience sphere. As the focus and therefore the curriculum narrows, the mainstreaming of MOOCs becomes easier. MOOCs become flexible learning vehicles for the well-equipped and usually digitally literate with a core purpose to lead them into committing to fee-paying online learning. The MOOC horizon has narrowed considerably since ‘the year of the MOOC’ back in 2012–2013, overriding too the comments of another significant MOOC critic—John Daniel, former President of the International Council for Open and Distance Education:

It is a myth to think that providing not-for-credit open online learning from the USA will address the challenges of expanding higher education in the developing world (Daniel 2012).

The myth is well busted now. MOOCs are for a new mainstream.

THE PEDAGOGY OF MOOCs

MOOCs represent online learning at scale, and online learning has been with us for a generation. In the decades since the foundation of the Open University (UK) in 1969, technology has gradually changed the way higher education is accessed outside the campus classroom. The paper-based correspondence course has given way to broadcast education via the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), pre-recorded video and digital discs, then mobile learning via the Internet. The Open University has pioneered the notion of ‘Open education’ via OpenLearn, its collection of free to access content produced to support its collaborations with the BBC. Like hundreds of institutions worldwide, it uploads educational audio and video to ‘iTunes U’, part of Apple’s iTunes music site. Youtube is a video-sharing website that is also used by Universities to provide content online. These and other emerging technologies have changed the way we learn over the past 40 years.

What is new in MOOCs is not the use of technology, but the uses to which it is put. MOOC providers describe themselves as using technology to build their platforms and structures in particular ways to support stated pedagogic leanings. The ten guiding principles for the FutureLearn (UK) partnership include storytelling, conversation, networking, connecting, celebration and community (FutureLearn, *Principles*, no date). The FutureLearn platform has been built to support a social constructivist pedagogy in which knowledge and understanding grow via encounters with others—and in a MOOC that means with peers, because there are simply too many people for the tutor team to engage with all directly. What this means for the platform is that discussion takes precedence over content, and peer support and review are positioned as the best mechanisms to get the most from the course. The pedagogy of US giant Coursera focuses upon ‘mastery learning’ with computer-generated testing and peer review being used to assess competency before learners move on to the next activity (Coursera n.d.).

While Coursera is a provider of xMOOCs (as explained above), FutureLearn is pushing a hybrid pedagogy that is fairly traditional in its linear structure (courses are organised into weeks and content is housed within the platform rather than distributed) while foregrounding the collaborative and networked aspects of connectivism. However, it is up to course teams how they use the platform. MOOC pedagogies also exist at institutional, course and tutor levels—formed by local strategies that may relate to an engagement or outreach agenda, a disciplinary perspective or a personal ethos (Bayne and Ross 2013). This is important as it stresses the individual agency that exists in MOOCs as they are positioned at the moment. They are predominantly outside any higher

education qualifications framework and therefore at relatively low risk when it comes to issues of student satisfaction and achievement.

MOOC pedagogy is currently a responsive pedagogy: pedagogy that adapts to discipline, to topic, to learner needs and to tutor objectives. While learners are encouraged to move as a cohort through the course, there is recognition that this is not always possible. Learners are encouraged to study at their own pace and often retain access to the MOOC for months or years after the official end date. If all content is released up-front, they are enabled to follow a non-linear path, to interact with the sections of most relevance/interest to them and to skip the sections of least interest. There is recognition that learning time includes peer-to-peer interaction as well as, and often more than, learner with content and learner with tutor interaction. A tutor may describe a course as requiring four hours' study per week. Learners will often report back that the actual time required is more than double this because of the time spent reading the contributions of fellow learners and responding to them. (This points to an interesting difference in expectation between some tutors and learners).

An under-researched dimension of MOOC learning to date is that of scale. Huge enrolment figures have been an early focus of press attention, concomitantly with low completion rates. Little has been written about the pedagogy of the massive (Stewart 2013). One exception is Knox (2014: 165) who asks 'what happens when thousands of people come together and orient themselves around a specific arrangement of educational material?' From learner responses in both a discussion forum and an end of course survey for a University of Edinburgh MOOC, Knox found that a common reaction was one of feeling 'overwhelmed' (2014: 168), leading him to challenge the assumption in much of the literature that MOOCs are 'learner-centred'. Anxiety was a MOOC-related emotion for many; including those students who felt the need to access all MOOC content rather than to make choices based on their needs and preferences.

We cannot therefore assume that choice can be exercised positively by all in a MOOC context. The ability to choose and to select must itself be learnt. In addition, it is worth re-stressing that the producers of MOOCs conform to the norms of elite and western-centric higher education. MOOC content comes from the US and Europe and while learners have the opportunity to make their own way through what is on offer, the offer is certainly bounded. Altbach (2014: 7) declares that 'neither knowledge nor pedagogy are neutral'. As noted above, MOOC pedagogy favours those with the motivation and digital literacy and independent learning skills to study effectively online, meaning usually those with experience of quality higher education already (Eynon and Helsper 2011, p. 535).

The focus in the literature upon motivation rather than ability sets up a different relationship between content providers, tutors and learners. FutureLearn says: 'There is no such thing as dropout: we encourage learners to take from the experience as little or as much as they desire' (FutureLearn, no date). Learner knowledge is highly valued, learner agency is expected, learner freedom is accommodated:

In all MOOCs that enable voluntary, open, free registration, learners set some of their own terms for participation in a way that differs from conventional higher education offerings. The fact that a learner need not qualify nor complete a MOOC in order to be considered a legitimate student within that course creates a very different relationship to course requirements and to the instructor, and alters learners' agency over the terms of their experiences (Stewart 2013).

An additional distinction is the significance of the peer network and the ways in which this enriches learning. This can be expressed by adapting David Kolb's (1984) learning cycle for online and networked learning in MOOCs. Peer support networks are kick-started by a high status foregrounding of the importance of concrete experiences (for example, as a professional or a patient in a health-related MOOC). Learners reflect upon these experiences, interpreting them as they compare and contrast their own with the experiences of learners around the globe. New knowledge and understanding is generated, which enables experimentation with new ways of working and new projects. The 'MOOC-ness' of this is the online space and the steps that are needed to make it a safe one and that supports collaborative learning but also enables a personalised learning experience (Kop 2011; Kop et al. 2011). Trust has to be built between learners before an online community or network can be built. Kop describes the notion of 'presence', comprising social, cognitive and teaching elements. The social incorporates the supportive and productive interaction of peers; the cognitive the exploration of ideas and perspectives following a stimulus; the teaching the structuring and supporting of the course by the tutor team.

An alternative theoretical framework is provided by heutagogy, seen as an extension in the learning continuum from pedagogy (engagement) through andragogy (cultivation of learner maturity and autonomy) to the realisation of maturity and autonomy (Beaven et al. 2014). In heutagogy the primary agency is with learners. If a main heutagogic principle is that learners know how to learn, we can see another logic in the narrowing of the MOOC proposition to serve the professional continuing development market. Knowing how to learn includes knowing what to choose and knowing what to include in a personalised learning portfolio.

Heutagogy also relates to connectivism in that both position the role of the tutor as member of the team and as co-collaborator rather than as outsider and expert. Heutagogy therefore calls for a different manifestation of the tutor in MOOCs, rather than the characterisation of tutors as either 'rock star' lecturers, or automated proxy tutors (computer-generated testing) according to the cMOOC and xMOOC typology (Ross et al. 2014). Back in 2012, Downes described the skills he envisaged being used in a MOOC by both educators and learners:

What we are trying to do with a MOOC is to create an environment where people who are more advanced reasoners, thinkers, motivators, arguers, and educators can practice their skills in a public way by interacting with each other (Downes 2012).

This is conversational learning, learning as experience rather than method (Baker et al. 2005). It is not necessarily the normal learning environment of a university academic carrying out research and teaching large undergraduate lecture-based programmes. It points to a need for staff training for MOOC development and delivery: ‘It is a myth that professors distinguished by their research output are competent to create online courses without help’ (Daniel 2012).

As the mainstreaming process continues, issues around tutor identity in MOOCs and tutor responses to change in roles and methods will need investigation. There is an existing literature from adult and higher education that may provide some helpful frameworks. Illeris (2009) conceptualises relationships between tutors, learners and the curriculum with *accommodative* learners looking for ways to adapt to a new situation, while *transformative* learners accept necessary (and positive) change in themselves. There are studies of the creative use of discomfort zones (Leibowitz 2009; Blackie et al. 2010). Doring (2002: 143) contrasts academicians who enthusiastically commit to change with those who, with more ‘sombre enthusiasm’ attempt to change in response to pressure and to ‘their own self-awareness of the need for future survival’. The contrast Doring presents is evident in the polarisation in the early MOOC literature between the enthused adopters and the critical skeptics.

Tutor identity is important in developing resilience and adaptability. The challenge with MOOCs is that the teacherly roles required, positioned more towards the heutagogic end of the learning spectrum, challenge both disciplinary and teacher identity. A new professional identity around the ‘MOOC tutor’ has yet to emerge although it will be able to borrow from adult education: encompassing flexibility, creativity and adaptability and foregrounding the development of capacity for lifelong learning over retention of subject knowledge.

Bayne and Ross (2013: 57) end their important 2013 study of MOOC pedagogy in the UK with three observations:

- MOOCs are multiple: we can no longer define them either as a single ‘transformative’ entity or clearly position them in terms of the previously dominant cMOOC/xMOOC binary.
- MOOC pedagogy is not embedded in a MOOC platform, but is negotiated and emergent, informed by institutional strategy, tutor identity and disciplinary ethos.
- The teacher persists in the MOOC: though reworked, disaggregated, and in need of a new identity.

The innovative learning approaches inherent in MOOCs are those that work well for the self-motivated post-experience learner, able to thrive in an online environment underpinned by connectivism and heutagogy. While MOOCs may have begun on the fringes of higher education, they have quickly adapted themselves to a mainstreamed model.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF MOOCs TO LIFELONG LEARNING

In their report on the future for Lifelong Learning in the UK, Schuller and Watson (2009) focus their attention upon ‘adults returning to organised learning rather than on the initial period of education or on incidental learning’. For them, lifelong learning encapsulates the belief that we all have the capacity to continue learning. If we have this capacity, we require the opportunity, otherwise we waste our human capital and are demotivated. Lifelong learning, they say, should be an enabling force that equips us to make good choices and to have resilience in the face of change. The social dimension of learning provides a powerful antidote to intolerance and insularity: ‘more education means greater tolerance, because it improves awareness of the possibility of other viewpoints—those of fellow learners’ (Schuller and Watson 2009: 13).

Much of this chimes with the rhetoric around MOOCs: open access, peer-to-peer learning, networking and collaboration, and social learning. In the MOOC context though, such characteristics are positioned as radical, hence the use of terminology like ‘disruptive innovation’ and ‘flipped classroom’. This has been noted by a team working from the universities of Victoria and McGill in Canada (St. Clair et al. 2015). They comment that: ‘radicalism tends to be in the eyes of the beholder....For many adult educators, the notion of inclusive, student-centred educational processes that are voluntary and reliant upon the motivation of participants is not at all radical’ (St. Clair et al. 2015: 69). To illustrate this further they assess the reported learner experience of the first MOOC offered by McGill University (CHEM 181x—on Chemistry) against Malcolm Knowles’ (1980) principles of andragogy: that adults should be involved in planning and evaluating their learning, that experiential learning should be acknowledged and validated, that effective learning for adults is timely and relevant, and that adult learning is driven by a need to know, problem-centred rather than content driven.

The course attracted 32,000 registrations, 9000 of which actively participated with over 1600 completing and passing (St. Clair et al. 2015: 70–71). The team found that independent learning skills were vital in order to participate while collaborative working with others generated a small increase in the levels of participation of individuals. The validation of prior experiential learning was associated with a greater persistence to complete the course: it was those working in Chemistry-related areas or with a previous Chemistry education experience who were most likely to pass. Those who engaged most with the course had a larger range of reasons for participation with extrinsic motivations

(employment, job advancement, certificate) outweighing intrinsic motivations (personal challenge, interest/entertainment). The researchers felt:

...there is some evidence that MOOCs build engagement with learners who fit with Knowles' adult learning principles. It does not follow that MOOCs offer a radically different context for learning, but our findings imply that the characteristics of MOOCs as a method for learning align well with the needs of certain adult learners (St. Clair et al. 2015: 80).

For a second strand of investigation the team considered the claims that MOOCs can increase access to higher education. They found that while young learners under 35 made up two-thirds of initial registrations, there were higher percentage pass rates for older learners. They noted that 'when older adults are attracted to MOOCs, they stick with them, signalling that MOOCs might support engagement in older learners' (St. Clair et al. 2015: 73). Women made up 60% of registrations with almost twice the number of women as men achieving a pass.

An entrance survey, completed by 9623 registrants, showed that those with previous experiences of MOOC learning were 23% more likely to pass than those who had not (14%) (St. Clair et al. 2015). On CHEM 181x, as on other MOOCs, learners were highly educated—in this case 35% to first degree level and 33% to professional and master's level. This can be compared with a study of the University of Edinburgh's first MOOCs indicating that 70% of respondents had a first degree, and 40% a postgraduate degree (MOOCs@Edinburgh Group 2013). The majority of learners on CHEM 181X studied the course at home (95% at home and 70% only at home) on personal devices and using a personal internet connection.

The team concluded that their Chemistry MOOC did not increase access to education for adults but was accessed by self-motivated well-educated people who could afford the equipment and connection necessary. Older learners and women may have had higher pass rates but these groups represented those already well-equipped to benefit from this new educational phenomenon rather than a group being brought into higher education for the first time (St. Clair et al. 2015). Their findings reinforce the evidence to date that MOOCs are not a panacea for widening participation. The range of courses on offer attracts a fairly homogeneous and well-educated audience. We are not, for example, seeing MOOCs being designed for less well-educated groups such as adults requiring basic numeracy and literacy (Footring 2014).

CONCLUSION

This chapter has argued that the mainstreaming of MOOCs narrows the funnel of participation in this form of online education by encouraging a curriculum predicated upon progression routes into postgraduate, professional and post-experience fee-paying university programmes (Clow 2013; Stine 2013).

The limited research available indicates that it is adult professional learners who both achieve the most from online education, and who are most satisfied by it (Siemens et al. 2015). These learners are highly motivated, seeking knowledge and skills relevant to existing professions. The low financial cost and accessibility of MOOCs (time and space to find rather than fees; easy one-click registration) make them an attractive option for the busy executive (as quick to leave as they are to join; no bureaucracy) while, at the same time, their chances of completing a MOOC are increased by their higher-level skills.

MOOCs may have emerged as a ‘skunkworks’ initiative as recently as 2008, but they have quickly left the innovation spaces at the edge of higher education to head towards the new areas of mainstream business that universities are developing in response to the digital revolution and the need to diversify income streams. Their potential to support a re-energising of adult education (and particularly liberal adult education) is fading as quickly as it emerged. The promotion of MOOCs by some UK universities as ‘Free online courses that fit around your life’ seems ironic:

Learning never stops, whatever your age or background. The problem is that life often gets in the way of our interests. To help with this, we are developing an exciting way for you to learn something new, follow your passion, or rekindle old interests for free, in your own time and on any platform (Reading 2015).

Instead, the future for MOOCs appears to be as ‘taster courses’ for postgraduate degrees, or as ‘nanodegrees’ and ‘microcredentials’ for the adult professional learners reaping the benefits of online work-related continuing professional development. This does not necessarily mean the dissipation of MOOC impact, but it will require an adjustment of the narrative to replace access with re-engagement.

The elite universities, in capturing the MOOC format for themselves, have brought MOOCs within the institutional enclave. The desire to monetise is pushing MOOCs into a new postgraduate and post-experience mainstream that is moving online in response to the unmet demand for higher education globally. In moving online, while the barriers of geography are taken down, the barriers of digital literacy go up—unless MOOCs are positioned appropriately within overarching strategies for student support. However, even good and timely support will struggle to overcome the barriers inherent in a western-centric curriculum. The mature MOOC conforms to a higher education mainstream and does not reach a new demographic. To paraphrase Eynon and Helsper (2011), ‘non-participation in adult and lifelong learning [and in MOOCs] is deeply entrenched with ‘trajectories’ based on class, gender, generation, ethnicity and geography and are established at an early age’.

MOOCs are having an impact. The policy shift into the post-experience sphere is changing the MOOC curriculum and luring it into institutional frameworks. Simultaneously, MOOC pedagogies (contested within the literature as outlined here) are pushing forward a teaching enhancement agenda in

higher education that will reach into all corners—the undergraduate as well as postgraduate. Lawson and Lunt's (2013: 9) view that the 'smart money' should be put on the impact of MOOCs in the blended learning sphere, looks likely to be money well spent.

REFERENCES

- Allen, E., & Seamen, J. (2013). *Changing course: Ten years of tracking online education in the United States*. NJ: Sloan Consortium. Retrieved June 5, 2015, from <http://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED541571.pdf>.
- Altbach, P. (2014). MOOCs as neocolonialism: Who controls knowledge? *International Higher Education*, 75, 5–7.
- Baker, A., Patricia, O., Jensen, J., & Kolb, D. (2005). Conversation as experiential learning. *Management Learning*, 36(4), 411–427.
- Barber, M., Donnelly, K., & Rizvi, S. (2013). *An Avalanche is coming, Higher education and the revolution ahead*. Institute for Public Policy Research. Retrieved September 17, 2015, from http://www.ippr.org/files/images/media/files/publication/2013/04/avalanche-is-coming_Mar2013_10432.pdf?noredirect=1.
- Bates, T. (2012, August 5). What's right and what's wrong about Coursera-style MOOCs? *Tony Bates: Blog*. Retrieved August 6, 2015, from <http://www.tonybates.ca/2012/08/05/whats-right-and-whats-wrong-about-coursera-style-moocs/>.
- Bayne, S., & Ross, J. (2013). *The pedagogy of the Massive Open Online Course: The UK view*. York: The Higher Education Academy.
- Beaven, T., Hauck, M., Comas-Quinn, A., Lewis, T., & de los Arcos, B. (2014). MOOCs: Striking the right balance between facilitation and self-determination. *MERLOT Journal of Online Learning and Teaching*, 10(1), 31–43.
- Blackie, M., Case, J., & Jawitz, J. (2010). Student-centredness: The link between transforming students and transforming ourselves. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 15(6), 637–646.
- British Council. (2014). *Understanding India: The future of higher education and opportunities for international co-operation*. Retrieved June 5, 2015, from: http://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/britishcouncil.uk2/files/understanding_india_report.pdf.
- Christensen, C., & Eyring, H. (2011). *The innovative university: Changing the DNA of higher education from the inside out*. London: Wiley.
- Clow, D. (2013, April). MOOCs and the funnel of participation. In *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Learning Analytics and Knowledge* (pp. 185–189). ACM.
- Cost, J., Miller, J., McLeod, J., St. George M., Haro, P., & Mahler, J. (2013). Unthinking Technophilia. *Inside Higher Ed*. Retrieved September 17, 2015, from <https://www.insidehighered.com/views/2013/01/14/essay-says-faculty-involved-moocs-may-be-making-rope-professional-hangings>.
- Coursera. (n.d.). Retrieved September 17, 2015, from <https://www.coursera.org/about/>.
- Daniel, J. (2012). Making sense of MOOCs: Musings in a maze of myth, paradox and possibility. *Journal of Interactive Media in Education*, 3, Art-18. Retrieved August 12, 2015, from <http://jime.open.ac.uk/articles/10.5334/2012-18/>.

- De Freitas, S. (2013). *MOOCs: The final frontier for higher education*. Coventry: Coventry University. Retrieved January 6, 2015, from <http://www.voced.edu.au/content/ngv%3A66276>.
- Doring, A. (2002). Challenges to the academic role of change agent. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 26(2), 139–148.
- Downes, S. (2012, March 1). What a MOOC does. *Stephen Downes: Blog*. Retrieved March 16, 2013, from <http://www.downes.ca/post/57728>.
- Educause. (2012). *What campus leaders need to know about MOOCs, an educause executive briefing*. Retrieved September 6, 2015, from <http://www.educause.edu/library/resources/what-campus-leaders-need-know-about-moocs>.
- European Commission. (2014). *New modes of learning and teaching in higher education* (Report to the European Commission by the High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education). Retrieved February 3, 2015, from http://ec.europa.eu/education/library/reports/modernisation-universities_en.pdf.
- Eynon, R., & Helsper, E. (2011). Adults learning online: Digital choice and/or digital exclusion? *New Media and Society*, 13(4), 534–551.
- Footring, S. (2014). *Should adult learning embrace the MOOC?* (Report from the Learning at the Digital Frontier Conference: National Institute for Adult and Continuing Education). Retrieved May 22, 2015, from <http://www.jisc.ac.uk/blog/should-adult-learning-embrace-the-mooc-19-mar-2014>.
- FutureLearn. (2015). *FutureLearn delivers the largest MOOC ever as more than 440,000 learners convene for English language learning*. Retrieved September 17, 2015, from <https://about.futurelearn.com/press-releases/futurelearn-delivers-the-largest-mooc-ever-as-nearly-400000-learners-convene-for-english-language-learning/>.
- FutureLearn. (n.d.). *Our principles: Ten principles that guide how we design and build FutureLearn*. Retrieved February 10, 2015, from <https://www.futurelearn.com/about/our-principles>.
- Haggard, S. (2013). *The maturing of the MOOC: Literature review of massive open online courses and other forms of online distance learning*. London: Department of Business, Innovation & Skills.
- Harden, N. (2012). The end of the university as we know it. *The American Interest*, 8(3), 1–8. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://www.the-american-interest.com/2012/12/11/the-end-of-the-university-as-we-know-it/>.
- Hughes, T. (2013). *Privately-funded provision of higher education in the UK* (Department for Business, Innovation and Skills Research Paper 111). Retrieved June 5, 2015, from https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/207128/bis-13-900-privately-funded-providers-of-higher-education-in-the-UK.pdf.
- Illeris, K. (2009). Transfer of learning in the learning society: How can the barriers between different learning spaces be surmounted, and how can the gap between learning inside and outside schools be bridged? *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 28(2), 137–148.
- Jackson, S., & Jamieson, A. (2009). Higher education, mature students and employment goals: Policies and practices in the UK. *Journal of Vocational Education and Training*, 61(4), 399–411.
- Katsarova, I. (2015). *Higher education and the EU: Approaches, issues and trends*. European Parliamentary Research Service. Retrieved June 5, 2015, from <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/EPRS/EPRS-IDA-554169-Higher-education-in-the-EU-FINAL.pdf>.

- Knowles, M. (1980). *The modern practice of adult education: From pedagogy to andragogy*. New York: Cambridge Books.
- Knox, J. (2014). Digital culture clash: 'Massive' education in the E-learning and Digital Cultures MOOC. *Distance Education*, 35(2), 164–177.
- Kolb, D. (1984). *Experiential learning: Experience as the source of learning and development*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Kop, R. (2011). The challenges to connectivist learning on open online networks: Learning experiences during a massive open online course. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distance Learning*, 12(3), 19–38. Retrieved August 15, 2015, from <http://www.irrodl.org/index.php/irrodl/article/view/882/1689>.
- Kop, R., Fournier, H., & Mak, J. (2011). A pedagogy of abundance or a pedagogy to support human beings? Participant support on massive open online courses. *The International Review of Research in Open and Distributed Learning*. Retrieved September 10, 2015, from <http://www.irrodl.org/index.php/irrodl/article/view/1041/2025/>.
- Lawton, W., Ahmed, M., Angulo, T., Axel-Berg, A., Burrows, A., & Katomitros, A. (2013). *Horizon scanning: What will higher education look like in 2020?* Observatory on Borderless Higher Education.
- Lawton, W., & Katsomitros, A. (2012). *Moocs and disruptive education: The challenge to Higher Education Business Models*. Observatory on Borderless Higher Education.
- Lawton, W., & Lunt, K. (2013). *Would you credit that? The trajectory of the MOOCs juggernaut*. Observatory on Borderless Higher Education.
- Leibowitz, B. (2009). What's inside the suitcases? An investigation into the powerful resources students and lecturers bring to teaching and learning. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 28(3), 261–274.
- Maguire, D. (2014). The 'hype cycle' of Moocs and other big ideas. Times Higher Education. Retrieved August 8, 2015, from <https://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/comment/opinion/the-hype-cycle-of-moocs-and-other-big-ideas/2010206.article>.
- Marques, J. (2013, April 17). A short history of MOOCs and distance learning. *MOOC News & Reviews: Blog*. Retrieved September 7, 2015, from <http://mooconewsandreviews.com/a-short-history-of-moocs-and-distance-learning/#ixzz3l2d8RyuY>.
- Marques, J., & McGuire, R. (2013, June 7). What is a massive open online course anyway? MN + R attempts a definition. *MOOC News & Reviews: Blog*. Retrieved September 7, 2015, from <http://mooconewsandreviews.com/what-is-a-massive-open-online-course-anyway-attempting-definition/#ixzz3maoQypco>.
- MOOCs@Edinburgh Group. (2013). *A report summarising the experience of the University of Edinburgh of offering our first 6 massive open online courses (MOOCs) in partnership with Coursera*. Retrieved May 26, 2014, from <https://www.era.lib.ed.ac.uk/handle/1842/6683>.
- Norton, A. (2014). *Mapping Australian Higher Education 2014–5*. The Grattan Institute. Retrieved June 5, 2015, from <http://grattan.edu.au/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/816-mapping-higher-education-2014.pdf>.
- Pappano, L. (2012). *The year of the MOOC*. *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 8, 2015, from <http://edinaschools.org/cms/lib07/MN01909547/Centricity/Domain/272/The%20Year%20of%20the%20MOOC%20NY%20Times.pdf>.
- Parr, C. (2015). 'Biggest-ever MOOC' starts on FutureLearn. Times Higher Education. Retrieved September 17, 2015, from <https://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/news/biggest-ever-mooc-starts-on-futurelearn/2020257.article>.

- Reading. (2015). Retrieved May 22, 2015, from Website: <http://www.reading.ac.uk/Study/study-moocs.aspx>.
- Ross, J., Sinclair, C., Knox, J., Bayne, S., & Macleod, H. (2014). Teacher experiences and academic identity: The missing components of MOOC pedagogy. *Journal of Online Learning and Teaching*, 10(1), 57–69.
- Schuller, T., & Watson, D. (2009). *Learning through life: Inquiry into the future for Lifelong Learning*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult and Continuing Education.
- Siemens, G., Gašević, D., & Dawson, S. (2015). *Preparing for the digital university: A review of the history and current state of distance, blended, and online learning*. The Gates Foundation. Retrieved June 2, 2015, from <http://vitomir.kovanovic.info/public/Siemens%20et%20al.%20-%202015%20-%20Preparing%20for%20the%20digital%20university%20a%20review%20of%20.pdf>.
- St. Clair, R., Winer, L., Finkelstein, A., Fuentes-Steeves, A., & Wald, S. (2015). Big hat and no cattle? The implications of MOOCs for the adult learning landscape. *The Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 27(3), 65–82.
- Stewart, B. (2013). Massiveness + openness = new literacies of participation? *Journal of Online Learning and Teaching*, 9(2). Retrieved September 7, 2015, from http://jolt.merlot.org/vol9no2/stewart_bonnie_0613.htm.
- Stine, J. (2013). *MOOCs and executive education*. Presented at the Directors Conference. Retrieved July 14, 2015, from <http://uniconexed.org/2013/research/UNICON-Stine-Research-06-2013-final.pdf>.
- Tapson, J. (2013). *MOOCs and the Gartner Hype Cycle. A very slow tsunami*. University of Western Sydney. Retrieved June 26, 2015, from <https://pando.com/2013/09/13/moocs-and-the-gartner-hype-cycle-a-very-slow-tsunami/>.
- Yuan, L., & Powell, S. (2013). *MOOCs and open education: Implications for higher education. A white paper*. JISC Centre for Educational Technology and Interoperability Standards. Retrieved May 3, 2014, from <http://mooconewsandreviews.com/ultimate-guide-to-xmoocs-and-cmooco/>.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Sarah Speight is Professor of Higher Education at the University of Nottingham, United Kingdom. She is the university's academic lead for teaching enhancement and digital learning. Her research focuses on higher education pedagogies, in particular education for sustainability and for employability. Her publications include “E-learning for environmental sustainability: Driving for change with an open online course” (*EDULEARN* 14, 2891–2898, 2014).

Lifelong Learning for Africa's Older Adults: The Role of Open Educational Resources and Indigenous Learning

Rebecca Nthogo Lekoko and Keitseope Nthomang

Abstract The literature suggests that the number of people aged 65 and over in Africa will increase, at least until 2050. In this chapter, we explore these adults' learning needs. We argue that Africa's older adults need an approach that relates to their life circumstances and learning needs. At present, few participate in education, though lifelong learning has been advocated on an open access basis. We propose that a non-formal approach through the application of cost-free learning (Open Education Resources), and learning that draws on forms indigenous to the African cultural environment. This type of approach has great potential to promote a lifelong learning ethos. In addition, it can develop older adults as assets; and by aligning their resourcefulness with global agendas, it can contribute strategically to Africa's development.

INTRODUCTION

Lifelong learning is used as an inclusive principle in many formal educational policies in Africa and elsewhere. At present, there are grounds for doubting its relevance to Africa's real life challenges. In this chapter, we argue that learning can be lifelong if it addresses everyday life situations and responds to people's cultures or ways of living. In Botswana, for example, lifelong learning is one of the pillars of a Tertiary Education Policy (Government of Botswana, Ministry of Education and Skills Development 2008). This is firmly oriented towards increasing the access of Botswana youth aged 18–24 to educational opportunities. Young people are encouraged into formal education on the basis that, it is the key to prosperity and national development. The policy asserts that quality

R.N. Lekoko (✉) · K. Nthomang
University of Botswana, Gaborone, Botswana
e-mail: lekokorn@mopipi.ub.bw

K. Nthomang
e-mail: nthomang@mopipi.ub.bw

tertiary education contributes to personal well-being, social progress and economic development (Government of Botswana, Ministry of Education and Skills Development 2008). Nevertheless, concerns have been expressed about lifelong learning's relevance and functionality, particularly for older adults.

In the literature on lifelong learning policies, there is a noticeable lack of focus on older adults (Cornwell et al. 2008; Lekoko 2016). Age is sometimes negatively associated with social isolation, loneliness and 'rolelessness' (Cornwell et al. 2008); older adults are also often associated with poverty, infirmity and 'long-term physical and mental disability' (Nabalamba and Chikoko 2011: 1). With such generalized preconceptions, governments and sponsors are often reluctant to devote resources to older adults.

However, our presumption in this chapter is that older adults have the right to learn. They need practices suitable for non-formal or informal schooling. In order to encourage and develop an approach along these lines, we draw a number of essential characteristics of African older adults from the literature, focusing in particular on what these characteristics imply about learning needs. We show that older adults' learning needs are quite distinct when compared with other sectors of society, such as youth. On this basis, we suggest a non-formal approach to develop learning among Africa's older adults. In order to develop our argument, we examine the intrinsic value of lifelong learning within the African adult learning context. Our essential goal is to determine where lifelong learning practice is progressive or regressive; we are guided both by the literature and by our personal experience. We use the progressive characteristics to identify strengths and suggest principles best suited to the learning circumstances of older adults in Africa. We expect this to bring to the fore the need for adults to learn continuously, everywhere.

We shall argue that this need to learn continuously is consistent with older adults' learning styles. However, we also advocate 'cost-free learning'—and in order to make the learning 'cost-free', we argue for the incorporation of open education resources (OER).¹ With its resolute application of a cost-free approach, OER can complement lifelong learning: Africa's older adults are unable to afford the exorbitant costs of a formal education.

Having argued for cost-free learning to sustain continuous learning among Africa's older adults, we will then demonstrate the missing contextual ingredient. To this end, we shall explore the practice of African Indigenous Learning (AIL). While we acknowledge that the literature suggests a decline in AIL, we believe some of its principles are brought to life in non-formal learning. From this basis, we shall suggest a culturally appropriate learning approach for Africa's older adults—which coincides with their learning needs. This approach involves the application of three 'principles': (i) Lifelong learning: older adults learn all the time and everywhere; (ii) Open Education Resources: older adults are entitled to cost-free learning; and (iii) African Indigenous Learning: learning should occur within a specifically African cultural environment ('culture' denotes specific ways of life and knowing). The basic assumption running through this chapter is that if older adults are to become assets for development,

their resourcefulness has to be promoted through cost-free learning. (In this they are no different from younger age-groups.) If aligned with other global agendas, older people's experiences can create strategic platforms for Africa's development.

OLDER ADULTS IN AFRICA

The literature is replete with projections of an increase in the population of adults aged 60 years and over in Africa (HelpAge International 2008; Nabalamba and Chikoko 2011). HelpAge International indicates that this 'increase is happening much more quickly in Africa compared to other regions' (p.1), and suggests that 'by 2050, the number of people over 60 living in Africa will increase from just under 50 million to just under 200 million' (p. 1). Nabalamba and Chikoko (2011) point out that the increase is likely to vary by country: 'middle income countries' such as Mauritius, Tunisia, Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, and South Africa have witnessed the greatest increases in their older populations, which made up between 4.5% and 7.3% of their total populations (p. 8). Nabalamba and Chikoko also indicate significant increases for Libya, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Djibouti. For several countries (including Botswana) they attribute the increase in proportion of the population which is elderly to the high prevalence of HIV-AIDS. The growth in the elderly population—compared to its youth—demands that Africa should take full responsibility for its older adults' learning, so that they can develop their resourcefulness.

Older people play a vital role in African societies. Socially, they are expected to provide support for their families: they care for orphaned grandchildren and even provide much-needed household income for some families (HelpAge International 2008). Although many of these responsibilities develop naturally, education can enhance how well they adapt and respond to life needs. It is also among older adults that chronic conditions such as diabetes, hypertension, arthritis, and incontinence are most prevalent. Learning is needed to promote healthier attitudes and lifestyles. Learning can increase the utilization of services already available of which older adults are unaware. In Botswana, for example, social service providers such as social workers, adult educators, and health workers reach out to deserving adults. They use home visits, *kgotla* and community hall meetings, among other methods, to teach older adults basic survival skills. These services are, however, often 'deprioritized in terms of budgetary allocations, thereby increasing the vulnerability and marginalization of older Africans' (Nabalamba and Chikoko 2011: 11).

A lack of attention to older adults is also noticeable in international treaties. HelpAge International (2008) pointed out that the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) made no reference to older adults as a specific group, although children, youth, and women were given special attention as targets for development. This inattention has, it seems, trickled down to national development agendas. According to HelpAge International (2008), the Sustainable Development Goals are similarly reticent: no educational target refers

specifically to older adults, and while there is an allusion to ensuring ‘equal access for all women and men’—presumably regardless of age—this is in the context of technical and vocational education and work-related skills: the principal focus remains on those of ‘working age’.

Essentially, this chapter is about what Africa can do for its older adults. It proposes an approach rooted in African indigenous ways of learning. This type of learning is mainly cost-free and non-formal, and can promote lifelong learning principles. It ties learning to the unending challenges of life. We argue that harnessing Open Education Resources (OER) in support of indigenous learning, can be enhanced on a cost-free basis.

As already mentioned, this chapter focuses on learning deprivation among older adults. Cornwell et al. (2008) draw from activity theory to note that older adults who are helped to adjust to later-life transitions through learning remain more socially active. They further assert that it is through learning that older adults become accustomed to, and to maintain, certain social roles throughout life. These authors detect a positive association between age and involvement in the community. This suggests that older adults tend to be more actively involved than younger generations in community development activities. Learning can thus strengthen older adults’ positive attitudes and competencies so that they can make informed decisions to participate in personal, community, and national development. The United Nations Development Programme (1991) presents development as addressing agendas such as better education, improved standards of health and nutrition, the eradication of poverty, and enriching cultural life. It is thus important for older adults to learn anywhere, at all times, and freely. Indigenous African Learning (IAL) is also relevant for older adults’ learning. IAL is learning without boundaries or discrimination. More important, it is grounded in specific environments’ cultures and ways of living. In the discussion that follows, we attempt to capture some of the characteristics of such environments.

About 36 million older people live in Africa—about 3.6% of Africa’s population (Nabalamba and Chikoko 2011). Figure 1 compares the populations of selected African countries in 1990 and 2010.

With some exceptions, the pattern is of a growing older population. Nabalamba and Chikoko (2011) predict an accelerated increase between 2010 and 2030, with more people reaching age 65. This is shown in Fig. 2

On this basis, older adults will account for around 4.5% of the population of Africa by 2030 and nearly 10% by 2050 (UN DESA, 2011, cited in Nabalamba and Chikoko 2011). Evidence suggests some worsening of the socio-economic situation for this group (HelpAge International 2008; Nabalamba and Chikoko 2011). Generally, older adults have less formal education, higher rates of welfare dependency and poorer levels of social engagement (Gray and Kadabaki 2005; Lucas 2009). The elderly are also disproportionately poor and therefore experience problems associated with poverty, like poor nutrition, poor housing, and

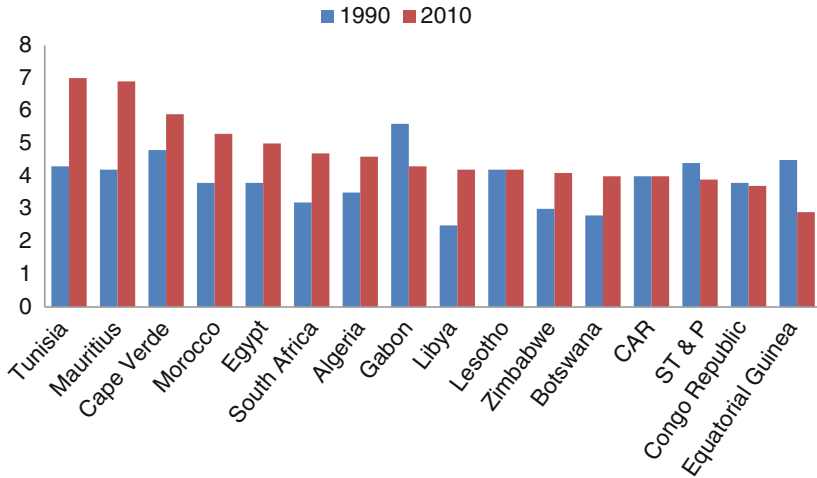


Fig. 1 African countries with over 4% of their population aged 65 years and above, 1990–2010. *Source* UN DESA (2011) Cited in Nabalamba and Chikoko (2011), p. 15

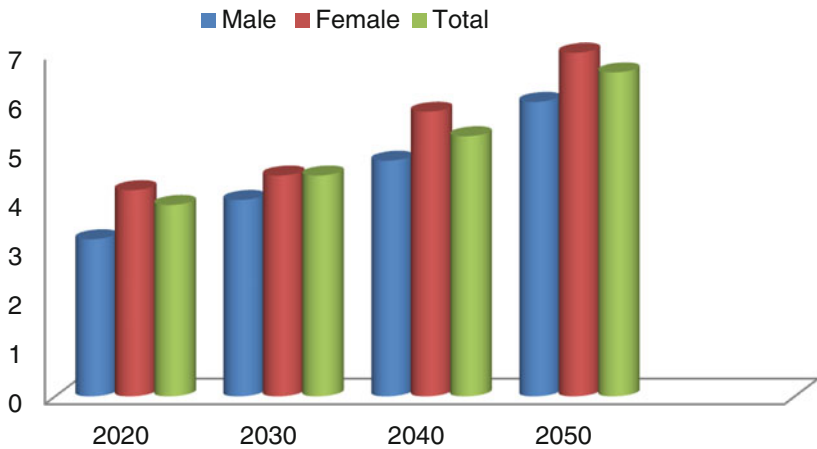


Fig. 2 Projection of elderly population, 65 years and above, in Africa 2020–2050. *Source* UN DESA, 2011; Nabalamba and Chikoko (2011), p. 15

inadequate health care. Some countries have responded to the plight of poorer older adults with social protection and welfare. However, such interventions may not promote older adults’ responsibility. A different approach is needed to enhance their participation in personal, community and national development.

LIFELONG LEARNING IN AFRICA: PROGRESSIVE OR REGRESSIVE?

Lifelong learning as a philosophy has advanced and is now widely accepted across all sectors of the economy. In the field of adult education, particularly as practised in Africa, lifelong learning has long been considered fundamental (UNESCO 2008). The African Platform for Adult Education (UNESCO, 1976 cited in UNESCO 2012) many years ago recommended the use of progressive adult education based on the principles of lifelong learning. The rationale behind this recommendation was the need to rectify gross inequalities in access to education, and in particular, inequalities based on age, sex, social position, socio-economic status or geographical location (UNESCO 2012). However, although four decades have passed since this recommendation was first made, little has been achieved in respect of older adults.

Traces of learning that does not discriminate by age, wealth or location are found in African Indigenous Learning (AIL). This forms a key part of Africa's unique cultural identity because the learning flows from life as it is lived in specific contexts. It is not abstract or borrowed. However, the evidence indicates that this type of learning has receded in favour of more formal or 'modernized' approaches to learning.

INDIGENOUS AFRICAN LEARNING

In this section, we explore the literature on Indigenous African Learning (IAL), showing that such approaches have declined in favour of Western systems. Advocates of Western education systems sometimes assume that the use of indigenous ways of learning means that African people are primitive and backward (Akpomuvie 2011). However, before the colonial period, IAL was clearly articulated, accepted and widely used (Avoseh 2001). The primary goal of IAL 'was to equip everyone with the basic knowledge of how essential tasks of life are carried out' (Andah, 1992 cited in Akpomuvie 2011: 178). In the same vein, UNESCO (2008) presented indigenous African learning as a continuous system of adapting people to the demands of their immediate environments. In Botswana, for example, skills such as woodcutting, carving, designing and decoration develop from informal and non-formal learning. It was not through formal schooling that many Africans learned how to compose, sing or dance. It comes naturally as they interact with those with skills and competences. In earlier times, such learning was Africans' main means of survival. It was provided at no financial cost, yet it was relevant and sustainable. Formal learning should not, we believe, be seen as the ultimate or most advanced form of learning for Africans.

As already mentioned, the evidence suggests that Indigenous African Learning (AIL) has declined over the years, displaced by western ways of learning in several ways. First, with the advent of western education, learning has been institutionalized; this has led to an alienation of indigenous African learning. Critics argue that this trend has destabilized traditional life and cultural

identity, yet at the same time people's expectations of education as an economic asset had not been generally met (Akpomuvie 2011). Second, education is no longer community-oriented. In essence, AIL embodies an intellectual unity and encourages peaceful coexistence within communities. Unfortunately, its decline has led to learning systems that lack social integration and exhibit intellectual fragmentation and instability (Durojaija 1976 cited in Akpomuvie 2011). As Onwuejeogwu (1992 cited in Akpomuvie 2011) observed, many African elites 'do not have creative minds, because their imagination was atrophied during their schooling period by several factors beyond their control [including the fact that] they have lost touch with the past.' (p. 182). Full-scale westernization of education in developing countries has therefore not received wholehearted support from some local communities (Okpomuvie 2011). Finally, IAL was functional and relevant to lives as lived. As Nyerere (1967 cited Okpomuvie 2011) pointed out, IAL was job-oriented. It was a system in which the learner was actively involved and learned by doing. Because it was locally designed, learning materials were not foreign but easily available in the community. In this way, 'everybody was instilled with a feeling of self-respect borne out of confidence in their own ability to help themselves' (Akpomuvie 2011: 178).

Despite its declining status, we maintain that indigenous African learning remains valid today, because it is functional and not forced on people. Societies freely open avenues to learning along which those with requisite resources (e.g. financial, experience, knowledge and expertise in a particular field) readily share with those who lack them (Avoseh 2001). We argue that Africans need to work out a contextually relevant system of learning if they are to preserve the principles of IAL. However, while Africa must develop learning that respects African experience, IAL can still accommodate western learning principles. Doing so would both support the open nature of learning systems and place AIL within a larger international perspective. An incorporation of AIL can be seen today among non-formal education practices in several African countries.

NON-FORMAL EDUCATION

In its original form, non-formal education took place outside formal institutions (Fordham 1993). It comprised 'educational activities aimed at imparting basic education, life skills, non-formal vocational, work skills, income generation skills and other competencies for rural development' and cultural preservation (Aitichison 2007: 2). Aitichison cites the report of South Africa's Human Sciences Research Council (1981) which defined non-formal learning as a system that is sufficiently fast to educate everybody well in a flexible, quick, and cost-effective way. In all settings, this type of education is characterized by a high degree of flexibility and context-specific learning (Yasunaga 2014). In Botswana, for example, the Department of Out of School Education and Training is the main provider.

Non-formal education encompasses different services such as compensatory programmes, life skills development and skills for income-generating activities. It embeds the informal learning aspects of indigenous African learning. Its informality implies that learning is less organized and structured than is typical in formal education. It can take place within the family, at celebrations, in workplaces and in many other contexts. We explore this informal aspect because they suit the learning needs of older adults. However, as practised in some countries, like Botswana, non-formal education excludes older adults: we therefore suggest an approach that can accommodate the needs of older adults.

LEARNING THAT UNEARTHS OLDER ADULTS' POTENTIAL FOR DEVELOPMENT

The main argument we make in this chapter is that Africans need to pursue learning strategies that integrate older adults' learning needs and cultural environments. We have shown (i) that the proportion of older adults in the African population is increasing and that education to develop their resourcefulness is a lifetime endeavour; (ii) that, based on their unique circumstances, cost-free learning is important to facilitate their continuous learning; and (iii) that their learning occurs specifically in African cultural environment. Taken together, these factors indicate that when designing culturally appropriate learning approaches for older adults, Africans should be guided by the principles of lifelong learning, should make use of Open Education Resources (which are cost-free to the learner), and should give priority to learning that occurs within a specific African cultural environment.

Our approach proposes moving away from institutionalized or commercialized learning environments towards the non-formal and cost-free; the richness of these is experienced when lifelong and indigenous African learning merges. Open education resources can then complement these two paradigms by providing practical guidelines for cost-free learning. Cost-free non-formal or informal learning can maximize the opportunities for learning. However, open education resource (OER) practices—unlike lifelong learning and indigenous African learning—have not yet been popularized in Africa. We therefore turn briefly to the relevance of OER in Africa before concluding with how they can be used in older adults' learning.

OPEN EDUCATION RESOURCES AND THEIR CHALLENGES FOR AFRICA'S OLDER ADULTS

Open Educational Resources provide a practical means of access to cost-free learning. They have been promoted in the context of UNESCO's aim of providing free access to educational resources on a global scale (UNESCO 2012)—an aim first adopted ten years earlier (UNESCO 2002). Essentially, OER refers to the provision of free educational resources using information and

communication technologies. But while the idea of cost-free learning appeals in Africa; its emphasis on the use of information and communication technologies (ICT) is daunting. A rigid adherence to the use of ICTs is likely to exclude many older adults who lack access to such technology as networked computers. A genuine effort to support them would emphasize not digital electronic formats but rather principles of freedom to use and share cost-free resources.

As Kawachi (2013: 5) points out, OER practices are also conceptualized within tertiary formal education, almost to the exclusion of pre-tertiary (particularly out-of-school, non-formal, vocational and lifelong learning). Intimately intertwined with the formalities, standardization and institutionalization of formal tertiary education, in Africa at least, this risks pushing out older adults. Even to imagine Africa's older adults learning outside the non-formal and indigenous learning systems is problematic. If OER are to fulfil their purpose for these people, they must move outside the boundaries of tertiary institutions; they must be designed to incorporate non-formal and informal practices of schooling. Kawachi's *Quality Assurance Guidelines for Open Educational Resources* (2013) offer a way forward: they encourage countries to develop local practices strictly anchored on the central principle that, for non-commercial purposes, resources should be available for free use and sharing.

A FRAMEWORK FOR COST-FREE LEARNING FOR AFRICA'S OLDER ADULTS

This section suggests an approach to cost-free learning for Africa's older adults. Of course, no model can capture the diverse contexts of African older adults' needs. Our main purpose is to ignite debate around the need for continuous cost-free learning for older adults in order to enhance their involvement in economic, social, cultural, community, and family life.

As we have seen, the literature asserts older adults' right to learn in Africa. Older adults learn best not in formalized or institutionalized environments but in cost-free, non-formal learning contexts that embed lifelong learning in lived experiences. Many people aged 65 years and over have learned through informal and non-formal approaches, not in formalized (western) settings. Against this background, non-formal and informal learning is clearly most suitable. In addition, older adults have a wealth of experiences; their roles touch on many aspects of life in their respective localities. They may need to learn about health and wellness, social skills, financial skills, leisure, and recreation; they may also need to develop technological skills. Their intellectual capacity to respond to these challenges is shaped by what they have learned and how frequently they use what they have learned. Learning, as Baine (1988) argues, occurs at all times during the day, capitalizing on every available opportunity: learning must be relevant and of value (Baine 1988). Much of the content of older adults' learning, in short, depends on their life circumstances.

The model we suggest emphasizes cost-free learning derived from open education resources. In order for OERs to play this role well, they need to move outside tertiary institutions to incorporate non-formal and informal schooling practices. This should open possibilities for unrestricted learning and reduce the need to pay high fees. As Farren et al. (2006) argue, learning at no or low cost can address some of the challenges education in Africa faces. Costs of tuition and resources are a major barrier to older adults' participation. The notion of 'cost-free' also promotes self-directed learning. This concept simply implies that learners make free, personal choices on the content to be learned, and how and where they do it (Balatti and Falk 2002). As Merriam (2004) states, adults prefer learning situations in which they drive their own learning activities. Older adults, richly endowed with skills to direct their own learning, will be free to do so within the framework we propose. Such freedom promotes full ownership of learning and enhances lifelong learning behaviours. Older adults are to self-organize and self-resource.

The notion of African indigenous learning also indicates that whatever learning is designed for older adults, it has to impart skills and knowledge that promote cultural values and drive responsibilities in environments such as homes and communities. It is cultural learning that shapes how people deal with development issues in a local environment. African indigenous learning is not forced on people. Rather, facilitators and learners connect and learn freely: it is about people taking voluntary action to mobilize resources, organize learning activities and take action. This type of self-directedness comes close to Marsick et al.'s (2002) notion of a free agent learner. According to them, free agent learners are not forced to learn: they choose whatever is relevant. The same holds true for indigenous learners: self-directedness has great potential to promote a lifelong learning ethos.

African indigenous learning addresses real life responsibilities and challenges. Thus, to benefit older adults, its content must address their life needs. They have a natural instinct to continue to learn, adjust to life's challenges and contribute to community and national development. This reality must not be ignored when developing frameworks for supporting older adults' learning. Non-formal and informal learning contexts are suitable for older adult learning; within African indigenous learning, there are no learning platforms with restricted access. As Weert and Kendall (2004) state, each person has a unique learning pathway suitable for his or her needs and interests, and their choice of learning should be respected. Flexible and unrestricted access facilitates choice of what to learn, and promote older adults' lifelong learning lifestyles.

African indigenous learning also promotes the use of variety—different forms of learning—and allows choice and flexibility. Older adults learn not only what they want but also where, when and with whom they want (Balatti and Falk 2002). This notion is similar to self-directed learning which implies that learners make free and personal choices on content, methods and place of learning (Balatti and Falk 2002). Knowles (1990) and Merriam (2004) also suggest that older adults are capable of self-pacing their learning activities. These principles

must therefore be incorporated in a framework for older adults' learning. Such a framework would promote a lifelong learning ethos among older adults, who should be able to learn all the time and everywhere. To this end, they are entitled to non-formal cost-free learning.

IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter has called for a reorientation of education systems in Africa, to cater for the learning needs of older adults and to respect them as capable of being responsible for their own survival. When older adults' learning is supported, they can integrate with the rest of the population and make a useful contribution to national development. The approach we present is a call to African governments, development agencies, non-governmental organizations, communities, and all people, to unite in developing learning services that promote older adults' ingenuity. A system comprising non-formal or informal learning services has been suggested as facilitating learning that addresses people's ways of living. For such learning to be enjoyed by all, unrestricted access through a 'cost-free' approach is required. The approach proposed would promote older adults' learning in three main ways.

It should, first, make a variety of learning materials available. Learning materials can come in the form of leaflets, pamphlets and brochures that older adults can take home to read. Printed materials can be stored in public libraries, community halls, post offices, and public meeting places. Older adults would be able to make a good choice for themselves of what to learn. Those who cannot read or write should not be excluded. Oral forms of learning should be provided too. Local organizations such as village development committees, village extension teams, and district extension can assist in this respect. Some of these adults have children, grandchildren, and relatives who can help them access the right materials. For those with sufficient means, these materials can also be made available through technology-mediated platforms like the internet.

Second, governments should establish web-based learning portals. Different ministries, such as education, health, lands, housing, and finance, could use their expertise to develop materials for older adults' use. Clients should be taught how to use these on regular basis. This important information can be disseminated through radios, newspapers, cell phones, TV broadcasting, and the internet. Third, this approach would involve using learning resources developed through international Open Education Resources platforms. OER practices are currently promoted by a number of western countries. The MIT Open Courseware initiative, which started early 2001, for example, is a consortium of universities from all over the world. They develop open content and provide it free of charge for educational institutions, content services, and end users such as teachers, students and lifelong learners (Dinevski 2008). However, for these services to benefit older adults in Africa, they need to address different clients: in particular, they must be designed to suit the non-formal and informal practices suggested in this chapter.

Finally, if this approach is to suit the unique circumstances of Africa's older adults, research must be undertaken to understand these circumstances more deeply. We believe participatory research in particular has great potential. Participatory research—sometimes referred to as cooperative inquiry (Heron 1996), collaborative research, action research, participatory learning research (Chambers 2008), or community-based research—seeks to address the needs and problems of communities by integrating the perspectives and voices of communities with those of researchers (Bergold and Thomas 2012). It can help countries to understand the true circumstances of older adults by involving them in the study (Bergold and Thomas 2012). We believe this approach is best suited to exploring the circumstances and learning needs of Africa's older adults.

NOTE

1. Open Educational Resources (OERs) described by UNESCO as 'any type of educational materials that are in the public domain or introduced with an open license. The nature of these open materials means that anyone can legally and freely copy, use, adapt and reshare them. OERs range from textbooks to curricula, syllabi, lecture notes, assignments, tests, projects, audio, video, and animation.' (<http://www.unesco.org/new/en/communication-and-information/access-to-knowledge/open-educational-resources/what-are-open-educational-resources-oers/> (accessed 15 November 2016)).

REFERENCES

- Aitchison, J. (2007). *South Africa non-formal education: Country profile prepared for the Education for all Global Monitoring Report, 2008*. UNESCO. Retrieved November 10, 2016 from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001555/155520e.pdf>.
- Akpomuvie, B. O. (2011). The role of traditional skills and techniques in the development of modern science and technology in Africa. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 1(13), 178–186.
- Avoseh, B. M. (2001). Learning to be active citizens: Lessons of 'traditional Africa for lifelong learning'. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 20(6), 479–486.
- Balatti, J., & Falk, I. (2002). Socioeconomic contributions of adult learning to community: A social capital perspective. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 52(4), 281–298.
- Bergold, J. & Thomas, S. (2012). Participatory research methods: A methodological approach in motion [110 paragraphs]. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung/Forum: Qualitative Social Research*, 13 (1), Art. 30, <http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs1201302>.
- Chambers, R. (2008). PRA PLA and pluralism: Practice and theory. In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *The sage handbook of action research. Participative inquiry and practice* (2nd ed., pp. 297–318). London: Sage.
- Cornwell, B., Laumann, E., & Schumm, L. (2008). The social connectedness of older adults: A national profile. *American Sociological Review*, 73(2), 185–203.

- Dinevski, D. (2008). Open educational resources & lifelong learning. In *Proceedings of the ITI 2008 30th International Conference on Information Technology Interfaces*. June 23–26, 2008. Cavtat, Croatia.
- Ferran, N. et al. (2006). The concept of open educational resources as instrument for implementing lifelong learning: Strategies at higher and further education institutions. Retrieved July 24, 2015, from personal.uoc.edu/personalonto/files/EDEN06_ferran.pdf.
- Fordham, P. E. (1993). *Informal, non-formal and formal education programmes, in YMCA George Williams college ICE301 lifelong learning unit 2*. London: YMCA George Williams College.
- Gray, J., & Kadabaki, K. (2005). A strength perspective for assessing older adults: Curriculum enrichment is a human behaviour course [Special Issue on Gerontology]. *The Journal of Baccalaureate Social Work*, 11, 55–67.
- Government of Botswana, Ministry of Education and Skills Development. (2008). *Towards a knowledge society: Tertiary education policy*. Gaborone: Government Printers.
- HelpAge International. (2008). Older people in Africa: A forgotten generation. Retrieved 10 November 2016 from <http://eng.zivot90.cz/uploads/document/205.pdf>.
- Heron, J. (1996). *Co-operative inquiry: Research into the human condition*. London: Sage Publications.
- Human Sciences Research Council. (1981). *The provision of education in the RSA*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- Kawachi, P. (2013). *Quality assurance guidelines for open educational resources: TIPS Framework*, Version 1.0. media. Centre for Asia, New Delhi: Commonwealth of Learning. Retrieved August 24, 2015, from cemca.org.in/ckfinder/userfiles/.../OERQ_TIPS_978-81-88770-07-6.pdf. <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0/>.
- Knowles, M. S. (1990). *The adult learner: A neglected species*. Houston: Gulf.
- Lekoko, R. N. (2016). Botswana. In B. Findsen & M. Formosa (Eds.), *International perspectives on older adult education: Research, policies and practice*. New York: Springer.
- Lucas, P. M. (2009). *Old age pension as a social security initiatives. The case of Botswana*. Dissertation, University of Botswana.
- Marsick, V. et al. (2002, March 8). *Meeting the informal learning challenges of the free agent learner: Drawing insights from research-based lessons learned*. Paper Presented at the Academy of Human Resource Development Annual conference, Louisiana, USA.
- Merriam, S. (2004). The changing landscape of adult learning theory. In J. Comings, B. Garner, & C. Smith (Eds.), *Review of adult learning and literacy: Connecting research, policy, and practice*. NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Nabalamba, A., & Chikoko, M. (2011). *Aging population in Africa*. Bulletin, 1(1), African Development Bank. Retrieved August 17, 2015, from <http://reliefweb.int/report/world/aging-population-challenges-africa>.
- UNDP (1991). Human Development Report: Financing Human Development. New York Oxford University Press.
- UNESCO. (2002). New Initiative for Free Educational Resources on the Internet. Retrieved July 24, 2015, from http://www.unesco.org/education/news_en/080702_free_edu_ress.shtml.

- UNESCO. (2008). African platform for adult education: Civil society report. Forging partnerships towards a renewed vision of adult education in Africa. Retrieved January 21, 2016, from www.unesco.org/.../Africa/african_civil_society_report_oct2008_en.pdf.
- UNESCO. (2012). World OER Congress, Paris, June. Retrieved May 9, 2016, from http://www.unesco.org/new/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CI/CI/pdf/Events/Paris%20OER%20Declaration_01.pdf.
- Weert, T. J., & Kendall, M. (2004). *Lifelong learning in the digital age. Sustainable for all in a changing world*. Boston: Kluwer Academic.
- Yasunaga, M. (2014). *Non-formal education as a means to meet learning needs of out-of-school children and adolescents*. UNICEF and UNESCO Institute for Statistics.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHIES

Rebecca Nthogo Lekoko is currently employed as a Professor of Adult Education at the University of Botswana, and specializes in social change and community development. Her professional savvy in these areas has been sharpened by a number of research projects and publications in her credit that include “An insight into an African perspective on lifelong learning (*International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 30(1), 5-17, 2011), *Cases on Grassroots Campaigns for community empowerment and social change* (IGI Global 2015); “Botswana Older Adults” in B. Findsen, and M. Formosa (Eds.), *International perspectives on older adult education* (Springer 2016).

Keitseope Nthomang is a social researcher and community development specialist employed at the University of Botswana. His areas of specialization include social policy and community development. His publication profile features articles on community development practice, social policy, social welfare and HIV-AIDS in Botswana, Southern African Development Community and internationally. His recent publications include “Empowering Women and Families through Self Help Groups: The Botswana Experience” in R. Nthogo Lekoko (Ed.) *Cases on Grassroots Campaigns for community empowerment and social change* (IGI Global 2015); “Inspiring Poor Women to Empower Themselves: Insights and Lessons from Botswana” (*International Journal of Civic Engagement and Social Change*, 3(2), 39–56, 2016).

Popular Culture, Adult Learning, and Identity Development

Robin Redmon Wright

Abstract This chapter explores the impact of and the potential for adult learning through engagement with popular culture. Considering that we live in a ‘convergence culture’ (Jenkins in *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York University Press, New York, 2006), where popular cultural products weave across multiple platforms (television, movies, books, websites, social media, etc.) and become major factors in adult lives, it is imperative that the field of adult and lifelong education recognise and understand the learning that happens in these everyday spaces of learning. After an overview of how popular culture operates as an arena of education and a site for adult learning, I review the most recent empirical and theoretical literature within adult education which has focused on adult learning and popular culture and add selected studies from other disciplines that may be significant to the field. I conclude with a discussion of the current and future research trends, focusing on the intersection of popular culture, adult learning/learners, and adult education.

I must begin this chapter with a confession. It is risky, I know, but here it is. I have stopped pretending to have high-brow tastes and upper class experiences. I am an academician with working-class roots, and I am fascinated by popular culture and often think in pithy *Doctor Who* lines. Moreover, I have come to believe that the ‘English literary canon’, while filled with texts I passionately love, has been limited by small-minded, bourgeois elitists. I have never attended an opera or a ballet. And whenever I do find rare and precious leisure time,

R.R. Wright (✉)

Penn State Harrisburg, 777 West Harrisburg Pike, Olmsted W314,
Middletown 17057, PA, USA
e-mail: rrw12@psu.edu

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International
Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_50

971

I prefer to stay home and binge-watch episodes of *Orphan Black*, *Sherlock*, or *Arrow*. Alternatively, I might enjoy a *Hobbit/Lord of the Rings* or *Harry Potter* movie marathon with my family or curl up in my favourite chair with a cup of ginseng tea and a stack of *Sandman* comics, a good mystery novel, or perhaps even my giant copy of *The Complete Shakespeare*, a pop-culture icon in his time. I have never developed the habit of ‘taking a vacation’; popular culture has always been able to provide a low-cost respite from work and worry. It is fuel for the fire of my imagination and, when critically consumed as a part of a life dedicated to lifelong, liberatory teaching, learning, and social activism, popular culture is educative. Critical analysis of popular culture exposes the machinations of the five multinational corporations that make up what Kunz (2007) calls the ‘culture conglomerates’ as they school consumers in neoliberal, capitalist ideology. Under their tutelage—at least in the English speaking world—inequality is naturalised, and racism, sexism, ableism, lookism, nationalism, ageism, and a myriad other ‘isms’ are enacted and perpetuated. These culture conglomerates wield ‘incommensurable ideological power without interference’ and they tutor ‘us in acceptance rather than resolve’ (Wagner and Maclean 2008: 18–19).

Engaging with popular culture through a critical lens carries the hope of a clearer understanding of how over-consumption is idealised, individualism is essentialised, and systems of power and oppression are normalised in Western culture. And occasionally, some of the creative minds working within the culture conglomerates produce narratives critical of that agenda. They offer a curriculum resistant to neoliberal ideologies. Examining what people learn from those resistant elements within popular culture offers exciting possibilities for a changing cultural narrative and, like the Doctor in *Doctor Who*, ‘I am and always will be the optimist. The hoper of far-flung hopes and dreamer of improbable dreams’ (Graham and Simpson 2011).

In this chapter, I proffer a view of popular culture as an arena of education and a site of adult learning. I will review the most recent empirical and theoretical literature focused on adult learning and popular culture. Throughout this chapter, I take a revised Gramscian approach (Gramsci 1968, 1971) to popular culture as put forth by Laclau and Mouffe (1985). They argue that Antonio Gramsci was short-sighted when he focused his theories of oppression, and the possibilities of resistance through popular culture, solely on the injustices inherent in systems of social and economic classes. They expand his ideology of liberal democracy and a just society to include issues related to ‘urban, ecological, anti-authoritarian, anti-institutional, feminist, anti-racist, ethnic, regional or... sexual minorities’ (p. 159) causes. Hall (1993) is similarly influenced by Gramsci, but argues that class can no longer (indeed, never could) be separated from numerous other oppressed subjectivities, and that any sense of self is necessarily a fiction, created through cultural influences, in order to make meaning of our lives. He insists that social movements must accept these fictions as necessary, yet not as absolute truths. He calls for ‘a politics of difference, the politics of self-reflexivity, a politics that is open to contingency but still able to

act' (p. 137). These cultural theorists posit that, if one accepts the contingent anti-essentialist nature of social, gender, racial, economic, and other constructed classifications and political alliances, popular culture can be a site that holds possibilities for both reproduction of social inequalities and oppression, and opposition to them.

WHAT EXACTLY IS POPULAR CULTURE AND WHY SHOULD WE CARE?

Storey (2015) delineates some of the widely held concepts of popular culture as follows: (a) it is culture that is 'widely favoured', (b) it is the leftover culture after 'high culture' has been established, (c) it is mass/commercial culture, (d) it is culture originating with 'the people', and (e) it is the space between consumers—ordinary people—and corporations operating for the benefit of the owners of capital. However, viewing consumers as more active participants in culture making, Storey understands popular culture as 'what we make from the commodities and commodified practices made available by the culture industries' (p. 260). By this definition, popular culture can be either empowering if consumed critically or indoctrinating if consumed passively. It is in the *use* of popular cultural products 'that questions of meaning, pleasure, ideological effect, incorporation or resistance can be (contingently) decided' (p. 260). This definition affords possibilities for adult learning, for identity development, and for active resistance among fans of popular culture products. Storey insists that

We need to see ourselves – all people, not just as vanguard intellectuals – as active participants in culture: selecting, rejecting, making meanings, attributing value, resisting and, yes, being duped and manipulated. This does not mean that we forget about 'the politics of representation'...We must... see that pleasure is political...We must teach each other to know, to politicize for, to recognize the difference between different *versions* of reality, and to know that each can require a different politics. (pp. 259–260)

This prospect for agency drives many scholars' interest in popular culture. Several critical adult educators, including myself, express urgency in their press to examine the burgeoning influence of what Jenkins (2006) has dubbed 'convergence culture' in the lives of adults. Convergence culture is the 'cultural shift' from passive media spectatorship to active participation in cultural construction, where media flows across platforms (TV, film, social media, print, video games, etc.) and technologies (computers, pads, phones, gaming consoles, etc.). Consequently, multiple media industries are forced to cooperate as well as compete, and 'every important story gets told, every brand gets sold, and every consumer gets courted'. In this new individually and collectively constructed popular culture, consumers actively seek out both information and entertainment that provide the desired experiences; they 'make connections among dispersed media content' (p. 3). Jenkins argues that

Convergence does not occur through media appliances, however...Convergence occurs within the brains of individual consumers and through their social interactions with others. Each of us constructs our own personal mythology from bits and fragments of information extracted from the media flow and transformed into resources through which we make sense of our everyday lives. Because there is more information on any given topic than anyone can store, there is an added incentive for us to talk among ourselves about the media we consume... Consumption has become a collective process. (pp. 3–4)

He calls this relational meaning-making ‘collective intelligence’ (p. 4). For Jenkins, convergence culture offers the possibility of a growing shift in power from the owners of capital to the consumers of cultural products. In his vision, the dominant capacity to shape the broader culture is transferred to the users of popular culture as they construct worldviews and knowledge through collective meaning-making. He argues that this phenomenon of collective intelligence can be used ‘to change the ways religion, education, law, politics, advertising, and even the military operate’ (p. 4). To achieve this goal, he advocates a formidable ‘media education for adults’ that goes beyond critical media literacy with its focus on the dangers of corporate manipulation. He believes adult education around popular media should also include ‘developing new skills in collaboration and a new ethic of knowledge sharing that will allow us to deliberate together’; it should equip adults to ‘deploy media for one’s own ends’ and ‘rewrite the core stories our culture has given us’ (p. 259). If we can accomplish this, Jenkins exhorts, ‘Consumers will be more powerful within convergence culture—but only if they recognize and use that power as both consumers and citizens, as full participants in our culture’ (p. 260). Helping adults to do that is the duty of adult educators.

That duty was recognised early in the history of adult education. In fact, the discipline of cultural studies was birthed in the field of adult education and thrived among the field’s social justice roots (Woodhams 1999). It is noteworthy that the early icons of cultural studies like Raymond Williams, E. P. Thompson, and Richard Hoggart were originally from an adult education background. These pioneers in lifelong education understood the power inherent in popular culture to shape societies for the benefit of the privileged, and then to naturalise that inequity. Recognising that we must negotiate our lives within this new convergence culture, it would be a mistake to resist interdisciplinary studies, particularly that research investigating the extraordinary impact of media and popular culture. Indeed, we live in an age when educational and cultural research and teaching must be borderless, multidisciplinary as well as interdisciplinary, and anti-elitist. Adult education must recall its position as the birthplace of cultural studies, embrace its obligation to retain relevance, and demonstrate its significance to its offspring.

HIGHLIGHT REEL: A BRIEF REVIEW OF RECENT LITERATURE

In 2008–2009, Jennifer Sandlin and I conducted an extensive review of the literature on adult education and popular culture (Wright and Sandlin 2009b). At that time, the majority of the papers dealing with the topic were from conference proceedings (54), rather than peer-reviewed journals (21), indicating that, as a focus in the field, popular culture was beginning to gain momentum. We found that the literature focused primarily on six areas: (1) adult learning as it is represented in popular media; (2) the use of media for self-reflexive practices by adult educators; (3) using popular culture in formal educational settings; (4) analyses of popular cultural artefacts as adult education curriculum; (5) the impact of popular culture on adult consumers; and (6) popular community practices as resistance. Our analysis of the literature led us to urge adult education scholars to ‘complement the work that is currently being done within adult education...with work that places emphasis on the learning that is occurring as adults engage with popular culture in their everyday lives *from the participant’s point of view*’ (p. 133). We urged scholars in the field to engage with work from media and cultural studies around media’s effects on adult audiences, and to begin to look at what those audiences are learning and assimilating into their developing worldviews and identities. It is obvious to us that media and popular culture are powerful educators of adults.

This realisation led us, along with Carolyn Clark, to re-examine adult learning theories for this current era of media, commercial, and technological saturation (Sandlin et al. 2013). We argued that most adult learning theories are grounded in modernist master narratives that assume a highly rational, autonomous adult learner, privilege reason and rational application of social scientific theories, and leave little room to question the possibility of individual agency or the naturalness of normative progression. We posited that traditional adult learning theories have mistakenly left the field’s early work on cultural studies behind and postulated a need to ‘focus on the interactions between adults and the wider cultures within which they live and interact’ (p. 7), because ‘individuals are embedded in cultural contexts that shape who they are and how they learn’ (p. 17). Our work should be informed by the literature on ‘public pedagogy’, a term that refers to the mediated and unmediated sites, spaces, and experiences that facilitate learning and identity development outside formal educational institutions (Sandlin et al. 2010), together with the work currently being done in cultural studies. Adults are necessarily immersed in a public pedagogy of popular culture as the shift to convergence culture expands. It is a part of life in the twenty-first century and exponentially more relevant than it was when early adult educators and researchers were first recognising its significance three-quarters of a century ago. Adults are learning and shaping their worldviews through engagement with and active participation in the collective consciousness around popular culture. The following is an overview of some of the recent scholarship dealing with the public pedagogy of popular culture within the field of adult education.

The Convergence of Adult Education and Popular Culture

Within the field of adult education and lifelong learning, several scholars have waded into the topic of learning via popular culture since our 2009 review. I will discuss work from both books and prominent academic journals but, due to space constraints, I will not include conference papers here. However, a quick search of conference papers from major adult education conferences in the US, UK, and Canada reveals a continued growing interest in the topic. Both researched studies and theoretical articles on learning and popular culture have appeared in a variety of journals within the field of adult education and lifelong learning. Moreover, a number of edited books that specifically address adult education and popular culture have found homes with publishers. In the next section, I provide an overview of that recent work.

Television, Film, and Print

One of the few studies to look at identity construction through engagement with a popular cultural product, and the resultant transformational learning that had a lifelong impact, was my work exploring feminist identity development in women viewers of the 1960s television programme *The Avengers* (Wright and Sandlin 2009a; Wright 2013a). Using a critical feminist lens, I conducted and analysed interviews with 17 women who were avid fans of the show in the 1960s. I found that women learned about feminism and non-traditional gender roles from watching those possibilities enacted in the character of Dr. Cathy Gale, and envisioned themselves breaking similar barriers in their own lives. That learning led to changed worldviews, feminist identities, bold career decisions, and radical life choices. According to Sandlin et al. (2011), this study is particularly significant because I focused on the perspective of the learner, ‘in negotiation with her or his own cultural position and meanings’ (p. 361) without a teacher or intellectual intermediary to help with critical interpretation.

Also, with an interest in understanding cultural messages of gender and identity, Jubas (2013) conducted a textual analysis of the US television show *Grey’s Anatomy* in order to understand its messages around the issue of gender in the medical profession. She found that medicine is represented in the show as a gendered and hierarchical field, where ‘nursing is portrayed as both a feminized field of work and beneath medicine in the socio-occupational hierarchy’ (p. 136). Jubas and Knutson (2012, 2013) researched audience perceptions of ways the TV show, *Grey’s Anatomy*, affected medical undergraduates’ ideas about internships and learning. That work ‘builds on a still rare approach combining participant-based and cultural studies strategies to research how popular culture both conveys messages and helps audiences engage in informal learning about themselves and their world’ (Jubas and Knutson 2012: 99). Through focus groups and individual interviews, they found that undergraduate medical students formed expectations of what the medical internship should be like, and their educational experiences informed their ability to view the show through a growing critical lens.

Jarvis and Burr (2011) sought to understand the impact of the popular television show, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* (*BtVS*) on viewers' moral frameworks. Positing that 'a text offering an element of social critique is more likely to develop a degree of critical social awareness that can significantly alter a viewer's perspective than a more conservative piece' (p. 169) and, arguing that *BtVS* clearly presented such a critique, they interviewed 11 *BtVS* fans about their experiences around watching the programme. They found that viewing and engaging the world as a *BtVS* fan sometimes prompted critical reflection and the potential for transformative learning.

Other scholars have focused on the power of popular fiction for adult learning. Gouthro (2014) used a critical feminist lens to analyse the way 15 women learned to be crime fiction writers. She found that pursuing such a non-traditional career requires multiple, evolving, self-directed learning techniques, dogged tenacity, and a passion for writing. She offered suggestions for adult educators who support literacy through fiction writing, as well as valuable analyses around issues of gender and the writing life. Gouthro and Holloway (2013) explored the value of using fiction to help adults construct a more critical, sophisticated, and nuanced concept of citizenship. They found that 'exploring stories shared by other people is a way to gain a deeper understanding of other people's experiences' (p. 54) and, thus, helps students challenge current neoliberal versions of civic engagement and envision a more democratic and just society.

In a similar vein, Jarvis (2012) contended that popular fiction may help adults learn empathy, and that a more developed sense of empathy might lead to possibilities of greater civic participation around issues of social justice. She questions, however, whether such empathy is sustained and transferred to their real-world experiences around excluded or marginalized groups. She believes that critical educators can use fictional texts and the empathy they stimulate to develop 'empathetic anger, leading to action in the cause of justice' (p. 754). She calls for more research on how adults internalize fiction-caused empathy in order to understand the 'contexts and activities most likely to promote empathy through fiction' (p. 755).

Learning from reading popular texts was also the theme of McClean and Vermeylen's (2014) study of how many adults cope with major life transitions through self-directed learning with self-help books. They interviewed 134 adults who had recently read a self-help book for advice on careers, personal relationships, or health issues. Over half of the participants turned to popular self-help books because of a significant change in their lives, and women were much more likely than men to turn to self-help books for learning during a life transition involving health. Men who turned to self-help books most often did so because of a career-related issue. McLean (2013) further analysed 12 of the interviews with women participants in order to better understand the specific learning processes that took place through the public pedagogy of popular self-help books. He found that, while individual learners gained some useful information from the pop-culture texts, there was no critical analysis of the

structural systems of power that caused their initial difficulty. Rather, the books encouraged them to see themselves as products of their own ‘lifestyle choices’, a particularly strong neoliberal metanarrative in capitalist/consumer cultures. He urges adult education scholars to seriously evaluate informal learning from the growing self-help industry in order to better ‘understand issues relating to public pedagogy and popular culture’ (p. 385). I agree. It is imperative that adult educators begin to investigate the connections between the proliferation of self-help books, reality TV ‘lifestyle’ programming, and critical issues of consumption, globalisation, identity, and neoliberal politics.

In 2010, I looked at narrative and television, analysing the underlying political narratives, both hegemonic and resistant, of six US or UK popular programmes or channels: *The Weather Channel*, *Fox News Channel*, *24*, *The Daily Show*, *The Rachel Maddow Show*, and *Torchwood*. In that piece, I argued that adult educators ‘cannot dismiss or minimize television’s role in shaping cultural perceptions, individual identities and worldviews through its narratives’ (pp. 57–58). It is crucial that we acknowledge, address, and challenge pervasive, internalised neoliberal narratives in critical adult education classrooms.

Hutchins and Bierema (2013) analysed human resource development (HRD) students’ investigation of popular cultural artefacts around the themes found in my and Jennifer Sandlin’s 2009 review of the literature. They found that mediated engagement with popular culture raised critical awareness of social inequities in their students and recommended the use of popular culture for teaching ‘Critical HRD’ (p. 66). They point out that popular culture, viewed through adult education theoretical lenses like transformative learning, can be ‘representative of prevailing social and power relations in workplaces and society’ (p. 66). In an article that also focuses on workplace learning, I (Wright 2013b) pointed out that the genres of science fiction and horror are particularly adept at both reinforcing and further normalising neoliberal, capitalist ideologies, and also deconstructing and questioning them. The potential for the latter offers possibilities for adult and HRD teachers. I contend that

Removing popular culture from the sphere of adults’ daily work and learning will, indeed, leave only zombies and cyborgs—decontextualized, desocialized, dehumanized—victims of the vampires of capitalism. Ushering popular culture into the classroom and workplace reconnects adults to what makes them human—their passions, their emotions, their pleasures, their expectations, their dreams, and their daily experiences. (p. 16).

All adult learning is impacted by the popular culture that shapes the adult learner. Scholars in the field accept that adults bring their experiences into the classroom and those experiences must be respected and built upon by instructors. A major part of those lived experiences involves the popular culture they consume and the cultural spaces they inhabit.

This is the position taken by Botzakis (2009) in his investigation of adult fans of comic books and graphic novels. He was interested in the roles comics played

in readers' academic and social development. He found that, for some, reading comics led to reflexive practices that 'allowed them to view themselves and the world differently' (p. 57). He suggests that adult literacy teachers would benefit from considering comics and graphic novels as possible texts for assignments because, 'When the definition of legitimate text becomes limited, educators also limit what students might be able to access that could spark their interests and become the impetus for lifelong learning' (p. 58). As an adult who reads comics and graphic novels myself, I concur. Comics, often written in the genres of science fiction and horror, regularly portray allegories of resistance to accepted neoliberal norms and reveal, in graphic form, the horrific results of unregulated capitalism and inequitable systems of power.

Tabor et al. (2014) investigated issues of power, gender, and ability by exploring how female college students with learning exceptionalities are able to evaluate representations of female superheroes in popular culture, including the graphic novel, *Catwoman: The Game*, the character of Catwoman in the film, *Batman: The Dark Knight Rises*, the pilot of the television show, *Lost Girl*, and the female superheroes in an online database. Through mediated group discussion sessions and the subsequent construction of online avatars, the researchers found that the participants 'began to critique the ways in which gender and ability were represented in the media, connecting their discussions and feelings of marginalization' (p. 147) to the dominant cultural messages in the popular culture artefacts they examined. Taber et al. call for adult educators to facilitate similar group discussions around media as a means of exploring issues of power, identity, gender, and ableism.

Popular Culture as Pedagogy, an Edited Volume

In 2015, Jubas, Taber and Brown pulled together scholars across the globe who examine popular culture as sites of adult learning in a timely volume dedicated to current research on the pedagogy and curriculum of television and film entitled, *Popular Culture as Pedagogy: Research in the Field of Adult Education*. Investigations of public pedagogy in film include Brown's (2015) examination of the ways teachers are portrayed in feature films. His review of nearly a century of films found that, until recently, teachers were most often portrayed in positive ways. This trend has shifted, however, with the neoliberal assault on public schooling and the push for privatisation in both compulsory and higher education. As corporate chief executive officers (CEOs) attempt to access the 1.3 trillion dollars spent on education in the US for their stockholders through voucher programmes, private charter schools, and online academies, the film industry has begun to portray teachers as obstacles to learning, their creativity—if they have any—constrained by labour unions and non-privatised public school bureaucracy. These films concomitantly correlate school privatisation with the solution. Brown urges adult educators to recognise the powerful impact such portrayals have on adult viewers' attitudes towards schooling and the teaching profession, as well as political decisions that affect formal education, teachers' unions, and school funding.

A more encouraging analysis of popular films can be found in Odgren's (2015) analysis of the critical, anti-corporate messaging in *The Lego Movie*. She argued that the animated characters reject the neoliberal ideology of individualism as they participate in a community of practice that 'explores such complex social issues as community, citizenship, and adult learning, while simultaneously addressing our current anxieties about capitalism, consumerism, and corporatization' (p. 44). She offers *The Lego Movie* as an example of resistant, anti-capitalist messages in Hollywood blockbuster films that can provide adult educators fodder for critical classroom discussions. It must be noted, however, that the primary purpose of *The Lego Movie* is to promote the sale of Lego, a popular toy. It is, therefore, an excellent example of the mixed messages inherit in even the most resistant corporate-produced popular cultural products.

Treffry-Goatley (2015) discussed the South African post-apartheid film industry's messaging around HIV/AIDS, a major health issue in the country. While most post-apartheid films, according to Treffry-Goatley, are neoliberal, racist, and filled with stereotypes, she found that the film, *Yesterday*, is a more realistic portrayal of reality that has the potential to help educate adults on issues related to living and dying with HIV. She encourages its use by HIV educators to introduce topics to be discussed.

Authors in the Jubas et al. book, who are researching the pedagogy and curriculum of popular television programmes, collectively offer a compelling analysis of the impact TV and film can have on adult worldview and identity construction. Jarvis (2015) explored the prevalence of masochistic messages in the lives of several young adult female leads in television series, film, and books targeted towards young women. Again, looking at *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* and *Twilight*, Jarvis pointed out that a trope of female suffering runs through these portrayals of young, strong women protagonists, as well as many other female heroes such as *Veronica Mars*, Katniss in the *Hunger Games* novels and films, and Tris in the *Divergent* novels. She argued that these coming of age stories are replete with 'narrative pleasures [that] result from a kind of masochism, in which young women are rewarded with love and affection not for their courage or their achievements, but for suffering, sacrifice, and pain' (p. 148). She urged adult educators to use these texts to engage students on social issues such as domestic abuse, self-mutilation, and gender/power stereotypes.

Timanson and Schindel (2015) used discourse analysis to examine workplace learning in the Showtime series, *Nurse Jackie*. Looking at the discourse around learning at work in four seasons of the show, they found three dominant themes: (1) mentor-protégé teaching and learning, (2) reflective learning from mistakes, and (3) increased worker confidence as concomitant with learning. They argued that *Nurse Jackie* portrays examples of a 'distinct knowledge culture' (p. 79) and offers possibilities for helping adult educators examine their own understanding of workplace learning.

Understanding the broader concepts of ethnocentricity, unequal power structures, and enculturated discrimination is the theme in the chapter I contributed to the book with co-author Gary L. Wright (2015). We explored critical political and social messages in the revived BBC series, *Doctor Who*. Citing several studies that indicate that adult fans of the series are often social justice proponents, we conducted textual analyses of several *Doctor Who* moments with critical political, egalitarian messages and selected one scene from each of the last four incarnations of the Doctor for more in-depth examination. Our hope is that adult educators will make use of such analyses and selected scenes to help facilitate discussions around these issues with students.

In another chapter on television, Tabor (2015) used feminist discourse analysis to look at the Disney television show *Once Upon a Time* (*OUAT*) and discovered that, unlike Disney's traditional fairy-tale women, the women in *OUAT* are complicated characters who are rarely 'demonized for their strength' (p. 130). In contrast to typical Disney portrayals of women and girls, the women of *OUAT* are multidimensional characters with complex backstories. Tabor urges adult educators to recognise the pedagogic possibilities in such revisions of the classic characters adults are invariably familiar with.

While the Jubas et al. text deals only with film and television, it is the most recent of the very few volumes in English dedicated to research at the intersection of adult education and popular culture. My hope is that it is one of many volumes to come. As we find ourselves steeped in today's media, entertainment, and web-driven convergence culture, understanding adult and lifelong learning will be dependent on how we grapple with the processes, potentialities, and pitfalls of learning through popular cultural products, and how much we acknowledge and investigate in the spaces where people and pop culture exist together. Increasingly, adults are living and learning in virtual communities, where the lines between entertainment, education, and meaning-making are blurred.

Social Media, Blogging, and Video Games—Everyday Online Learning from Popular Culture

Some adult education researchers explore learning that takes place online and unconnected to online courses, credentialing, or other forms of structured curriculum. Dennis (2015) investigated blogging as a form of intentional public pedagogy through which educational dissent is encouraged and globalised. This ground-breaking work is a discourse analysis of two popular blogs by named adult educators, one in the UK and one in Canada. Dennis sees these blogs as gifts to the public and to adult educators in which the authors engage adult educators and other adults in the construction of resistant pedagogies. In opposition to the neoliberal trends in adult education, these experienced educators promote education as a public good, a shared activity that everyone should be able to access. Through blogging, these educators learn 'how to survive global neoliberal educational policy that is unsympathetic towards the

ideals they prefiguratively embody' (p. 297) and they help their readers and contributors to do the same.

Nakagawa and Arzubiaga (2014) investigated social media's public pedagogy around issues of race. Through critical discourse analysis of a particular YouTube video and the posts and video responses it generated, they uncovered how racism can be taught and learned through online social media outlets. They urge adult educators to help students interrogate social media by decoding the stereotyping, micro-aggressions, and racist messages in YouTube videos, as well as other social media memes. They also encourage educators to use social media, such as YouTube, to prompt engaged discussions around identity.

Like social media, adult video gaming has become an overwhelmingly popular, yet under-investigated, site of adult learning. Thornham's (2009) research is intended to be a baseline study into that phenomenon. Noting the gap in research around adult gamers, she insisted that we need to 'better understand the significance of gaming and gaming discourses on our social and political lives' (p. 141). As a starting point, Thornham sought to understand how gamers justified the time and money spent on gaming. She studied 11 households that included one or more adult gamers who spent 15–30+ hours per week playing video games. This ethnographic study, conducted in the UK, included numerous interviews and multiple, prolonged visits to their homes over a period of 4 years. The findings are extensive and provide future researchers with a fascinating portrait of both male and female adult gamers. The study illuminates the ways gamers make connections between gaming and 'wider social and cultural discourses' (p. 156). Thornham delineated the connections—and disconnections—adults make between pleasure, play, and adulthood. Their discomfort with cultural messages around play and adulthood necessitate that they rationalise and normalise gaming as a social activity, appropriate for adults. She called for 'further investigation into the wider practices of gaming which takes into consideration the context, discourses, and power relations upon which the activity of gaming is contingent' (p. 156). As gaming is increasingly connected with film and television series, further normalising it as an adult activity in our convergence culture, such investigations will be essential to our understanding of adult learners and learning.

Clearly, a number of adult educators are seeking to document the connections among popular culture, adult learning, and identity development. They are working to understand the powerful role these cultural texts can play in worldview construction and ideology. While much of that work supports Giroux's (2004) contention that the majority of popular cultural artefacts are created by neoliberal corporations with an agenda, 'a powerful ensemble of ideological and institutional forces whose aim is to produce competitive, self-interested individuals vying for their own material and ideological gain' (p. 106), some scholars, especially feminist scholars, argue that popular culture can also provide a space for pedagogies of resistance to neoliberal, globalised hegemony. They agree with Henry Jenkins (1992) 'that there is something empowering about what fans do with [popular culture] texts in the process of

assimilating them to the particulars of their lives. Fandom celebrates not exceptional texts but rather exceptional readings' (p. 284). Clearly fan/consumer interactions through web-based platforms in a convergence culture offer hope for the latter.

INTERDISCIPLINARITY, ADULT EDUCATION, AND POPULAR CULTURE

Adult education as a field is unique in its interdisciplinarity. We are interested in adult and lifelong learning in all aspects of life—schooling, workplace, and everyday life—and around myriad topics. Personally, that interdisciplinary view of learning is what drew me to the discipline. In this section, I briefly discuss a sampling of scholarly work from other disciplines that directly relates to adult and lifelong learning through popular culture.

Most significant among these is *The Handbook of Public Pedagogy* (2010), edited by Sandlin, Schultz and Burdick. While much of this volume is located within childhood education and curriculum studies, it is foundational because of its theoretical breadth and comprehensive examination of the concept of public pedagogy. It also takes a multidisciplinary approach that includes research from adult education, cultural studies, anthropology, linguistics, communications, criminal justice, and many other fields. It includes works by journalists, activists, and creative artists who use popular culture as a vehicle for resistance.

From media studies, *Television and the Self: Knowledge, Identity, and Media Representation* (2013), edited by Ryan and Macey, also brings scholars from a variety of disciplines, including adult education, together in this collection of scholarly work investigating the impact that regular consumption of television programmes can have on adult identity development. Ryan and Macey argue that 'television reflects our reality and helps us to sort out what it means to be a twenty-first-century man or woman' (p. 7). It offers much for the field of adult education to consider around issues of identity and worldview construction.

Two empirical studies, one from psychology and the other from communications, are notable for their quantitative methodological approaches to the issue of gender role representations in media and their impact on women viewers. Simon and Hoyt (2013) investigated how media images impact women's self-perceptions related to leadership. They found that 'women exposed to media images of women in counter stereotypical roles reported less negative self-perceptions and greater leadership aspirations than women exposed to images of women in stereotypical roles' (p. 232). Taylor and Setters (2011) also conducted a comparative study of audience responses when exposed to either stereotypical or counter stereotypical female gender roles. In particular, they examined aggression and attractiveness by measuring the responses to either highly attractive or less attractive, and either highly aggressive or less aggressive, female protagonists in film. They found that when female protagonists are both attractive and aggressive there was an increase in 'the degree to which both women and men expected women to fulfil both stereotypical and counter stereotypical roles' (p. 42). They also found that

women viewers expected more from women than male viewers. These relatively large studies of audience interpretations and internalisations of gender role images provide adult educators with a basis for future qualitative research into media images and their effect on identity development, worldviews, body images, and cultural expectations.

One more article that will be of special interest to critical adult educators who teach for social justice and peace comes from the discipline of international studies. Norman (2012) analysed the boggarts in *Harry Potter* as a metaphor for the fears and insecurities that cause adults to support state violence against others. She successfully argued that boggarts (such as terrorists, illegal immigrants, and other media-reported threats to the state) are necessary for creating and preserving national identities in an age of globalised connections. Politicians and media conglomerates with neoliberal agendas use these ‘international boggarts’ to create a collective ‘us against them’ identity—‘identifying the “other” is required for the self to be fully recognizable’ (p. 410). Therefore,

the war on terror and the new world (dis)order has less to do with the confrontation of radically incompatible cultural worldviews,...or even with competition for limited national resources,...than with an urgent need to sharpen the distinctions between collective identities – distinctions that have been blurred or diluted by the forces of globalization/glocalization and the collapse of the bipolar international order. (p. 412)

So when justifications for aggression are found to be false, exaggerated, or fabricated, people continue to support violent actions by the state because the need to belong is made so strong through the rhetoric of politicians, broadcast news, film, television, and social media. International boggarts, according to Norman’s analysis, ‘capture and reflect the elemental fear of not knowing clearly who we are or where we belong in a way that is highly relevant to international group behaviour’ (p. 417). Through analysis of *Harry Potter*’s magical monsters, argues Norman, educators can help learners understand complicated international political identities, collective fears, allegiances, and moral contradictions that help legitimate state violence as a cultural norm.

CONCLUSION

In the discipline of media studies, Jenkins (2006) developed the concepts of *convergence culture*, where corporate media may be influenced by grassroots fan/consumer groups through various forms of social media, and *transmedia storytelling* where fans of popular culture act as ‘hunters and gatherers, chasing down bits of the story across media channels’ (pp. 20–21) as they investigate, contribute to, build upon, and make their own meanings from the stories initially created by the culture industries. Such technological advances offer tremendous opportunities and particular challenges for critical adult educators working for social justice. With the advent of this type of participatory

consumption of popular culture, adults are changing the way they position the culture makers. Critical media scholar van Zoonen (2012) has researched this shift in audience perception and developed the notion of ‘I-pistemology’. She contends that ‘online and offline popular culture have raised personal experience to the level of the only relevant truth’ (p. 56). Because of social media, blogs, and the occasional resistant messaging in popular culture, many adults no longer trust traditional news, information, and entertainment sources, and that mistrust ‘has gone hand in hand with the emergence of the self as the source and arbiter of all truth’ (pp. 56–57) in the age of widespread Internet access. This shift in worldview construction, coupled with the possibilities for action implied by a burgeoning convergence culture, presents emerging and expanding opportunities for today’s adult educators working for social justice and dovetails effectively with the notion of sites of resistance within public pedagogy. As Raymond Williams pointed out in an interview in 1979, ‘a political strategy which doesn’t take account of cultural questions is living in the past’ (O’Conner 1989: 215). This is so much truer of today’s convergence culture. There can be no political or social action taken, no resistance taught, without understanding the effects of people’s immersion in popular culture on their versions of reality. Rather than a few hours a week of watching favourite television programmes or a night out at a movie, fans interact with popular culture incessantly through their electronic devices. Adults create individual I-pistemologies based, in large part, on their interactions with popular culture messages, social media, and fan groups.

There is much work to be done. A few minutes of channel surfing, for example, led me to the horrifying realisation that the bulk of US cable television is an endless stream of pseudo-reality programmes that depict working-class protagonists in stereotypical and negative ways. After months of research (Wright 2016), I began to understand how such programming reinforces myths of the US as a meritocracy, promotes neoliberal economics and politics, and idealises an ethos of personal responsibility, while obscuring the REALity of institutionalised and structuralised inequality in a capitalist system. Yet, clearly, reality TV is wildly popular and most often uncritically consumed. Even a casual glance through popular programming, books, websites, and films offers limitless potential for researching how such public pedagogy is received, negotiated, and learned. Bowman (2013) contends that although popular cultural ‘pedagogy is central to politicized cultural theory’, it has been underexplored (p. 601). Adults are ‘embedded in cultural contexts that shape who they are and how they learn’ (Sandlin et al. 2013, p. 17). Since ‘interdisciplinary study in adult education was an important precursor of academic British cultural studies’ and the study of popular culture actually originated in adult education classrooms in the 1930s (Steele 1997, p. 2), I contend that Tom Steele is right in pointing out that adult education should ‘reoccupy’ the ‘marginal, non-mainstream position’ of taking, as part of its focus, the enormous impact of popular culture on adult learning, development, worldviews, and, yes, happiness (p. 208). By recognising that popular culture can ‘stimulate a desire for a different way of being,’ adult

educators can ‘address that mode of thinking and work with that...to enable the project of “citizenship” to be reconsidered with far more flexible narratives of subjectivity, identity and cultural needs’ (pp. 207–208). Woodhams (1999) suggests that Steele’s historical analysis placing cultural studies firmly under the umbrella of the academic discipline of adult education can ‘offer guidance on how to carry on negotiating the future’ (p. 248). I concur completely. I encourage researchers coming to the field to consider the infinite possibilities and exciting challenges of interdisciplinary research on adult learning from convergence culture. I exhort critical adult educators teaching for social justice to include the study of popular culture, identity development, and worldview construction (and deconstruction) in their teaching and research. Convergence culture and our participation in it is remapping our brains and shifting our conceptions of reality. As Jenkins argues, ‘Convergence culture is the future, but it is taking shape now’ (p. 260). It is a renewed opportunity to bring cultural studies back to its discipline of origin—and to increase the relevance and scope of the field of adult and lifelong education.

REFERENCES

- Botzakis, S. (2009). Adult fans of comic books: What they get out of reading. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 53(1), 50–59.
- Bowman, P. (2013). Popular cultural pedagogy, in theory; or: What can cultural theory learn about learning from popular culture? *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 45(6), 601–609.
- Brown, T. (2015). Teachers on film: Changing representations of teaching in popular cinema from Mr. Chips to Jamie Fitzpatrick. In K. Jubas, N. Taber, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Popular culture as pedagogy: Research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
- Dennis, C. A. (2015). Blogging as public pedagogy: Creating alternative educational futures. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 34(3), 284–299.
- Giroux, H. (2004). *The terror of neoliberalism*. Boulder, CO: Paradigm.
- Gouthro, P. A. (2014). Women of mystery: Investigating learning pathways of Canadian and American female crime fiction writers. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 4(4), 356–373.
- Gouthro, P. A., & Holloway, S. (2013). Reclaiming the radical: Using fiction to explore adult learning connected to citizenship. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 45(1), 41–56.
- Graham, M. (Writer), & Simpson, J. (Director) (2011, May 28). The almost people. [Television series episode]. In S. Moffat (Producer), *Doctor who* Cardiff: BBC Cardiff.
- Gramsci, A. (1968). *The modern prince and other writings*. New York: International Publishers.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from prison notebooks*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Hall, S. (1993). Minimal selves. In A. Gray & J. McGuigan (Eds.), *Studying culture*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hutchins, H. M., & Bierema, L. (2013). Media analysis as critical reflexivity in exploring adult learning theories. *New Horizons in Adult Education & Human Resource Development*, 25(1), 56–59.

- Jarvis, C. (2012). Fiction, empathy and lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31(6), 743–758.
- Jarvis, C. (2015). How to be a woman: Models of masochism and sacrifice in young adult fiction. In K. Jubas, N. Taber, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Popular culture as pedagogy: Research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
- Jarvis, C., & Burr, V. (2011). The transformative potential of popular television: The case of Buffy the Vampire Slayer. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 9(3), 165–182. doi: [10.1177/1541344612436814](https://doi.org/10.1177/1541344612436814).
- Jenkins, H. (1992). *Textual poachers*. New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, H. (2006). *Convergence culture: Where old and new media collide*. New York: New York University Press.
- Jubas, K. (2013). Grey('s) identity: Complications of learning and becoming in a popular television show. *Review of Education, Pedagogy & Cultural Studies*, 35(2), 127–143.
- Jubas, K., & Knutson, P. (2012). Seeing and believing: How nursing and medical students understand representations of their professions. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 44(1), 85–100.
- Jubas, K., & Knutson, P. (2013). Fictions of work-related learning: How a hit television show portrays internship, and how medical students relate to those portrayals. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 35(2), 224–240.
- Jubas, K., Tabor, N., & Brown, T. (Eds.). (2015). *Popular culture as pedagogy: Research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
- Kunz, W. M. (2007). *Culture conglomerates: Consolidation in the motion picture and television industries*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (1985). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Toward a radical democratic politics*. London: Verso.
- McLean, S. (2013). Public pedagogy, private lives: Self-help books and adult learning. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 63(4), 373–388.
- McLean, S., & Vermeulen, L. (2014). Transitions and pathways: Self-help reading and informal adult learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 33(2), 125–140.
- Nakagawa, K., & Arzubaga, A. (2014). The use of social media in teaching race. *Adult Learning*, 25(3), 103–110.
- Norman, E. R. (2012). International bogbarts: Carl Schmitt, *Harry Potter*, and the transfiguration of identity and violence. *Politics & Policy*, 40(2), 403–423.
- O'Connor, A. (Ed.). (1989). *Raymond Williams on television: Selected writings*. London: Routledge.
- Odgren, E. (2015). Learning how to build community without following the instructions: Finding pieces of resistance in *The Lego Movie*. In K. Jubas, N. Tabor, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Popular culture as pedagogy: research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
- Ryan, K. M., & Macey, D. A. (2013). *Television and the self: Knowledge, identity, and media representation*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books.
- Sandlin, J. A., Schultz, B. D., & Burdick, J. (2010). *Handbook of public pedagogy: Education and learning beyond schooling*. New York: Routledge.
- Sandlin, J. A., O'Malley, M. P., & Burdick, J. (2011). Mapping the complexity of public pedagogy scholarship: 1894–2010. *Review of Educational Research*, 81(3), 338–375.
- Sandlin, J. A., Wright, R. R., & Clark, C. (2013). Re-examining theories of adult learning and adult development through the lenses of public pedagogy. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 63(1), 3–23.

- Simon, S., & Hoyt, C. L. (2013). Exploring the effect of media images on women's leadership self-perceptions and aspirations. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 16(2), 232–245.
- Steele, T. (1997). *The emergence of cultural studies 1945–1965: Cultural politics, adult education and the english question*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Storey, J. (2015). *Cultural theory and popular culture: An introduction*. New York: Routledge.
- Tabor, N. (2015). Pedagogies of gender in a disney mash-up: Princesses, queens, beasts, pirates, lost boys, and witches. In K. Jubas, N. Taber, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Popular culture as pedagogy: Research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
- Tabor, N., Woloshyn, V., Munn, C., & Lane, L. (2014). Exploring representations of *super* women in popular culture. *Adult Learning*, 25(4), 142–150.
- Taylor, D. T., & Setter, T. (2011). Watching aggressive attractive, female protagonists shapes gender roles for women among male and female undergraduate viewers. *Sex Roles*, 65, 35–46.
- Timanson, P., & Schindel, T. J. (2015). Discourse analysis of adult and workplace learning in *Nurse Jackie*: Exploring learning processes within a knowledge culture. In K. Jubas, N. Taber, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Popular culture as pedagogy: Research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
- Thornham, H. (2009). Claiming a stake in the videogame: What grown-ups say to rationalize and normalize gaming. *Convergence*, 15(2), 141–159.
- Treffry-Goatley, A. (2015). Narratives of illness in South African cinema: What can popular culture teach us about HIV? In K. Jubas, N. Taber, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Popular culture as pedagogy: Research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.
- van Zoonen, L. (2012). I-pistemology: Changing truth claims in popular and political culture. *European Journal of Communication*, 27(1), 56.
- Wagner, J. N., & Maclean, T. B. (2008). *Television at the movies*. New York: Continuum Books.
- Woodhams, S. (1999). Adult education and the history of cultural studies. *Changing English: Studies in Reading & Culture*, 6(2), 237–250.
- Wright, R. R. (2010). Narratives from popular culture: Critical implications for adult education. In M. Rossiter & M. C. Clark (Eds.), *New directions in adult and continuing education, 126: Narrative perspectives on adult education*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Wright, R. R. (2013a). *The Avengers* and feminist identity development: Learning the example of critical resistance from Cathy Gale. In K. M. Ryan & D. Massey (Eds.), *Television and the self: Knowledge, identity and media representation*. New York: Lexington-Rowan & Littlefield.
- Wright, R. R. (2013b). Zombies, cyborgs, and other labor organizers: An introduction to representations of adult learning theories and HRD in popular culture. *New Horizons in Adult Education & Human Resource Development*, 25(1), 5–17.
- Wright, R. R. (2016). If it quacks like a duck ...: The classist curriculum of Disney's reality television shows. In J. A. Sandlin & J. M. Maudlin (Eds.), *The Disney curriculum: Education, culture, and society*. New York: Routledge.
- Wright, R. R., & Sandlin, J. A. (2009a). Popular culture, public pedagogy, and perspective transformation: *The Avengers* and adult learning in living rooms. *International Journal of Lifelong Learning*, 28(4), 533–551.

- Wright, R. R., & Sandlin, J. A. (2009b). Cult TV, hip hop, shape-shifters, and vampire slayers: A review of the literature at the intersection of adult education and popular culture. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 59(2), 118–141.
- Wright, R. R., & Wright, G. L. (2015). *Doctor who* fandom, critical engagement, and transmedia storytelling: The public pedagogy of the doctor. In K. Jubas, N. Taber, & T. Brown (Eds.), *Popular culture as pedagogy: Research in the field of adult education*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishing.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Robin Redmon Wright is an Associate Professor of Lifelong Learning and Adult Education at Pennsylvania State University, Harrisburg (USA), where she teaches adult education, qualitative research, consumerism, and media research courses. Her work focuses on learning through engagement with popular culture, and also socioeconomic class, higher education, and identity. Her latest publications include “Comics, Kitsch, and Class: an Autoethnographic Exploration of an Accidental Academic” (*International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(3), 426–444, 2016).

Popular Fictions as Critical Adult Education

Christine Jarvis

Writing is also a tool you can use your whole life: to help people, make them laugh, change their minds. You can do it for people in faraway countries, even for people who haven't been born yet. Writing is a way to live forever.

Barbara Kingsolver (n.d.)

Abstract This chapter discusses the popular fictions that adults encounter during their everyday lives as forms of critical adult education. It argues that engaging in close textual analyses of popular fictions is an educational project. Textual analysis that uses an educational lens to evaluate the educational potential, purposes and strategies of popular fictions can illuminate them as critical educational curriculum in terms of content and teaching methods that could be attributed to them. It can also connect this content and these teaching strategies with the shifting social, historical and ideological contexts within which they are located. Such work is of necessity interdisciplinary, drawing on the methodologies and theoretical frameworks found within literary, film and television studies. The argument is illustrated with a discussion of examples from the work of Barbara Kingsolver, Joss Whedon and Suzanne Collins.

DEFINING FICTION

Kingsolver's words draw attention to the fact that fictions touch the lives of many people; their reach is extensive—both geographically and temporally. It is the power and range of *popular* fictions particularly that underpin the case for scrutinising their educational impact. This chapter considers how the educational concepts of curriculum and teaching could be applied to the interrogation of the popular fictions that adults engage with as part of their everyday lives. It argues that in order to understand the potential of popular fictions as adult

C. Jarvis (✉)

University of Huddersfield, Queensgate, Huddersfield HD1 3DH, UK
e-mail: c.a.jarvis@hud.ac.uk

© The Author(s) 2018

M. Milana et al. (eds.), *The Palgrave International Handbook on Adult and Lifelong Education and Learning*,
https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55783-4_51

991

education curriculum, adult educators need to draw on interpretive techniques from literary, film and television criticism to complement the social science disciplines more characteristic of research in the education field.

I use the term fiction to refer to those narrative arts that tell imaginary stories. These include not only written fictions, such as novels and short stories, but also television drama and film. By *popular* fiction I simply mean fiction that is widely read or viewed. The term is sometimes used to refer to specific plot-driven genres (Glover and McCracken 2012), but many other kinds of fictions acquire substantial popularity. Whilst no fictional output reaches all nations and communities, some have global audiences and a potentially significant educational reach. The popularity of such fictions may be indicative of their capacity to tap into prevailing social anxieties and fantasies, and whilst they often revisit familiar stereotypes and situations, they also reformulate these and introduce new elements. What they teach and how they teach it keeps changing; they constitute elements of a shifting, international, non-formal adult education curriculum. The ever-changing nature of popular fiction suggests that scrutinising these texts will always be a work in progress.

Popular does not mean poor quality or superficial. The three creators of popular fictions I use as illustrations, Barbara Kingsolver, Joss Whedon and Suzanne Collins, all attract critical acclaim. Kingsolver's *The Poisonwood Bible* appeared on the very popular *Oprah Book Club* list, but also won the Boeke Prize and was nominated for the Pulitzer. Whedon directed and scripted one of the best-selling films of all time, *Marvel's The Avengers* (Box Office Mojo, n.d.), but has an academic society and journal dedicated to the study of his work. Young Adult fiction, such as *The Hunger Games* (Collins 2010), offers adult educators insights into the way that adulthood is conceptualised for those transitioning to maturity. Young Adult dystopian fictions have soared in popularity (Topping 2015) and several, including *The Hunger Games*, have been made into films, but also attract critical admiration; Garriott et al.'s (2014) edited collection shows how *The Hunger Games* not only uses popular tropes, but also raises important questions about finding spaces for critical challenge and dissent as a central part of achieving adulthood.

Some adult educators have provided analyses of texts as forms of adult education (Jarvis 2005; Jubas 2005) and some have undertaken empirical audience/reader studies of the educational impact of fictions in everyday life (Tisdell and Thompson 2007; Jarvis and Burr 2011; Wright 2010; Jubas et al. 2013) but more commonly educators use fictions in educational settings and select them carefully to support the kinds of learning they wish to encourage (Gouthro and Holloway 2013). Hoggan and Cranton (2014) used a short story written by Hoggan to encourage students to reflect critically on the construction of knowledge, and Brown (2011) selected films to ensure that they provided opportunities for students to engage with specific themes and ideas. In everyday life, however, adults are self-directed and choose the fictions they want to read or watch and this chapter considers the educational potential of such fictions.

PUBLIC PEDAGOGY

Adult educators have increasingly explored learning resulting from experiences that happen outside institutions (Ellsworth 2005; Clover and Stalker 2007; Sandlin et al. 2010). Work on public pedagogies as a developing strand of twenty-first century adult education research seeks to theorise education as an extra-institutional process. This chapter's discussion of popular fictions as forms of public pedagogy focuses on their curriculum and their teaching strategies. Scholars discuss how public pedagogies operate in different spaces and situations, such as museums (Taylor and Neill 2008; Kridel 2010), community arts (Verner Chappell 2010), activism (Sandlin and Milam 2008) and shopping (Jubas 2010). 'Public Pedagogy' is variously defined (Sandlin et al. 2011). Even activities that take place in private, such as digital gaming (Hayes and Gee 2010) or using social media (Reid 2010), are classified as forms of public pedagogy because they connect private acts by different individuals into a shared experience, and reading and watching film and TV fictions fall into this category.

Some public pedagogy research has explored the opportunities offered for challenging power differentials by removing the limiting concepts of teachers and curriculum (Ellsworth 2005). This is exciting, but there are also significant educational events operating outside institutions that *can* be understood in terms of teaching and curriculum. This chapter considers whether and how creators of popular fictions might be considered to be teachers. It draws on secondary sources in which writers and directors appear to express educational intentions and on concepts of intentionality as discussed in the literary theory. What is taught—the curriculum content of popular fictions—is inseparable from how it is taught—the narrative forms and processes utilised in the telling of the stories. It is valuable, therefore, to use those methodologies, commonly found in literary, film and television criticism, designed to interrogate these narrative forms. It would not be possible to outline these methods in detail here. Instead I include, for illustrative purposes, a discussion of three examples from popular fictions to demonstrate the potential value of some of these methodologies and their connection to understanding the pedagogy and curriculum of popular fictions.

In contemporary, complex, fractured societies it is difficult to identify a 'shared' culture (Savage 2010), but there are cultural phenomena that are considerably more public and widely available than others. The examples chosen for illustration in this chapter are not universal in reach, but have large and international audiences. Between them they appeal to a range of different audiences: Kingsolver's to a more literary audience, Whedon to audiences deeply engaged with popular cultures such as gaming, comics and films, and Collins to younger adults although these boundaries are not absolute: Young Adult fiction is widely read by adults, and sometimes labelled cross-over fiction, and Whedon's fan sites attract a very wide demographic. Sandlin et al. (2011)

note that public pedagogy scholars have often focused on the popular fictions as conservative texts that contribute to the reproduction of inequalities, but close scrutiny of many texts reveals a more complex picture. Giroux (2004) argues that they are places of resistance and contestation, as well as reproduction. The examples were also chosen because they offer elements of critique that challenge readers and viewers at the same time as elements that some have argued reinforce conservative world views.

All three authors have aims relating to unmasking aspects of social injustice, however partial their success might sometimes be. Whilst all three are US nationals, they present the tensions between resistance and hegemony in ways which relate to different cultures and geographies.

Kingsolver sets her novel in Africa and the US, and the novel's representation of colonisation, economic, intellectual and spiritual, has received considerable attention. The experiences of the Price family in the Congo challenge Western assumptions about property, value and community, by showing how differently these are understood in a tight-knit, subsistence-based society. I chose it, however, because of the challenges it also offers to perceptions of disability. The movement between these two continents enables her to challenge Western constructions of disability and human worth.

Whedon sets his story in the US, but attempts to show the transnational nature of the oppressive and misogynistic power of global media corporations. He focuses on the characters in the US version of a horror story, but uses the device of a multi-screen centre, through which the story is observed by its creators, to show that the same tale is being rolled out across the globe, adapted to specific cultural contexts. This is an effective device for demonstrating the diffuse nature of globalisation, in which oppressions experienced as culturally specific can be understood as part of a wider system.

Collins' trilogy is set in an imaginary post-apocalyptic world, Panem, based on a North America whose geography has been altered by global warming. The trilogy focuses particularly on poverty and class systems. In spite of the fact it is set in the US, its fictional names and lack of precise location mean that it can resonate for a wide geographical audience, and could be applied to any context in which populations are controlled by a combination of poverty and violence. Panem's rigid social and economic structure, in which the entire nation is divided into districts, which are occupationally distinct and attract differential rewards, operates as a physical representation of a class system. The precise correlation between district, occupation and status, for example, has strong echoes of a tightly controlled caste system. It is suggestive of many countries, and indeed of the world as a whole, in which particular areas rely on restricted types of production and are unable to improve their material well-being, because of the wider economic system and the symbolic and actual violence that supports that system.

CREATING FICTIONS—TEACHERS AND INTENTIONALITY

This section considers how far creators of popular fictions might be considered teachers. The differences between an author, scriptwriter or director, and a teacher of adults, appear extensive. Teachers of adults are generally associated with institutions or organisations and are bound by their rules. They have specific learning outcomes to achieve, which are sometimes determined by others. They know their students and design teaching specifically for them. They intend to teach—to impart knowledge, change perspectives, develop skills or promote desired behaviours. Authors and directors do not necessarily have any direct organisational affiliation; they decide what stories they will tell; they do not know their audiences and readers, and do not usually define their work as teaching. Their intentions are not always clear, but include making a profit, creating art, entertaining and satisfying investors.

These differences diminish on inspection. Not all teachers experience tight institutional constraints; some have freedom to decide what and how they will teach. Directors, scriptwriters and authors are often constrained by the requirements of the studio, network or publisher. Not all teachers know their adult learners well—some teach via large distance learning programmes, and some writers and directors engage intensely with their readers and audiences through personal communications and social media. Most write for specific markets and may tailor their work to a certain demographic. Teachers prioritise learning not entertaining, but recognise the need to engage and often seek to amuse, or use methods drawn from the entertainment industry.

Whilst many creators of fictions do not define themselves as teachers, many deliberately present particular perspectives, challenge ideas and inform readers and audiences about issues and situations they believe to be important. Although they aim to tell engrossing stories and to entertain, and are impelled by commercial factors, some clearly wish to tell stories because they will have an educational impact. Not all creators of fictions are explicit about their intentions, but some certainly are. Statements from Kingsolver, Whedon and Collins suggest that they have educational goals.

In the Author's Own Words: Barbara Kingsolver

One of the Frequently Asked Questions listed on Kingsolver's website is 'Do you consider writing to be a form of activism? Do you think novelists have a duty to address political issues?' She replies:

I think of "activism" as a simple action meant to secure a specific result: for this purpose I go to school board meetings, I vote, I donate money, and occasionally fire off an op-ed piece. But that's not what I do for a living. ... Literature is one of the few kinds of writing in the world that does not tell you what to buy, want, see, be, or believe. It's more like conversation, raising new questions and inspiring you to answer them for yourself. (Kingsolver n.d.)

This reply suggests she sees the act of writing fiction as something that stimulates a kind of critical dialogue with the self. This has common ground with Paulo Freire's (1972) concept of 'problem posing education' in that she avoids depositing knowledge or perspectives but wants her readers to consider 'new' questions—ways of looking at the world they might not have considered before and ultimately to 'write the world' for themselves.

She goes on to explain her intentions more fully:

I hope also to be a fearless writer: examining the unexamined life, asking the unasked questions. In most of the world, people call that literature. For some reason, people in the U.S. are fond of putting me in a box labelled "political," which could mean anything: "this is about the world," or "this makes me uncomfortable." If it means "inclined to change people's minds," that seems ludicrous as a category because great literature will always do that. Fiction cultivates empathy for a theoretical stranger by putting you inside his head, allowing you to experience life from his point of view. It can broaden your view of gender, ethnicity, place and time, power and vulnerability, things that influence social interaction. What could be more political than that? (Kingsolver, n.d.)

Kingsolver demonstrates that she has reflected deeply on the capacity that fiction has to educate—and to do so in a critical manner. She specifically addresses concerns that educators (Boggan and Butterwick 2004; Etmanski et al. 2013) have considered integral to critical social education: learning to see the world from the perspective of those who are marginalised or oppressed. She also recognises that doing so can be uncomfortable. As hooks (1994: 3) asserts, 'To be changed by ideas was pure pleasure. But to learn ideas that ran counter to values and beliefs learned at home was to place oneself at risk, to enter the danger zone'.

In the Author's Own Words: Joss Whedon

Whedon is also vocal about his intentions as a writer and director, particularly with respect to challenging sexism (Jowett 2005) and exposing the machinations of global corporate capitalism (Wall and Zyrd 2002; Wilcox 2003; King 2014). In his acceptance speech at the *Equality Now Awards*, he gives a series of responses to the question he is repeatedly asked, 'Why do you write such strong women characters?' including: 'because equality is not a concept. It's not something we should be striving for. It's a necessity. Equality is like gravity, we need it to stand on this earth as men and women, and the misogyny that is in every culture is not a true part of the human condition' and ending with 'because you keep asking me that question' (Whedon 2006). Challenging this misogyny motivated Whedon and his co-writer Drew Goddard to develop the 2012 film, *The Cabin in the Woods*, to critique the increasing tendency in contemporary horror to revel in the torture and dismemberment of young women:

Drew and I are enormous horror fans but we both lamented the trend in torture porn and dumbing down with characters falling more and more into stereotypes. Take the ad campaign for a movie called *Captivity*, where the billboard showed basically kidnap, torture and execution, in that order. That encapsulated the way I felt horror movies were going: they were becoming this extremely nihilistic and misogynist exercise in just trying to upset you, as opposed to trying to scare you. (Wallis 2012)

His work has also attracted astute recognition of the challenges and limitations of making such critiques from within an industry that is governed by corporate goals, including profiting from the objectification of the female body. Spicer (2004), for example, identifies some of these contradictions in his early work. His cult status and the way he has embraced the media (joining in discussions on fan sites, running a twitter account, participating in a great many interviews) have given him a high profile, and in addition to receiving praise for his radical agenda, he has been strongly criticised by some challenging his claims to be feminist (Geek Feminism Wiki n.d.; Wonder Cow 2005).

The complexities and contradictions in Whedon's work appear to promote discourse amongst fans and the general public that could be construed as educational in tone and outcome. Cochran's (2012, para. 0.1) study of his fan sites concludes that 'through their activism, many enthusiasts of the Whedonverses extend the worlds of Whedon's stories by consciously constructing a sociopolitical, feminist identity'.

In the Author's Own Words: Suzanne Collins

Collins also demonstrates concern with political critique and developing political awareness. *The Hunger Games* is set in a dystopian future in which the controlling government (The Capitol) manages 12 districts with distinct economic functions and differing levels of poverty. The districts rebelled against The Capitol and were defeated. As a punishment for, and reminder of, the dire consequences of rebellion, The Capitol demands an annual tribute of one girl and one boy from each district to take part in a nationally broadcast survival game, The Hunger Games. One child wins each year, by killing all the others who do not die from accidents or starvation. Her heroine, Katniss, fights in The Games and wins, but also becomes a leading figure in a movement to overthrow The Capitol. In conversation with teachers about Katniss, Collins demonstrates that she understands how hard it is to develop a critical awareness of political issues without either a critical education or a critical media:

The interesting thing about Katniss is when the story begins, she doesn't have much political awareness ... It is not in the Capitol's interest that she know anything about politics. And there's only the one TV channel, which is completely controlled by the Capitol. And so she is struggling to put things together as she goes through the series, and it's quite difficult, because no one seems to think it's in their interest to educate her ... even though hers is an extreme case, I think all of

us have to work to figure out what's going on. It's hard to get the truth and then to put it in a larger perspective.

Hudson: You have to do the work.

Right. And sometimes you don't have the tools to do the work, because you can't verify what's being presented to you. You have to take it on trust, or you can disbelieve out of hand something that you're seeing on television or online. So you have to work very hard to, first of all, decide what you believe to be a true and a fair representation of something. And then to form an opinion about it, and then possibly to take action on it. It's confusing and it's hard. (Hudson n.d.)

Her comments about the intentions behind *The Hunger Games* suggest that popular fictions can undertake some of this educational work. She wanted to tell a compelling story when she wrote the books and co-wrote the screenplay for *The Hunger Games* trilogy, but she is explicit about the ideas it is meant to convey:

The sociopolitical overtones of *The Hunger Games* were very intentionally created to characterize current and past world events, including the use of hunger as a weapon to control populations. Tyrannical governments have also used the techniques of geographical containment of certain populations, as well as the nearly complete elimination of the rights of the individual. In the book, the annual Hunger Games themselves are a power tool used as a reminder of who is in charge and what will happen to citizens who don't capitulate. (Blasingame 2009)

In a later interview she explains that she tries to show how power can be sustained, so that even those in privileged positions find it difficult to resist. Talking about two characters who won earlier Hunger Games, she says:

They've been prostituted by the Capitol. If they try and resist in any manner, they're punished by people they love being killed or tormented in some way. So they've both developed these kind of personas which are their Capitol personas, which is all Katniss has ever seen of them. But of course underneath – they're sort of onion characters, and as you peel back the layers you find more and more about what they've experienced. (Grossman and Collins 2013)

This comment seems to offer a degree of hope—it suggests that however compromised or disempowered individuals may be they still retain some selfhood that does not conform to prevailing ideologies.

Authorship, Teamwork and Vision

In presenting writers and directors as teachers, I don't assume that they work alone and have sole creative control of their outputs. Gray and Johnson's (2013) edited collection explores the difficulties of attributing authorship in the

twenty-first century, particularly in the film and television industries. In these contexts people work with creative teams and are subject to the views and interventions of many. Novelists perhaps continue to be more individually associated with their creations, but even they have work amended by editors and publishing houses. Teachers too, however, work in curriculum teams, share resources, and work within frameworks determined by others. The concept of the 'auteur' is relevant. The term is generally applied to film, and to some extent television, directors. Discussants of auteur theory acknowledge that not all directors are auteurs, that films may be made in which the director's vision is minimal, or obscured by that of others, but assert that it is possible to identify, in certain directors, a recognisable controlling vision. Sarris (1999: 562) summarised: 'Over a group of films, a director must exhibit certain recurrent characteristics of style, which serve as his signature. The way a film looks and moves should have some relationship to the way a director thinks and feels.' It is generally acknowledged that there are directors who seek to manage the creative process so that sound, lighting, settings, script, acting, and camera work present a particular way of seeing the world.

Readers and Viewers

It is also important to acknowledge that intention is not the same as reception. What is taught is not always what is learned. The idea that the meaning of any work is mediated by its reception by readers was developed by literary theorists (Tompkins 1980) but has applications for film and media theorists more generally. Reader response and reader reception theorists have offered extensive explorations of the role of the reader in creating meaning. Rosenblatt (1938, 1978) helped to establish the basis for these discussions when she examined the idea that reading is a form of transaction between the reader and the text, and that meaning therefore changes depending on when, where and how something is read, rather than living in the text itself. Readers and viewers bring their existing knowledge and understandings to a text and interpret it in the light of these. Iser (1980) examined how readers actually complete texts, filling in gaps and imagining things that are not in the words on the page. Whilst theorists approach the role of the reader/viewer from different perspectives, they have collectively demonstrated that there is no meaning without the interpreter, and that the creator's intentions are not sacrosanct. In proposing, therefore, that some authors and directors be considered as teachers, partly because they intend to teach, I accept that the relationship between the author's intention and way it is understood by readers and viewers is not a simple or direct one. Whedon (2012) acknowledged that 'All worthy work is open to interpretations the author did not intend. Art isn't your pet—it's your kid. It grows up and talks back at you.'

The relationship is not simple either, though, when considering more conventional teaching. The message received by students is not always that which is intended by the teacher. The significant difference is that the teacher can use

formal and informal assessment to check this and to instigate an iterative process which will bring the two closer together. That is rare in the case of authors and directors, although there is some scope for discussion with audiences and viewers through various fora. Most theorists, however, accept that there is *some* relationship between creators' intentions and the way their art is understood. Booth (1983) suggested that writers have an ideal reader in mind, and Fish (1982) explored the idea that there are interpretive communities, groups who share certain cultural norms and expectations, and are therefore likely to understand the semiotics of a particular piece in similar ways. Hall (1980) suggested that any text will have some kind of preferred or dominant meaning; in general, it is possible to identify how many might interpret particular cultural products, such as television programmes or films. So, although the final meaning of a text is part of a transactional process, it is reasonable to assume that the multiple strategies that writers and directors use to convey the ideas and challenges they want to offer to audiences are not received in an entirely random way. It is possible to analyse creative outputs and consider how they might be interpreted by many—how and what they might teach.

Critical Analysis as Curriculum Analysis

This chapter asserts the importance of encouraging the critical analysis of popular fictions as part of adult education scholarship. The previous section established that some creators of popular fictions position themselves as teachers and their work as educational. In this section, I discuss how the fictions themselves become curriculum: the vehicle for the teaching. In order to understand how these curricula work, researchers need the tools provided by literary, film and media criticism. Using these, they can demonstrate how the creators of fiction do their teaching—stimulate critical thought, convey perspectives that might challenge assumptions and preconceived ways of viewing the world, encourage, as Kingsolver and Collins suggest, the development of more sophisticated world views. There will always be the need for new analyses from an educational perspective, as popular fictions are often transient and profoundly intertextual—constantly being remade through reference to each other and to previous incarnations of ideas. They are a form of conversation, in which readers and audiences share with varying degrees of consciousness. I want to elaborate on this claim by referring to examples from Kingsolver's, Whedon's and Collins work.

Kingsolver's Curriculum in the Poisonwood Bible

Kingsolver's novels explore oppressions and injustice. She examines colonialism, patriarchy, family relationships and religion (Koza 2003; Riley et al. 2005). She also teaches about dis/ability in *The Poisonwood Bible* (Kingsolver 2000), and this is the example I use here to illustrate her approach. The novel outlines the experience of a missionary family in the Belgian Congo in 1959.

Daughter Adah, brain damaged at birth, reads backwards as well as forwards, is an elective mute, and has a body that drags on one side. She takes her lop-sided body as a metaphor for her whole self, saying that she sees and tells the world ‘slant’ (p. 46)—a term she adopts from the poet Emily Dickinson, to describe her distinctive view of the world. Kingsolver’s teaching techniques include the use of the first person (the reader sees the world through Adah’s eyes); Adah’s employment of a poetic and resonant language that makes the reader think, and the repeated presentation of oppositions between the Western perspective of disability evidenced by Adah’s family and the attitudes of the Congolese villagers (White 2009). Kingsolver establishes oppositions which show how in the Congo, where, as ‘bodily damage is more or less considered to be a by-product of living, not a disgrace’, she enjoys ‘a benign approval’ (p. 84) unlike the pity or contempt she experienced in the USA. In this way Kingsolver’s curriculum points the reader towards a social model of disability—the assumption that disability results from the way that society responds to different abilities—rather than a medical model—disability presented as something that needs to be cured or pitied (Davis 2013).

Kingsolver’s teaching is facilitated through the development of empathy with Adah. Adah’s poetic descriptions, and her capacity for producing phrases that can be read backwards, often in ways that challenge the forward reading, bring readers to see her as unique and insightful and to value her perspective on the world. She describes her preacher father:

The Reverend towered over the rickety altar, his fiery crew cut bristling like a woodpecker’s cockade. When the Spirit passed through him he groaned, throwing body and soul into the weekly purge. The ‘Amen enema’ as I call it. My palindrome for the Reverend. (p. 80)

Adah’s perceptive description captures his vanity and self-importance in the comparison with woodpecker’s cockade. The reference to purging resonates with his approach to missionary work. He tries to purge Congolese society of all its traditions and beliefs, unlike other missionaries in the novel, who operate with more respect and understanding.

By repeatedly enabling the reader to feel s/he is inside Adah’s head, responding as she would to situations over an extended period of time, viewing characters, customs, incidents from her unique perspective, Kingsolver makes us part of her world, and so offers a deep learning experience. I came to the novel as an able-bodied person who already subscribed intellectually to the concepts underpinning the social model of disability. I found, however, that experiencing the deep sense of loss Adah felt when medical intervention removed her disability—when, in effect the medical model triumphed and she was ‘cured’—helped me to understand this at a deeper and more experiential level than my previous academic reading had done. Kingsolver admits us to the complexities of Adah’s response:

I am still Adah but you would hardly know me now, without my slant. I walk without any noticeable limp. Oddly enough, it has taken me years to accept my new position. I find I no longer have *Ada*, the mystery of coming and going. Along with my split body drag I lost my ability to read in the old way. When I open a book the words sort themselves into narrow-minded single file on the page; the mirror image poems erase themselves half formed in my mind. I miss those poems. (p. 558)

Kingsolver has been criticised for idealising Congolese society by ignoring oppressive approaches to disability in Africa (Fox 2004), for using disability as a metaphor for her father's narrow-mindedness (White 2009) and for allowing Adah to be 'cured' of her disability. Indeed, Kingsolver does not present a perfectly decolonialised account of disability in which she overcomes her own liberal, white, able-bodied perspective. The liberal curriculum about disability she delivers, however, is deliberately challenging, critical and thought-provoking. Kingsolver (1993) states 'I believe the creation of empathy is a political act. The ability to understand and really feel for people who are different from ourselves—that's a world changing event'. A more systematic analysis of her treatment of Adah, looking at matters such as Kingsolver's use of metaphor, poetic language and palindrome and the way the sections written from Adah's perspective sit alongside those from the perspectives of other characters, would show in more detail how this particular piece of adult curriculum operates to encourage readers to question stereotypes and assumptions about disability.

Whedon's Curriculum in the Cabin the Woods

Whedon places a very distinctive creative stamp on his projects. Lavery (2014: 117–203) discusses this as auteurship when he offers 20 examples of Whedonian 'signatures'; topics Whedon consistently explores (atheism, family, female empowerment, losers, redemption), the attitudes, values and beliefs he conveys about these topics, and the techniques (dream sequences, humour, genre-hybridity, cross-cutting) that embody his ideas and challenge audiences. These constitute, in effect, Whedon's curriculum. In addition to the subjects identified by Lavery, I would add that Whedon regularly offers a complex and oblique look at global capitalism, and champions the empowerment of youth versus authority. The brief discussion below suggests how in the film *The Cabin in the Woods*, Whedon and his co-director and writer Drew Goddard, use some of Whedon's characteristic techniques to challenge audiences to think about the exploitative nature of the horror film industry, and to question some of the central narrative expectations of our culture, by demonstrating that they reinforce the exploitation of youth.

The film takes the standard horror trope in which young people, conforming to particular horror genre stereotypes (athlete, whore, scholar, virgin, fool), stay in a remote location and are horribly murdered (in this instance by a set of

red-neck zombies). It soon becomes apparent that the situation is manufactured; they are under surveillance; their interactions and murders are manipulated via sophisticated technologies, and their stereotypical behaviour is exaggerated by the infusion of mind-altering chemicals into the cabin. These also induce foolish behaviour, characteristic of the horror movie, such as deciding to split up, or go alone into the basement. The movie develops as a metaphor for the kind of exploitation of suffering that Whedon has so publicly critiqued. The murders are staged by a global organisation, which sets up and monitors the annual sacrifice of young people across the world through these horror rituals, in order to appease ancient gods whose anger would otherwise create an apocalypse. This powerful metaphor conveys the damaging and exploitative nature of the public's need to have its appetite appeased through a constant diet of sensationalism that can never be satisfied.

Characteristically, Whedon devises the film so that the audience has to recognise its own part in this exploitation. By creating a film in which all the elements of anticipation, creepy settings, black humour, suspense, shock and gore that characterise bad as well as good movies are present, he ensures that the audience enjoys the kind of horror that the film critiques. The viewers *are* the gods in the abyss who must be appeased—demanding the bloody sacrifice of young lives in film after film. The conceit that the young people are in an entirely controlled environment is revealed gradually, so that the audience becomes more aware and self-conscious as the film progresses. This approach has something in common with the Brechtian technique of ‘*verfremdung*’ or distancing: it relies on making the audience aware that it is watching a construction in order to encourage intellectual engagement. Whedon moves between encouraging maximum emotional engagement (the fear we feel for and with the characters, especially the two central survivors) and drawing attention to the constructed nature of their realities. That the film succeeded in both drawing audiences in, and challenging them intellectually, can be seen from looking at comments on YouTube, or on review sites like *Rotten Tomatoes*, where it is possible to see viewers in various stages of reflection and debate about the movie.

The film ends with a significant example of narrative subversion. Two of the young people escaped the woods, invaded the organisation's headquarters, and managed to destroy much of it. Its director enters as they stand over an abyss in which the ancient gods reside. She explains that if they do not sacrifice themselves by leaping into the pit the entire world will be destroyed. At this point, the normal narrative arc would conclude with a noble sacrifice (or some kind of miraculous escape for everyone). The expectation is that the young will give their lives, as they have in numerous conflicts, to save the civilisation that bore them—or in terms of this specific metaphor—the young will continue to be tortured and abused on film to placate the rapacious appetites of the monstrous audience, thereby securing the financial future and commercial success of the film industry and all those who depend on it. Rather than making that ultimate sacrifice for the greater good, however, the teenagers decide that the world is so

sick and exploitative, they would rather risk its destruction, and the world begins to crumble around them. It is hard to resist the power of mythical narratives like this one of sacrifice—particularly the sacrifice of youth and beauty which is the basis of so many religious and secular myths. By subverting this, Whedon and Goddard challenge our assumptions about the inevitability of such relationships, about the irresistibility of the profit motive that drives the film industry and leads it towards exploitative productions, and they plant seeds of what Brookfield (1987) calls ‘imagining and exploring alternatives’.

Whilst Whedon draws attention to the way we are manipulated by showing the audience that the characters’ lives are a fictional construction, Collins’ science fiction trilogy draws our attention to the way our lives, beliefs and feelings are manipulated, not by reminding us that we are watching a story, but by suspending our disbelief and immersing us intensely in an alternative future. We believe the world of *The Hunger Games*.

Collins’ Curriculum in the Hunger Games

The teaching aims and content of the trilogy are clearly outlined by Collins in the interviews cited above.

The trilogy is itself an extended metaphor and the power of that metaphor is generated through the skill with which Collins creates and immerses us in this alternate world and enables us to share the perspective of the central protagonist, Katniss, so that we gradually learn with her about the complexities and moral uncertainties associated with her political and social environment. The teaching is, therefore, profoundly experiential rather than didactic. This leads to a deep understanding, at a personal and emotional level, of the way that oppressive political systems can work and interface with human experience. The novels are written in the first person, and the films are relatively faithful to this, showing us things primarily (though not exclusively) from Katniss’s perspective. The way Katniss is positioned from the inception of the story encourages readers and viewers to empathise with her. The film cuts from the glamour of The Capitol and the sound of laughter and cheering as the organiser of The Games is interviewed, to an image of a shack and the sound of a terrified scream. It is the scream of her little sister, Prim, having nightmares about her first inclusion in the lottery for selection for the games. The audience sees Katniss comfort her, observes repeated images of the district’s poverty, characterised by greyness, hunger and dilapidation, and watches Katniss risking punishment by hunting outside the district boundaries for food for her mother and sister. This has the potential to induce concern for her future, and respect for her courage, in readers and viewers. They begin this story as she does, desperately concerned about survival. This engagement and concern is reinforced when Katniss volunteers to replace Prim, who is selected as a tribute.

The viewer/reader learns how Katniss is encouraged to consider the other tributes as enemies and competitors, rather than fellow victims. Districts are pitted against each other through The Games, rather than against The Capitol,

illustrating the techniques used by powerful groups to retain power and resources by pitting those they are exploiting against each other. Katniss's immediate enemies, the other children who are trying to kill her, become the reader's/viewer's enemies too, because the reader/viewer wants her to survive. The role of the media in sustaining this competition between the oppressed is portrayed in great detail. For example, when Katniss tries to keep out of danger, the Game Makers set a forest fire driving her straight into the path of some of the most dangerous of vicious tributes from other districts. They establish her as the heroine with the odds against her, to create audience sympathy. They also seek 'human interest' elements, focusing on her relationship with fellow tribute Peta, calling them doomed lovers, and on her protective relationship with one of the youngest tributes, Rue. The intensity with which the reader/viewer experiences her struggle for survival and the establishment of the others as enemies, makes sharing Katniss's growing understanding of the political complexities of the situation all the more powerful. It is a genuine process of learning alongside the character. Critical moments occur when she allies herself with Rue, and when finally she and Peta refuse to fight to the death, thereby threatening to ruin The Games. She learns to resist, but then learns that although these acts of rebellion may mark her as potentially dangerous they are readily appropriated by The Capitol, which uses these to intensify the drama of The Games and create the Katniss and Peta they can use as media icons. Collins goes on to take us through two more books (and three more films), in which Katniss learns more about the ways in which The Capitol keeps its power (the violence inflicted on her district if she does not comply, its brilliant manipulation of the media), about resistance, and about moral ambiguity in a complex context such as this (the rebels are also controlling and oppressive).

As stand-alone curriculum, *The Hunger Games* books and films do not have the advantage that a classroom teacher has, who can draw attention to, or ask students to reflect on complex social issues. What they do offer, which is much harder to replicate in a classroom, is the opportunity to go through a vicarious process of awakening to the subtleties of political oppression, the moral complexities of resistance, and to experience the courage and risk associated with trying to behave morally in the service of the common good. It is narrative that does this and so a proper analysis of the educative power of *The Hunger Games* would need to focus on how narrative techniques, such as the deployment of complex and interweaving metaphors, point of view, inter-textuality (the referencing of reality TV shows; the use of fascist/Stalinist architectural styles to characterise The Capitol), and the role of music and camera work in the films, function to produce that educative experience.

CONCLUSION

Popular fictions are examples of informal adult education. In order to understand how they function, it can be helpful to think of their creators as teachers and the fictions themselves as curriculum. Whilst there is excellent work on

public pedagogy that establishes theoretical frameworks for considering the role of popular fictions, scholars also need to keep discussing and analysing the popular texts themselves, in order to understand and demonstrate the constantly evolving nature of this element of the adult education curriculum, and see what kinds of learning are being offered to adults locally and globally through the fictions that engage them. To do this, they need to employ techniques drawn from literary, media and film studies, recognising that education is a multi-disciplinary field whose methodologies and theoretical frameworks are not located solely in the social sciences. Such analyses, which will be considerably more detailed than the short illustrations offered here, can demonstrate that this curriculum is sophisticated and complex. It can be part of a global hegemonic project, as Giroux and others have demonstrated, whilst simultaneously offering challenges that have the potential to stimulate critical reflection, overturn expectations and re-present social and political conditions within imaginary frameworks that make us consider them anew. In the discussion above I have only touched on some of these narrative techniques for illustrative purposes; my argument is that educational research would benefit from much more work that follows through these detailed processes.

REFERENCES

- Blasingame, J. (2009). An interview with Suzanne Collins. *Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy*, 52(8), 726–727.
- Boggan, A., & Butterwick, S. (2004). Poverty, policy and research: Toward a dialogic investigation. In C. Ibanez & E. Miners (Eds.), *Public acts: Disruptive readings on making curriculum public*. New York: Routledge Falmer.
- Booth, C. (1983). *The rhetoric of fiction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Box Office Mojo n.d., *Marvel's The Avengers*, Retrieved February 21, 2015, from <http://boxofficemojo.com/movies/?id=avengers11.htm>.
- Brookfield, S. (1987). *Developing critical thinkers*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Brown, T. (2011). Using film in teaching and learning about changing societies. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 30(2), 233–247.
- Clover, D., & Stalker, J. (Eds.). (2007). *The arts and social justice*. Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE).
- Cochran, T. (2012). Past the brink of tacit support: fan activism and the Whedonverses. *Transformative Works and Cultures*, 10. Retrieved August 10, 2015, from <http://journal.transformativeworks.com/index.php/twc/article/view/331/295>.
- Collins, S. (2010). *The Hunger Games trilogy*. New York: Scholastic Press.
- Davis, L. (Ed.). (2013). *The disability studies reader*. New York: Routledge.
- Ellsworth, E. (2005). *Places of learning*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Etmanski, C., Weiger, W., & Wong-Sneddon, G. (2013). Weaving tales of challenge: Exploring diversity through narrative metissage. In D. Clover & K. Sanford (Eds.), *Lifelong learning, the arts and community cultural engagement in the contemporary university*. Manchester: University of Manchester Press.
- Every Reference in *Cabin in the Woods*—Good Bad Flicks. (n.d.). (video file). Retrieved August 10, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yGz2xdQa1ho>.
- Fish, S. (1982). *Is there a text in this class?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Fox, S. (2004). Barbara Kingsolver and Keri Hulme: Disability, family, and culture. *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, 45(4), 405–420.
- Freire, P. (1972). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Garriott, D., Jones, W., & Tyler, J. (Eds.). (2014). *Space and place in the hunger games*. Jefferson: McFarland.
- Geek Feminism Wiki. (n.d.). *Joss Whedon* (wiki article). Retrieved August 24, 2015, from http://geekfeminism.wikia.com/wiki/Joss_Whedon .
- Giroux, H. (2004). Cultural studies, public pedagogy and the responsibility of intellectuals. *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 1(1), 57–79.
- Glover, D., & McCracken, S. (Eds.). (2012). *The Cambridge companion to popular fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gouthro, P. & Holloway S. (2013). Reclaiming the radical: Using fiction to explore adult learning connected to citizenship. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 45(1), 41–56.
- Gray, J., & Johnson, D. (Eds.). (2013). *A companion to media authorship*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Grossman, L. & Collins, S. (2013). Katniss is “a wreck”: A conversation with Suzanne Collins and Francis Lawrence. *Time*. Retrieved August 1, 2015, from <http://entertainment.time.com/2013/11/18/catching-up-with-catching-fire-a-conversation-with-suzanne-collins-and-francis-lawrence/> (interview 2).
- Hall, S. (1980). Encoding/decoding. In S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, & P. Willis (Eds.), *Culture, media, language*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Hayes, E. & Gee, J. (2010). Public pedagogy through video games: Design, resources and affinity spaces. In J. Sandlin, B. Schultz, & J. Burdick (Eds.), *Handbook of public pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.
- Hoggan, C., & Cranton, P. (2014). Promoting transformative learning through reading fiction. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 13(1), 6–25.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to transgress: Education as the practice of freedom*. London: Routledge.
- Hudson, H. (n.d.). Scholastic question and answer with *Hunger Games* author Suzanne Collins. *Teachers*. Retrieved August 10, 2015, from <http://www.scholastic.com/teachers/article/qa-hunger-games-author-suzanne-collins> .
- Iser, W. (1980). *The act of reading: A theory of aesthetic response*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Jarvis, C. (2005). Real stakeholder education?: Lifelong learning in the Buffyverse. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 37(1), 31–46.
- Jarvis, C., & Burr, V. (2011). The transformative potential of popular television: The case of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. *Journal of Transformative Education*, 9, 165–182.
- Jowett, L. (2005). *Sex and the slayer*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan.
- Jubas, K. (2005). A fine balance in truth and fiction: Exploring globalization’s impacts on community and implications for adult learning in Rohinton Mistry’s novel and related literature. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 24(1), 53–69.
- Jubas, K. (2010). *The politics of shopping: What consumers learn about Identity, globalization, and social change*. International Institute for Qualitative Methodology series. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Jubas, K., Johnston, D. & Chiang, A. (2013). Living and learning across stages and places: How transitions inform audience members’ understandings of pop culture and health care. *Canadian Journal for the Study of Adult Education*, 26 (1), 57–75. Retrieved August 26, 2015, from <http://journals.msvu.ca/index.php/cjsae/issue/view/245>.

- King, D. (2014). We're lost, we are not gone: Critical dystopia, and the politics of radical hope. In S. Ginn, A. Buckman, & H. Porter (Eds.), *Joss Whedon's Dollhouse*. Plymouth: Rowan and Littlefield.
- Kingsolver, B. (1993). In her own words: Quotations from Barbara Kingsolver. Retrieved August 21, 2015, from https://www.ket.org/bookclub/books/2001_may/ownwords.htm.
- Kingsolver, B. (2000). *The Poisonwood Bible*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Kingsolver, B. (n.d.). *About Writing*. Retrieved May 1, 2015, from <http://www.kingsolver.com/faq/about-writing.html>.
- Koza, K. (2003). The Africa of two western women writers: Barbara Kingsolver and Margaret Lawrence. *Critique: Studies in Contemporary Fiction*, 44(3), 284–294.
- Kridel, C. (2010). Places of memorialisation—Forms of public pedagogy: the museum of education at the University of South Carolina. In J. Sandlin, B. Schultz, & J. Burdick (Eds.), *Handbook of public pedagogy*. London: Routledge.
- Lavery, D. (2014). *Joss Whedon: A creative portrait*. New York: I.B. Taurus.
- Reid, A. (2010). Social media, public pedagogy and the end of private learning. In J. Sandlin, B. Schultz, & J. Burdick (Eds.), *Handbook of public pedagogy*. London: Routledge.
- Riley, J., Torrens, K., & Krumholz, S. (2005). Contemporary feminist writers: Envisioning a just world. *Contemporary Justice Review*, 8(1), 91–106.
- Rosenblatt, L. (1938). *Literature as exploration*. New York: Appleton-Century.
- Rosenblatt, L. (1978). *The reader, the text, the poem: The transactional theory of the literary work*. Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Rotten Tomatoes. (n.d.). *The Cabin in the Woods*, Available from http://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/the_cabin_in_the_woods.
- Sandlin, J., & Milam, J. (2008). Mixing pop [culture] and politics: cultural resistance, culture jamming, and anti-consumption activism as critical public pedagogy. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 38(3), 323–350.
- Sandlin, J., Schultz, B., & Burdick, J. (Eds.). (2010). *Handbook of public pedagogy*. London: Routledge.
- Sandlin, J., O'Malley, M., & Burdick, J. (2011). Mapping the complexity of public pedagogy scholarship: 1894–2010. *Review of Educational Research*, 81(3), 338–375.
- Sarris, A. (1999). Notes on auteur theory in 1962. In L. Braudy & M. Cohen (Eds.), *Film theory and criticism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Savage, G. (2010). 'Problematizing 'public pedagogy' in educational research' in *Handbook of public pedagogy*. In J. Sandlin, B. Schultz, & J. Burdick (Eds.), *Handbook of public pedagogy*. London: Routledge.
- Spicer, A. (2004) "It's bloody brilliant!": The undermining of metanarrative feminism in the season seven arc narrative of *Buff*, *Slayage*, 4(3). Retrieved June 20, 2015, from <http://www.whedonstudies.tv/uploads/2/6/2/8/26288593/spicer2.pdf>.
- Taylor, E., & Neill, A. (2008). Museum education: A nonformal adult education perspective. *The Journal of Museum Education*, 33(1), 23–32.
- Tisdell, E., & Thompson, P. (2007). Seeing from a different angle: The role of pop culture in teaching for diversity and critical media literacy in adult education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(6), 651–673.
- Tompkins, J. (1980). *Reader response criticism: From formalism to post-structuralism*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Topping, K. (2015). *What kids are reading: the book reading habits of students in British schools*. Wisconsin: Renaissance Learning.

- Verner Chappell, S. (2010). Young people talk back: Community arts as a public pedagogy of social justice. In J. Sandlin, B. Schultz, & J. Burdick (Eds.), *Handbook of public pedagogy*. London: Routledge.
- Wall, B., & Zyrd, M. (2002). Vampire dialectics: Knowledge, institutions, and labour. In R. Kaveney (Ed.), *Reading the Vampire Slayer*. London: Tauris Parke.
- Wallis, O. (2012). GQ&A: Joss Whedon. *GQ*. Retrieved March 27, 2012, from <http://www.gq-magazine.co.uk/entertainment/articles/2012-03/27/joss-whedon-interview-cabin-in-the-woods-avengers-assemble>.
- Whedon, J. (2006). *On the road to equality* (video file). Retrieved August 24, 2015, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cYaczoJMRhs>.
- Whedon, J. (2012). *IAMA Joss Whedon*. Retrieved August 24, 2015, from https://www.reddit.com/r/IAMA/comments/s2uh1/i_am_joss_whedon_ama/c4ao0m1.
- White, J. (2009). The one-eyed preacher, his crooked daughter and villagers waving their stumps: Barbara Kingsolver's use of disability in *The Poisonwood Bible*. *South Central Review*, 26(3), 131–144.
- Wilcox, R. (2003). "Show me your world": Exiting the text and the globalization of *Buffy*. Keynote address given at *Staking a Claim: Exploring the Global Reach of Buffy: An International Symposium*, University of South Australia, Adelaide.
- Wonder Cow. (2005). 'Joss Whedon is a misogynist homophobe', 25 May 2005. *Wondercow, Inc: Blog*. Retrieved August 24, 2015, from <http://wondercow.blogspot.co.uk/2005/05/joss-whedon-is-misogynist-homophobe.html>.
- Wright, R. (2010). 'Unmasking hegemony in *The Avengers*: Television entertainment as public pedagogy' in *Handbook of public pedagogy*. In J. Sandlin, B. Schultz, & J. Burdick (Eds.), *Handbook of public pedagogy*. London: Routledge.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Christine Jarvis is Pro Vice-Chancellor for Teaching and Learning at the University of Huddersfield, United Kingdom. She is a member of the UK Education and Training Foundation's Expert Panel on Teacher Education and Co-editor of *Studies in the Education of Adults* (Taylor & Francis). She recently completed a chapter on young adult fiction for *Popular Culture as Pedagogy; Research in Adult Education*, edited by K. Jubas, N. Taylor and T. Brown (Sense, 2015), and is working (with Patricia Gouthro) on narrative fictions and professional education.

Creativity, the Arts, and Transformative Learning

Patricia Gouthro

Abstract The arts provide educators and researchers with opportunities to work with adult learners to support creative and transformative learning opportunities. This chapter examines how the arts may foster creativity and help adult learners develop the capacities to live and work in contexts characterized by fluidity, uncertainty, and change. It challenges a neoliberal perspective that reduces the notion of creativity to the more technical-rational definition of innovation for the purposes of profit. Drawing upon critical Habermasian and transformative learning theory, it explores how these frameworks help us to understand the need to broaden our perspectives on teaching adults to promote creativity. This chapter examines various examples of how the arts, including fiction writing, may be used to develop creativity in adult education and lifelong learning contexts.

Change is the catchword of the twenty-first century. For those of us interested in teaching and in researching the teaching of adults, we must engage with the ways in which learners are being prepared to address ongoing changes in the community, the workplace, and the ‘homeplace’. To do this, we need to critically assess factors that affect our teaching and learning environments through the effects of globalisation, rapidly evolving technologies, and shifting political, social, and cultural contexts. We also need to research teaching and learning experiences that might best prepare learners to deal with ongoing change whilst still retaining focus on the social purpose tradition that has historically grounded the field of adult education.

P. Gouthro (✉)
Faculty of Education, Mount Saint Vincent University, 166 Bedford Highway,
Halifax, NS B3M 2J6, Canada
e-mail: patricia.gouthro@msvu.ca

In this chapter, I look at how using the arts to foster creativity in adult learning contexts may be an effective strategy to help learners develop the capacities that they will need to live and work in contexts characterised by fluidity, uncertainty, and change. I begin the chapter with an overview of some of the challenges and opportunities afforded by the rapid changes shaping current social and learning contexts that impact upon adult learners. Drawing upon literature on critical Habermasian and transformative learning theory, I explore how these frameworks may help us to understand the need to broaden our perspectives on teaching adults to promote creativity. To address the importance of creative learning in connection to the arts I then bring in examples from the literature, including some points from my own collaborative research projects that look at lifelong learning and fiction writing. The chapter concludes by considering the need for researchers and educators working with adults to challenge a neoliberal perspective by using the arts to teach critically and creatively.

LEARNING IN A TIME OF CHANGE

In the last century there have been exponential changes in the evolution of new technologies as well as massive shifts in migration across the globe. As Olkinuora et al. (2008) point out, rapid advances in technology and societal changes linked to globalisation are transforming the context in which our students are working, learning, and living. At the same time as opportunities expand for intercultural experiences and travel as well as knowledge exchange via social media and Web 2.0 technologies, new fears about global threats such as climate change, terrorism, and pandemics have arisen. Understanding the world in which adult learners must be prepared to engage with has become an increasingly complicated task, one that requires creative teaching approaches that can help learners to address these new realities.

In a 'risk society', Beck (1992) argues that there are multiple challenges posed by the effects of globalisation and rapidly evolving work, social, and political contexts. The increased speed and ease of international communications has altered academic workplaces dramatically (Rostan and Ceravolo 2015). New technologies provide researchers and educators with often instantaneous access to international scholarship and possibilities for transnational partnerships in research, development work, and teaching. At the same time there is increased diversity in academic populations linked to scholarly migration. A plethora of opportunities for information exchange and global education creates circumstances that are often unwieldy to manage.

It would seem that within this fluid and swiftly transitioning context, the demand for lifelong learning to cope with these challenges would be great and learning that fosters creativity would be valued. As critical educators have long argued, learning throughout adulthood needs to provide opportunities for ongoing growth and transformation (Mezirow 2000; Cranton 2006).

Yet in many ways the changes wrought by the global downturn in the economy has served as a rationale to undermine radical approaches to lifelong learning as well as the importance of learning connected with the liberal arts. In the twentieth century Anglophone context, education related to arts and literature, reflective of the liberal arts tradition and the influence of cultural studies theorists such as Raymond Williams (1983; c.1958) and Richard Hoggart (2004) were a valued component in adult and higher education contexts.

In neoliberal times, however, the uncertainty generated by economic and social instability are countered by an impetus to firmly regulate and control learning spaces, and to manage and oversee research projects in ways that squeeze out creativity and critique. Radical scholarship pertaining to adult education and lifelong learning is facing a time of crisis as university programs are shut down, faculty are made redundant, and transformative possibilities for adult learning are curbed.

Current discourses around creativity and learning often focus on ‘innovation’, which, as Hillier and Figgis (2011) note, ‘is a significant feature of recent international and national government policies’ (p. 253). In a neoliberal context, the concept of ‘innovation’ becomes narrowly redefined as developments that can meet economic goals for growth and development. Policies pertaining to innovation often highlight OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation & Development) objectives that support education to compete better in the global marketplace (Metcalfé and Fenwick 2009; Grace 2013.). As Harman (2010) points out, innovation in higher education often utilises creativity to convert ‘research outputs into objects of commercial value’ so ‘knowledge transfer thus equates with the broader view of research commercialisation’ (p. 70). Educational innovations are only valued when there is a readily observable link to economic profit. This perspective creates an educational quandary in that social, cultural and ethical dimensions are neutralised unless it can be proven that consideration of these factors will enhance the development of a competitive edge within the marketplace. Innovative and creative approaches to teaching and research around adult learning are deemed worthy only in as much as they may lead to an economic advantage.

To understand the subtle and pervasive ways in which neoliberalism shapes the agenda for adult learning contexts, whether in higher education, government, or community-based contexts, it is useful for new researchers to invest time in exploring critical theoretical analyses, even though these texts may initially appear somewhat daunting to read and comprehend. Yet good empirical research is grounded in a sound understanding of theories that are able to illuminate broader historical and cultural frameworks of knowledge as well as take up valuable questions regarding freedom, emancipation, and morality. The most important lesson for any new researcher or teacher of adults to learn is that education, regardless of how it is presented, is never a completely neutral enterprise. By choosing to teach or conduct research on the teaching of adults, whether in a formal adult education program or in a related area where one is involved in instructing learners or doing research on adult learning

processes (such as in healthcare, teacher education, professional studies, or community development), a person is entering into a politicised arena. To do the best job possible then, one has a responsibility to understand the context in which the teaching and research on the education of adults occurs.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

One critical theorist, whose work continues to inform research on adult education, is the German philosopher, Jürgen Habermas. In his earlier work, Habermas (1987) differentiates three key levels of knowledge constitutive interests: technical-rational (a means/end approach), practical/humanistic, and critical/communicative. In the current neoliberal context for learning, creative frameworks for adult learning that might draw upon practical/humanistic or critical/communicative approaches are frequently shunted aside in favour of technical-rational approaches. Neoliberal values that emphasise individualism, competition, and market-driven agendas mean that increasingly, research must be ‘applied’ or ‘targeted’, educational programs are expected to set out pre-determined ‘outcomes’, and lifelong learning is narrowly constructed as developing skills to compete in the paid workplace. Technical-rational approaches to creativity emphasise innovation leading to market-oriented goals rather than following a broader humanistic or emancipatory agenda or attending to creativity in connection to an appreciation for aesthetics, cultural expression, or social participation.

Habermas (1981) argues that a communicative theory of action ‘is critical of the reality of developed societies in so much as they do not make full use of the learning potential culturally available to them, but deliver themselves over to an uncontrolled growth of complexity’ (p. 375). Mired in concerns regarding divergent opportunities for learning afforded by the rapid growth in technologies and the cross-pollination of ideas and beliefs that arise in an increasingly multicultural and diverse society, educational policymakers often attempt to manage complexity through a process of convergence that relies upon ongoing surveillance and assessments which stifle true innovation and creativity. Despite claims that seem to support divergence by acknowledging the importance of diversity and difference, the actual practices of ‘policy internationalisation’ frequently invoke uniform objectives in keeping with neoliberal values. Erkkiä (2014) notes global ranking systems in higher education foster ‘a political imaginary of competition’ that advance ‘ideas involving privatisation, accountability, (financial) autonomy, and excellence initiatives’ (p. 93). Therefore, the purpose of innovation is ultimately centred on obtaining economic advantages, for both the individual and the broader society. When a technical-rational perspective dominates policies and programs impacting on adult and higher education, creativity is valued in connection to learning only when it is believed that it will generate financial profit. Under the guise of accountability, this requires a way to ‘measure’ and ‘assess’ learning to demonstrate that desired outcomes will be attained.

Of course, answers to complicated questions such as who determines what is creativity? How do you accurately measure creativity? Or how do you assess the amount of profit connected to creativity (or innovation), are not easily rendered down into numerical scores, but within a technical-rational context, that is exactly what transpires. Quantitative assessments require the use of ‘indicators’ to develop statistical analyses. So, for example, giving a standardised test to assess creativity by ranking responses to preset questions will provide numerical outcomes (i.e. 87% of the population ranks at the 50th percentile in demonstrating creativity). The test may be skewed to reflect a narrow conceptualisation of ‘creativity’, the scores may not be an accurate reflection of capabilities, but because there are statistical outcomes, within a technical-rational framework this type of assessment may be valued.

For many adult educators, teaching and learning environments and assessment practices are impacted by the extent to which the institutions that we work within ‘buy in’ to technical-rational belief systems promulgated by neoliberal values oriented towards the competitive global marketplace. Critical educators flag concerns raised by this trend towards convergence, whereby King (2010) notes that ‘policy internationalisation describes the increased worldwide convergence of policy approaches by national governments in many sectors’ (p. 589). This type of educational overseeing is present not only in universities but also in government funded adult education, community development, healthcare, language, and literacy types of programs. An audit culture is heavily promoted by organisations such as the OECD (2015) who lament the waste of education that occurs without being carefully measured, as though the only important learning that happens has to be in controlled circumstances where predetermined outcomes can be quantitatively and competitively assessed.

Historically, adult educators and university faculty have been entrusted with the responsibility of developing teaching strategies to ensure that students obtain higher thinking capabilities and learn their particular disciplinary or subject matter. Adult education has a strong social purpose tradition, with an emphasis on learning to foster citizenship and develop a better quality of life for learners, not just employability skills.

Critical theorists such as Habermas point out that there are important ways to understand learning by looking at humanistic and critical approaches to learning that involve our rich human capacity for communication. Scholars in adult education exchange knowledge and ideas with one another and with students in their programs who are also often working as educators in various fields (such as literacy educators, English as Additional Language instructor, trainers in police or military academies, instructors in colleges, the private sector, or further education institutions, professionals in health care, corporate, or government sectors). These conversations create abundant opportunities for learning through dialogue in connection to the *lifeworld*—a phenomenological concept that alludes to our everyday world of shared experience and understanding. Habermas (1987) explains that to understand the idea of *knowledge* within human communication, when we come ‘from a perspective turned

toward the situation, the lifeworld appears as a reservoir of taken-for-granted, of unshakeable convictions that participants in communication draw upon in cooperative processes of interpretation' (p. 124). So when we talk about concepts such as a 'classroom' or the 'government' or 'feminism' we begin with what we assume to be shared assumptions of understanding as to what these concepts mean.

Habermas outlines a theory of communicative action that helps us to understand the learning process that we go through, both individually and collectively, when we talk about and exchange ideas to build knowledge and intersubjective understanding. Through dialogue we can talk to one another about knowledge claims, presuming through this repertoire of shared understanding that there are elements in communication, some *knowledge* that we can take for granted that the participants in a conversation can agree upon (at least for the time being), to move forward in negotiating understanding, such as the meaning of particular words. Thus you may presume that if everyone in the room speaks English, and you say that the leader of the government is the prime minister, everyone will be able to understand these concepts, 'leader', 'government', and 'prime minister' through the words that you have spoken. Yet, as critical thinkers such as Habermas or Freire are well aware, beyond their basic descriptive meaning, words are often embedded in power contexts. Therefore, an important element of communicative action, for Habermas, is the ability for people to make knowledge claims using words that draw upon this shared sense of understanding, but that may also challenge people to discuss or debate different meanings to deepen understanding regarding our cultural, political, and social contexts. To comprehend what we mean by terms such as 'democracy' and 'government', therefore, may involve complicated intersubjective communication or dialogue between different participants in a conversation. Initial, take-for-granted assumptions, for instance around what it means to be a citizen, what is a democracy, what are basic human rights, and who should be involved and at what levels in decision-making in political processes, are all examples of topics where learning could occur. Beliefs around knowledge may change as people exchange ideas, develop different arguments, and draw upon various examples or evidence to support their knowledge claims.

A central concern that Habermas (1981, 1987) sets out in his two volumes on *The Theory of Communicative Action*, is that the rise in the complexity and strength of *system* structures, such as government, economic, and political organisations, has led to the colonisation of the *lifeworld*. When system structures appropriate the space previously centred in the lifeworld, opportunities for communicative action, or what critical educators such as Mezirow (1981) later identify as communicative learning, are stifled. The conversations that people might have about different ideas become constrained when a pervasive *world-view* delineates the parameters for discussion. We can see this, for example, when the concepts of creativity or innovation can only be understood if they are linked with economic profit.

Therefore, whilst international educational policies advocate frequently for creativity and innovation, in a neoliberal context, increasingly administrators and

outside governance bodies or partners within the marketplace gain influence in establishing narrowly articulated expectations regarding curriculum and assessment in various adult learning contexts. It is difficult to have teaching and learning environments that foster criticality and creativity when educators are expected to ‘teach to the test’ or to ensure students attain predetermined and externally mandated learning outcomes. But increasingly we see that research around creativity in education is oriented to the marketplace, with emphasis on product (both virtual and physical) design (Chang and Luh 2012), management training (Herrmann and Felfe 2013), and metric forms of assessment of learning and creativity (De Baker et al. 2012). This technical-rational approach to defining creativity (or innovation), limits our human capacity to think beyond the restrictive parameters of a market-oriented perspective. Whilst not discounting that there are some value-added incentives to pursue this more limited approach to education, it is problematic to only support learning that is connected to profit. Other equally or more valuable forms of learning, connected to the inherent creativity of the human spirit, also need to be addressed. Adult learning linked to happiness and well-being, to spiritual needs, to citizenship engagement, and to learning in the homeplace, are all examples of important lifelong learning that is not connected, at least in a direct way, to the marketplace.

To challenge this limited scope for adult learning endeavours, it is essential that educators retain the prerogative to integrate artistic, creative and critical approaches in their teaching, thus providing their students with communicative and potentially transformative opportunities for learning. There are many pedagogical strategies that emphasise the practical/humanistic (individual/psychological) or critical (communicative or liberatory) aspects of learning. Researchers in adult educators need to delve into the broader realm of human creativity by considering valuable educational activities that may be developed through incorporating artistic approaches to learning into their pedagogical repertoire, including fiction writing.

LEARNING CREATIVITY AND THE ARTS

Can creativity be taught? As noted, there has been increasing interest in the notion of creativity in a variety of education and policy contexts (Hall 2010; Hope 2010). Yet it is not always easy to neatly identify or describe what constitutes creativity, much less how you can teach it. Sturm (2013) argues that the creative process ‘must introduce new ideas that are applicable to the situation at hand’ (p. 58). Similarly, Mishra et al. (2013) define three integral components to creativity; (1) ‘novel’ ideas or approaches, (2) that are ‘effective’ or task appropriate, and are (3) ‘whole’—by which they mean these components are aesthetically or organically well developed.

Whilst creativity is often sought and admired, the question for researchers in adult education is: are there strategies that can help learners to foster their own creativity? Just as there are certain skills in pedagogy that, when explained, give teachers a better chance to excel in their craft of teaching (Applebee 2002), it

may be that elements of creativity can be taught in various learning contexts. Critical educators are aware that creativity cannot be reduced to a series of instrumental formulas. Being aware of and knowing how to use certain tools to aid in the creative process, such as incorporating artistic practices or learning encounters with the arts, may be a means for educators to nourish creativity as understood in a more holistic and critical way.

The purpose of fostering creativity in adult learning contexts is to engage learners in thinking more critically and deeply about the world around them, and for individuals to gain greater insights into their own learning processes. Eisner (2002) talks about how through the arts, we can challenge our pre-conceptions of meaning and through imagination envision alternatives to current realities. He explains that 'concepts are distilled images in any sensory form or combination of forms that are used to represent the particulars of experience.' As human beings, we have a unique ability in that 'we can imagine possibilities we have not encountered, and we can try to create, in the public sphere, the new possibilities we have imagined in the precincts of our consciousness' (p. 3). Important learning can occur when individuals have the opportunity to imagine and share new concepts or ideas with one another. Through the arts, creativity can be sparked by drawing our attention to the world around us so that we see it in different ways. Eisner argues that the arts can liberate us from literal reality and enable us to view the world from different vantage points.

TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING AND THE ARTS

Over the last couple of decades, critical discourses in adult education have taken up the concept of transformative learning. Transformative learning theory is most centrally identified with the work of Jack Mezirow, an American adult educator whose lifework centred around identifying the processes by which learning may lead to personal (and he would argue) societal transformation. In his early work, Mezirow (1981) was influenced by Habermas and his theory of 'communicative action', which Mezirow applied to the idea of 'communicative learning'.

Mezirow's (1978) first study on transformative learning examined the experiences of mature female students returning to university at a time when women were engaged in feminist consciousness raising. Mezirow thought that these experiences provided insights into adult learning processes that can occur when people share their stories and become aware of different viewpoints that may then transform the way that they view their personal situation or make meaning in their own lives.

The idea of transformative learning as outlined by Mezirow involves a series of stages whereby an individual shifts his/her perspective to arrive at a new and deeper level of understanding. In a way that is similar to Habermas's description of how knowledge is constituted in the lifeworld, the first stage is becoming aware of the taken-for-granted premises or meaning frames that constitute one's knowledge or understanding of the world. Cranton (2006) points out that

'habits of mind are unexamined. They create limitations and form boxes of which we are unconscious, and cannot, therefore, get beyond' (p. 28). The first stage in perspective transformation, therefore, is questioning these assumptions. Mezirow (2000) explains that 'in adulthood, informed decisions require not only awareness of the source and context of our knowledge, values, and feelings but also critical reflection on the validity of their assumptions or premises' (p. 7).

According to transformative learning theory, this critical questioning of the validity of one's premises usually happens when an event or series of events create a 'disorienting dilemma', as was the case of the women learners who engaged in consciousness-raising by sharing their experiences with one another, and who then gradually came to the realisation that many of their assumptions regarding gender roles were problematic. This idea of learning through dialogue with one another also builds on Freire's (1994) notion of *conscientisation* (Mezirow 2000), whereby learning occurs through a process of reflection that leads to a deeper understanding.

Transformative learning is evidenced when learners then make changes; in how they understand a concept, how they view themselves, or how they decide to act in the future. A part of this process is that learners must develop competencies or confidence in their capabilities to move forward in a different direction. Mezirow (2000) argues that 'central to the goal of adult education in democratic societies is the process of helping learners become more aware of the context of their problematic understandings and beliefs, more critically reflective on their assumptions and those of others, more fully and freely engaged in discourse, and more effective in taking action on their reflective judgements' (p. 31). Adult educators, therefore, are charged with the responsibility of engaging learners to facilitate opportunities for transformative learning that will help them to deal with challenges that they address in their own lives and workplaces.

Research on arts-informed approaches to adult education demonstrate numerous possibilities for creative and transformative learning. Lipson Lawrence (2008) argues that engaging in arts-based learning may encourage learners to focus on learning in a more intense and holistic way, providing opportunities for students to develop an empathetic understanding of the experiences of others. She argues that 'witnessing art expands our worldview by taking us to new places and allowing us to enter into the lifeworld of another' (p. 75). Art has the potential to provoke and invoke deeper insights into alternative ways of seeing and understanding the world we inhabit.

Arts-based educators point to the value of learning that addresses emotional, physical, aesthetic, and spiritual components of learning that can be considered transformational. Lipson Lawrence (2008) asks what would happen if we were to forget about the technical or rational components of completing artistic project, and 'if we embrace creative projects for their learning potential?' (p. 66). To do, she argues, would present greater opportunities for transformative learning. Through art we are often challenged to think about

provocative and difficult issues. Learners who engage with the arts may develop a focus on social justice as Lipson Lawrence (2008) argues that ‘it is only when we are deeply affected by an issue that we become motivated to work for change. The arts are a powerful way to bring about that response’ (p. 72). Lipson Lawrence provides a number of examples to support her claims, ranging from war protest songs to artistic installations related to the holocaust. Exposure to art, she argues, may transform learners by bringing them to greater awareness of issues, emotionally jarring them from their comfort zone, and pushing them towards thinking critically about how they might be willing to enact change.

In a Portuguese action research project that focuses on a program designed to teach literacy skills to African immigrants which is based on Freirian principals, Azevedo and Gonçalves (2012) explain ‘art is in itself a *language*, providing aesthetic awareness—that is in itself considered an important element for human development—and fostering transformation and learning’ (p. 71). In the program, literacy students were exposed to select pieces of art and asked to reflect upon the meaning of different paintings. As the students articulated their understanding of the artistic work in relation to their own cultural background and location, learners became ‘conscious of their own transformation and empowerment’ (p. 74). Exposure to art was a way to help learners develop new meaning frames of reference, as they became more confident in their capabilities and were able to see new ways to participate within their new country.

In another study, Selkrig (2011) discusses transformational learning opportunities for artists working with community groups in government funded projects. Initially, these artists were motivated primarily because this work would allow them to earn money to support their other artistic endeavours, but many of them found that ‘through this interaction with a broader range of people within their communities they had developed a sense of belonging, an acknowledgement of who they were and a deeper understanding about themselves at a number of levels. They were also able to describe how over time they had come to realise that working with others acted as a reflexive process’ (p. 587). After a while, the initial focus on income became secondary to being involved in projects that resonated with the artists’ interests in social justice or equity issues. The artists began to see that they were able to contribute to creative approaches that would help address some of the problems that the projects were designed to look at. In terms of transformational learning, Selkrig explains that ‘working as a community-based artist in communities created a disjuncture that encouraged them to reflect on their own philosophical beliefs’ (p. 586). This reflection on their beliefs changed the way that participants began to think themselves as artists and as members of a community.

Each of these research studies illustrate how engagement with art can lead to creative and potentially transformative learning opportunities. These types of creative learning encounters are linked with both individually focused, or humanistic approaches to learning, as well as critical and emancipatory approaches to adult education which may lead learners to work towards broader social changes.

CREATIVE LEARNING AND FICTION WRITING

Reading and writing fiction may also foster transformative learning opportunities to encourage the development of critically engaged learners. Through fiction learners can reflect upon their own experiences and the lives of others, entering into a world of imagination and creativity that may encourage deeper forms of learning. Communicative learning opportunities may arise when students engage in debate with one another about writing, author's intentions, and fictional storylines. As Habermas points out, through dialogue about differing ideas, intents, and perspectives, valuable learning may occur.

A few researchers have drawn upon fiction in different ways to explore creative learning opportunities for adult students. For example, Jubas (2005) argues that having learners engage with significant literary texts may help provide insights into topics, such as globalisation, that are difficult to comprehend. 'Traditionally, fiction falls within the purview of the humanities, separate from the facts and figures of the 'real-world'; however, fiction that addresses social issues offers its readers a way to see and understand real-world complexities' (Jubas 2005: 67). Using Rohinton Mistry's novel, *A Fine Balance*, as an example, she delves into the perspectives of different characters in the novel as they struggle with various problems and argues that this kind of analysis can help learners come to a deeper understanding of the complex ways in which globalisation can impact on everyday lives. Similarly, Tisdell and Thompson (2007) argues that by engaging with popular culture, learners may become more engaged in the learning process, noting that reading a book like the Da Vinci Code can be fun and entertaining, but it may also be thought provoking and useful for sparking critical debates.

In a study with interviews of writers and poets, Brace and Johns-Putra (2010) discuss the need 'to destabilise the myth that the processes underlying creative work are somehow necessarily, *always* ephemeral, elusive, and resistant to scholarly inquiry' (p. 40). Instead, researchers may find that there are ways to 'tap into' the processes that creative artists such as fiction writers or poets engage in, that can inform arts-informed teaching practices in adult education.

Over the past few years I have been involved in doing collaborative research that involves life history interviews with fiction writers as well as visits to 'creative learning sites' that support fiction writing, such as creative writing programs and book festivals (Gouthro and Holloway 2014¹). Through research it may be possible to gain insights into the strategies that fiction writers develop to hone their creativity, and these perspectives may be helpful in informing broader adult education discourses around learning and creativity. For example, one of the authors that I interviewed, Andrew Borkowski, reflects, 'I think creativity can be not so much taught, but it can be teased out. It can be encouraged and cultivated'. Similarly, another author that I interviewed, Martha Baillie, explains: 'When I have writing students I take them to see sculpture and art installation because I think that's a world where the artist really looks at the material and allows the material to dictate form'. So through this process, she

helps creative writers explore the best form for their work to emerge—through poetry, prose, short story, memoir or a novel. Like adult educators working in a variety of contexts, Baillie is interested in considering how the arts may nurture the development of the creative learning process for her students by challenging them to move beyond their normal parameters of knowledge and exposing them to alternative frameworks that may open up their thinking.

The idea of exploring how fiction can be used to scaffold learning related to creativity builds on work done by other researchers who use stories to facilitate learning. For example, Nutbrown (2011) uses an auto-ethnographic approach to facilitate insights into learning in childhood. Champion-Smith et al. (2011) consider how sharing stories between health care professionals and family members may enhance learning in a palliative care situation. These are examples of using stories to teach based on lived experience. Although sharing stories of one's life is often helpful, using fiction is a way to learn from stories that does not necessitate having to disclose personal experiences that learners may not always wish to share with others. Fiction also provides access to a wider range of stories as it is not limited to lived experience shared amongst a group that may be homogenous in character, but may instead bring in stories from afar, thus exposing learners to different cultures, backgrounds, and belief systems. Like other artists, as Eisner (2002) points out, fiction writers have the freedom to use their imagination to explore different possibilities. Fiction writers take their stories into the realm of what could be, rather than what is. Through fiction, readers and writers can envision alternative ways of thinking and being, and are not limited by the physical, concrete realities of our daily existence.

Transformative learning theory provides a constructive framework for adult educators to consider how to incorporate fiction writing into their repertoire of teaching activities and for researchers to consider alternative perspectives for investigating learning in connection to creativity. Through our research (Gouthro and Holloway 2013), we believe that reading and writing fiction offers many potentially transformative learning opportunities. Learners may explore 'disorienting dilemmas' that may alter how a person looks at the world. They can also think about the characteristics or competencies that would be required to negotiate life in different circumstances. Communicative learning opportunities arise when students engage in debate with one another about writing, author's intentions, and fictional storylines.

As Jarvis (2012) argues, fiction also has the potential to foster empathy amongst learners when taught in a critical context. In collaborative research that I have done with Jarvis (see Jarvis and Gouthro 2015), we examine how the arts may be used in a wide range of educational contexts to enhance the learning of professionals in different fields ranging from health care, to preparatory teacher education, to social work or the information technology sector. Although there are a multitude of examples of arts-infused teaching, including the narrative arts such as fiction, poetry, and storytelling, the dissemination of this research is often dispersed across disciplines according to professional categories. We think

that researchers and educators who work with adults in various settings may benefit from learning about work that is done in different fields and that may be incorporated into different contexts to foster creative approaches to teaching.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Whilst it seems that globalisation and increased mobilities of populations should foster creative teaching strategies to help learners deal with ongoing change and innovations in the workplace and broader society, as we have seen, this is not always the case. Part of the responsibility for adult education scholars is to argue for the need to provide critical and creative learning opportunities. One of the first steps towards change is to recognise that there is an ongoing struggle to retain the critical, emancipatory focus that has historically grounded adult education discourses and to acknowledge the creative benefits of a more liberal arts approach within higher education. Educators require a sophisticated understanding of the power dynamics at play within educational contexts that constrict opportunities for critical adult learning. Within a neoliberal climate, the response to dealing with uncertainty and change has been an attempt by educational policy makers to work towards convergence in delimiting opportunities for learning those that are believed to be easily measurable and more readily controlled for consistency.

Educators need to be aware of the ways in which institutional practices are informed by geopolitical policies, both to be able to challenge practices in their own spaces, and to be aware of the threat of changes that may be moving in their direction. Erkkilä (2014) notes divergences in some European countries such as Germany and France that resist compliance with uniform ranking systems. Beauchamp et al. (2015) examination of UK policies (Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland and England) found that increasingly, education policy documents within England reflect a corporate managerial perspective, indicating a 'culture of compliance and regulation' (p. 161), whilst other regions are more resistant to these managerial perspectives. Although there may be movements towards convergence, therefore, there is also room for researchers and educators to argue for alternative frameworks that can better serve adult learners to deal with the complexities of current times.

Habermas (1996) points out the dangers of allowing the juridification of the lifeworld which involves system structures (such as government or the corporate sector) taking over in inappropriate ways the control of teaching and assessment in education. Juridification of the lifeworld entails imposing restrictive regulations that undermine the communicative nature of decision-making that is most appropriate in learning contexts. It curtails the capacity for educators to develop pedagogical approaches to foster criticality and creativity. Using artistic approaches in higher education, such as incorporating insights gained through fiction reading and writing, prepares learners to engage in a world characterised by change and diversity, thus facilitating critical and creative learning opportunities. Educational environments shaped by narrowly targeted assessment practices, externally mandated outcomes, and driven by competitive award

schemes, lead to a learning environment where both educators and learners are not prepared to take risks or to be open to alternative pedagogical strategies, thus hindering the development of creativity.

The insidious tentacles of neoliberalism infiltrate our consciousness in ways that alter our shared worldview of normal expectations and practices, thus constricting even the language and thought processes that are integral to human freedom. Brookfield's (2005) analysis of critical theory points to the multiple ways in which hegemony can undermine democratic and inclusive learning practices. We can see this in the way that a technical-rational approach to creativity limits our scope for understanding the concept so that it becomes redefined as 'innovation', which is only understood in the context of creating products and learning outcomes that will lead to profit. Creativity needs to be understood in a broader context, to explore how it may also fulfil humanistic and emancipatory needs for learners.

Researchers in adult education need to further explore how artistic approaches may be incorporated into adult learning contexts to provide opportunities for creative and transformative learning. Mezirow (1979) argues that 'this understanding of the nature of significant adult learning provides the educator with a rationale for selecting appropriate educational practices and actively resisting social and cultural forces that distort and delimit adult learning' (p. 11). Given the radical social, economic, and technological changes of this century, adult learning needs to move beyond reproduction to transformation. It is important for educators to develop pedagogical supports for critical, democratic, and transformative learning opportunities. If we truly want to foster creativity and innovation, then we have to examine educational strategies that can support rather than stifle the capacity that humans have for imagination and transformation.

Note

1. P.A. Gouthro and S.M. Holloway (2014) 'Stories of Learning' Creative literacies and lifelong learning: Exploring learning sites and creative educational opportunities around reading and writing fiction. Insight grant funded by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC).

REFERENCES

- Applebee, A. N. (2002). Engaging students in the disciplines of English: What are effectiveschools doing? *The English Journal*, 91(6), 30–36.
- Azevedo, N. R., & Gonçalves, M. (2012). Writing and reading with art: Adult literacy, transformation, and learning. *Adult Learning*, 23(2), 69–75.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society* (M. Ritter, Trans.). London: Sage.
- Beauchamp, G., Clarke, L., Hulme, M., & Murray, J. (2015). Teacher education in the United Kingdom post-devolution: Convergences and divergences. *Oxford Review of Education*, 41(2), 154–170.

- Brace, C., & Johns-Putra, A. (2010). Recovering inspiration in the spaces of creative writing. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 35(3), 399–413.
- Brookfield, S. D. (2005). *The power of critical theory: Liberating adult learning and teaching*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Campion-Smith, C., Austin, H., Criswick, S., Dowling, B., & Francis, G. (2011). Can sharing stories change practice? A qualitative study of an interprofessional narrative-based palliative care course. *Journal of Interdisciplinary Care*, 25, 105–111.
- Chang, C. L., & Luh, D. B. (2012). User as designer: A design model of user creativity platforms. *Journal of Integrated Design and Process Science*, 16(4), 19–30.
- Cranton, P. A. (2006). *Understanding and promoting transformative learning: A guide for educators of adults*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- De Baker, F., Lombaerts, K., De Mette, T., Buffel, T., & Elias, W. (2012). Creativity in artistic education: Introducing artists into primary schools. *International Journal of Art & Design Education*, 31(1), 53–66.
- Eisner, E. W. (2002). *The arts and the creation of mind*. Harrisonburg, Virginia: R.R. Donnelly & Sons.
- Erkkilä, T. (2014). Global university rankings, transnational policy discourse and higher education in Europe. *European Journal of Education*, 49(1), 91–101.
- Freire, P. (1994). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum.
- Grace, A. P. (2013). *Lifelong learning as critical action*. Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press.
- Gouthro, P. A., & Holloway, S. M. (2013). Reclaiming the radical: Using fiction to explore adult learning connected to citizenship. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 45(1), 41–56.
- Habermas, J. (1981). *The theory of communicative action: Vol. 2. Reason and the rationalization of society*. (T. McCarthy, Trans.). Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1987). *The theory of communicative action: Lifeworld and system: A critique of functionalist reason*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Habermas, J. (1996). *Between facts and norms: contributions to a discourse theory of law and democracy* (William Rehg, trans.). (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- Hall, C. (2010). Creativity in recent educational discourses in England. *World Englishes*, 29(4), 481–492.
- Harman, G. (2010). Australian university research commercialisation: Perceptions of technology transfer specialists and science and technology academics. *Journal of Higher Education Policy & Management*, 23(1), 69–83.
- Herrmann, G., & Felfe, J. (2013). Moderators of the relationship between leadership style and employee creativity: The role of task novelty and personal initiative. *Creativity Research Journal*, 25(2), 172–181.
- Hillier, Y., & Figgis, J. (2011). Innovation in VET: Networks and niggles. *Studies in Continuing Education*, 33(3), 251–271.
- Hoggart, R. (2004) *Mass media in a mass society: Myth & reality*. London: Continuum.
- Hope, S. (2010). Creativity, context, and policy. *Arts Education Policy Review*, 111, 29–47.
- Jarvis, C. (2012). Fiction, empathy and lifelong learning. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 31(6), 743–758.
- Jarvis, C., & Gouthro, P. A. (2015). The role of the arts in professional education: Surveying the field. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 47(1), 64–80.
- Jubas, K. (2005). A fine balance in truth and fiction: Exploring globalization's impacts on community and implications for learning in Rohinton Mistry's novel and related literature. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 24(5), 53–69.

- King, R. (2010). Policy internationalization, national variety and governance: Global models and network power in higher education states. *Higher Education*, 60, 583–594.
- Lipson Lawrence, R. (2008). Powerful feelings: Exploring the affective domain of informal and arts-based learning. *New Directions for Adult and Continuing Education*, 120, 65–77.
- Metcalfe, A. S., & Fenwick, T. (2009). Knowledge for whose society? Knowledge production, higher education, and federal policy in Canada. *Higher Education*, 57(2), 209–225.
- Mishra, P., Henriksen, D., & The Deep Play Group. (2013). A new approach to defining and measuring creativity: Rethinking technology & creativity in the 21st century. *TechTrends*, 57(5), 10–13.
- Mezirow, J. (1979). Transformative learning: Theory to practice. *New Directions for Adult & Continuing Education*, 74, 5–12.
- Mezirow, J. (1981). A critical theory of adult learning and education. *Adult Education Quarterly*, 32(1), 3–24.
- Mezirow, J. (2000). Learning to think like an adult: Core concepts of transformation theory. In J. Mezirow & Associates. (Eds). *Learning as transformation: Critical perspectives on a theory in progress*. (pp. 3–34). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Nutbrown, C. (2011). A box of childhood: Small stories at the root of a career. *International Journal of Early Years Education*, 19(3/4), 233–248.
- OECD. (2015). *Education policy outlook 2015: Making reforms happen*. Paris: OECD. www.oecd.org/edu/education-policy-outlook-2015-9789264225442-en.htm.
- Olkinuora, E., Rinne, R., Mäkinen, J., Järvinen, T. & Jauhiainen. (2008). Promises and risks of the learning society: The meanings of lifelong learning for three Finnish generations. *Studies in the Education of Adults*, 40(1), 40–61.
- Rostan, M., & Ceravolo, F. A. (2015). The internationalisation of the academy: Convergence and divergence across disciplines. *European Review*, 23, 538–554.
- Selkrig, M. (2011). Learning about ourselves from others: Transformation of artists identities through community-based arts practice. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 30(5), 577–589.
- Sturm, B. (2013). Creativity in the space between. *Knowledge Quest*, 41(3), 58–63.
- Tisdell, E. J., & Thompson, P. A. (2007). Seeing from a different angle: The role of pop culture in teaching for diversity and critical media literacy in adult education. *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 26(6), 651–673.
- Williams, R. (1983; c.1958). *Culture & Society 1780–1950*. New York: Columbia University Press.

AUTHOR BIOGRAPHY

Patricia Gouthro is Professor in the Graduate Studies in Lifelong Learning program in the Faculty of Education at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax, Nova Scotia (Canada). She has served as President of the Canadian Association for the Study of Adult Education and as an Editor for the *International Journal of Lifelong Education* (Taylor & Francis). Her current research (funded by the Canadian Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) is on lifelong learning, fiction writing, and creative literacies.

INDEX

A

- Abbott, A., 304
Abeer, W., 925–926
Abrams, P., 117
Ackoff, R., 94–95
Actor network theory (ANT), 196, 310, 315–16, 320–321, 323, 327–329, 692
Adams, T., 449
Addey, Camilla, 309–310
Adichie, Chimamanda, 315–316, 320, 322–323, 330–331
Adiseshiah, Malcolm, 539, 545*n*9
Adorno, Theodor, 56, 101, 104, 182
Adult educators/teachers
 biographical midwives, 201
 facilitators, 19, 61–62, 134, 147
 human capital concept, 58
 national icons, 494
 organic intellectuals, 58, 60–62, 75
 reflective practitioners, 164
 revolutionaries, 76
 situationally sensitive wayfarers, 29
 thoughtful gardeners, 164
 transformative intellectuals, 555
 transmitters of knowledge, 17
Adult learners
 ‘deficit’ model of, 138–139, 142–143, 147, 228, 235, 359–360, 371, 491, 534, 653, 679–681, 689–690
 definitions of, 339–340
 motivations to learn, 215, 869, 943, 950–951
 regarded as knowledge-rich, 362, 368
 self-directed, 26, 140, 142, 255, 304, 843, 920, 926–927, 929, 931, 992
 self-perceptions, 26, 44, 362, 619
 student as core actor, 98–100.
 See also Older adults
Adult learning and education
 active learning, 59, 99
 content, incentive and interaction dimensions, 98, 100, 103, 107
 context-oriented theorising, 571–572
 cultural politics, 116
 economic model, 95–97
 economistic turn, 328, 339, 345, 354
 equality of intelligence assumption, 11, 133–134, 143–145, 147–148
 exemplary learning, 105–106, 175
 experience-based, 106, 174, 191
 global and indigenous terminology, 573–575
 institutional education, 93–94, 96, 98–100, 107
 institutionalised space, 10, 111, 116, 128, 277
 ‘learning turn’, 10, 111–129
 measurement industry, 212

- Adult learning and education (*cont.*)
 philosophical and methodological dilemmas, 571–579
 political nature of, 60
 self-actualisation ethos, 62
 shift from ‘education’ to ‘learning’, 9, 13, 23, 80–81, 93–98, 111–129, 219–220, 274
 territorialisation, 5–6, 312
 visible learning, 100.
See also Lifelong learning and education
- Adult literacy, 7, 315–332
 Actor Network Theory (ANT), 310, 315–316, 320–321, 323, 327–329
 capitalism literacy, 329
 continuum of competence, 320
 devaluing of diversity, 329
 differing cultural connotations, 578
 elected literacy, 320, 330
 empowerment vs. oppressive outcomes, 362
 Experimental World Literacy Programme, 318
 global literacy, 310, 315–316, 320–324, 326–331
 human capital model, 328
 international large-scale assessments (ILSAs), 316, 319–321, 323, 326–331, 360, 362
 interpreting literacy data, 326–327, 431–432
 literacisation, 328
 literacy as numbers, 315
 neoliberal conceptualisation, 324, 329–330
 New Literacy Studies (NLS), 316–318, 320
nkali (dominant stories), 322–323, 330
 OECD programmes and reports, 215, 220, 310, 316, 318–320, 324–325, 327–331, 331*nn*5–6, 9, 340, 343, 344, 348, 362, 387, 391, 431, 468, 472–473, 475–477
 participatory literacy, 159
 plural social practices, 316–318, 324
- Adult literacy (*cont.*)
 research projects in Scotland, 363–369
 social justice effects of participation, 359–71
 standardised skills and testing, 316, 318, 320–321, 323, 324–326, 332*n*3
 UNESCO programmes and reports, 316–319, 497, 578.
See also Brazil; China; Cuba; Ghana; Israel; Latin America; Mediterranean; Southern African Development Community; Timor-Leste
- Africa
 ageing population, 959–960, 961
 collective identity, 66–67
 communitarian and collective societies, 819
 development agenda, 818–819
 folk development colleges in Tanzania, 730–732
 HIV/AIDS, 509, 817–818, 959
 Human Development Report (2014), 817–818
 indigenous learning and education, 8, 66–67, 740, 820–821, 957–968
 lifelong learning policies and provision, 818–821, 957–968
 nation building vision, 820–821
 non-formal education, 963–965
 open education resources (OER) and indigenous learning, 957–968
 university participation rates, 820–821.
See also Botswana; Ghana; Guinea-Bissau; South Africa; Southern African Development Community
- African National Congress, 54
 Africentrism, 10, 53, 66–67.
See also Critical race theory
- Agbodeka, F., 559
 Ahlgren, A., 363
 Ahmed, M., 435
 Ai Weiwei, 599

- Aitchinson, J., 521, 963
 Akkerman, S. F., 696–697
 Akpomovie, B. O., 963
 Aldridge, Fiona, 848–849
 Aldridge, Jerry, 40
 Alhadef-Jones, M., 196
 Alheit, P., 192, 194, 201
 Alidou, H., 521
 Allman, Paula, 58–59, 85, 87
 Allmendinger, J., 463
 Allport, F. H., 432
 Altbach, P., 600–601, 947
 Alves de Freitas, J., 786
 Amin, A., 659–660
 Andragogy/andragogical theory, 26, 57, 60, 492, 920, 948, 950.
See also Self-directed learning
 Anthias, F., 670
 Argentina, 531–546
 adult education as discursive configuration, 532–533, 543
 alfabetizadores (literacy teachers), 543–544
 Altamira folk high school, 725
 Cordoba movement, 780, 786
 coup d'état (1966), 545*n*3
 human rights movement, 543
 influence of Paulo Freire, 531–532, 540–543
 lifelong education (1968–1973), 534–540
 lifelong education (1973–1976), 540–541
 lifelong education (post-2006), 544
 Mothers of Plaza de Mayo, 787–788
 National Adult Education Department (DINEA), 533–534, 536, 539–540, 542–544
 National Seminar on Lifelong Education (1970), 536–540
 Peronism, 534, 537, 540, 542
 popular education movement and political struggle, 541–544
 popular universities, 786–788
 struggle over signifiers, 533, 543
 Argyris, C., 293
 Aristotle, 152, 810
 Arnove, R. F., 642
 Aronowitz, S., 696
 Arzubiega, A., 982
 Aspin, D. N., 610
 Asún, José M., 36, 573, 576
 Atkins, L., 746
 Atkinson, T., 326–328, 330
 Australia
 adult education and lifelong learning research and trends, 741–757, 752–753
 Adult Learning Australia (ALA), 742–743, 747–750, 754
 Adult Learning Australia: Report on Future Directions for Lifelong Learning in Australia (Kearns report), 742, 746, 754–755
 Australia Reconstructed report (1987), 124–125
 Australian Journal of Adult Learning (AJAL), 737, 743, 747–750, 752–753, 754–756
 Australian Vocational Education and Training Research Association (AVETRA), 737, 743, 747–750, 753
 cross-cultural study of lifelong learning (Hong Kong and Australia), 862–863
 cultural politics of education, 116
 Deveson Review (*Training Costs of Award Restructuring*, 1990), 124
 educational governance policy, 124–125
 history of adult education, 112–115, 745–746
 International Journal of Training Research (IJTR), 743, 749–750, 752–753, 754–756
 learning turn in adult education, 10, 111–129
 multicultural issues, 123–125
 recruitment of skilled migrants, 674–675
 Streeton Institute of TAFE, 126–128

- Australia (*cont.*)
 technical and further education (TAFE), 111–113, 120–121, 123–127, 745, 749
 vocational education and training (VET), 25, 111–113, 120–121, 123–125, 476–477, 742–750, 754–755
- Austria
 apprenticeship system, 674
 dual training system, 463
 participation in adult education and training, 282–283, 346
 popular universities, 786
- Awareness raising, 63–64, 133–148
 case studies, 135–137
 conscientisation, 11, 18, 20, 58–59, 135, 151–152, 154–155, 157, 161–163, 165, 449, 452–453, 457, 852, 1019
 dissensus, 141–142, 144, 147
 equality of intelligence assumption, 11, 133–134, 143–145, 147–148.
See also Emancipatory learning and education
- Azevedo, F., 450
 Azevedo, N. R., 1020
- B**
- Bagley, S. S., 722
 Bagnall, Richard G., 7, 9, 25, 29
 Bakhtin, Mikhail, 152
 Bakker, A., 696–697
 Ball, Stephen J., 23, 329, 370
 Bandura, A., 253
 Banking concept of education, 26, 161–163, 448–450
 Banks, James, 693, 696, 698
 Baptist, Willie, 79
 Baptiste, I., 229
 Barad, Karen, 398, 413
 Barnes, C., 884–885
 Barnett, R., 824
 Barros, R., 612
 Barroso, J., 422
 Barrow, Robin, 26
 Bartlett, W., 422
 Barton, D., 328, 871
 Bates, Tony, 945
 Bateson, Gregory, 36, 192–195, 197–199
 Battersby, David, 846
 Bauder, H., 675
 Bauman, Zygmunt, 114, 118
 Bayne, S., 949
 Beauchamp, G., 1023
 Beck, S., 300
 Beck, U., 145, 1012
 Becker, G., 271
 Bejerano, A. R., 929
 Belanger, Paul, 410
 Belgium
 participation in adult education and training, 282–283, 344, 346
 popular universities, 786–787, 789–790
 Bell, D. A., 231
 Bender, G., 822
 Benjamin, Walter, 56
 Berger, Peter, 457*n*4
 Berlin Wall, fall of (1989), 57, 82, 408
 Bernarte, Racidon P., 7, 739
 Bernier, J. D., 237
 Bernstein, M., 902
 Berry, T., 414
 Bertoni, S., 581
 Biao, Idowu, 7, 311
 Bieler, A., 78–79
 Bierema, L. L., 231–232, 236
 Biester, Gert, 94–97, 205, 253, 653, 660
 Biggs, J., 864
Bildung (education/learning), 10, 93, 97–99, 107, 302–303, 800–802
 Billett, Stephen, 173–174
 Bimrose, Jenny, 11
 Boff, L., 414
 Bohle, D., 467, 471
 Bolivia, 153, 450, 455, 788
 Bonitz, M., 766–767
 Booth, C., 1000
 Borda, Orlando Fals, 455
 Boshier, Roger, 80, 268, 311, 376, 378, 591–592, 596, 602, 747
 Boström, A. K., 377, 857

- Botswana
 College of Open and Distance Learning, 518
 early childhood care and development, 524
 education policy and initiatives, 511, 514–515, 516–517, 519, 520, 524, 957–958
 indigenous African learning, 962
 non-formal education, 963–964
 older adults, 740, 959, 961
 poverty rate, 509
- Botzakis, S., 978–979
- Boughton, Robert, 312
- Boulton-Lewis, G., 848
- Bounded agency and autonomy, 121, 127, 275, 283
- Bourdieu, Pierre, 48–49, 97, 764
- Boutang, Y. M., 712
- Boutros-Ghali, Boutros, 630
- Bowles, Tuere, 410
- Bowman, L., 237
- Bowman, P., 985
- Boyadjieva, Pepka, 7, 11
- Boyd, Robert D., 37–39
- Brah, A., 656
- Branchadell, A., 429
- Brandão, C. R., 158, 450
- Brandao, Rodriguez, 544
- Brandi, C., 675
- Braudel, Fernand, 486–487
- Brazil, 59, 153–154, 449, 491
 Alliance for Progress, 532
 community bakeries, 453
 cooperative enterprises, 454
 coup d'état (1964), 153, 445
 deforestation, 400
 exchange clubs, 453
Framework of Reference of Popular Education for Public Policies (2014), 451–453, 456
 historical development of adult and popular education, 445–447
 liberation theology, 447, 453–454, 541
 literacy projects, 153, 446–447
- Movimento de Cultura Popular (Popular Culture Movement), 446
- Movimento de Educação de Base (MEB) (Basic Education Movement), 446
 participation in adult learning and education, 346, 444
 participatory budget, 453, 491
 popular education, 449–451, 453–455
 social movements, 414, 445–446
- Brennan Kemmis, R., 746
- Brigham, S. M., 68, 694
- Briton, Derek, 29
- Brockett, R. G., 746
- Brookfield, Stephen, 10, 27, 41, 230, 906, 1004, 1024
- Brown, A. J., 772
- Brown, Alan, 11, 249–250
- Brown, J. S., 294
- Brown, P., 216, 610–612, 617
- Brown, T., 979, 992
- Bruno, I., 329
- Buber, Martin, 152, 494, 501n7
- Buechler, S., 554–555
- Buenfil Burgos, R. N., 532
- Bugge, K. E., 723, 729
- Bulgaria, 268, 281–283, 467, 889
- Bull, G., 924
- Burr, V., 977
- Burson, J. D., 114, 121
- Busemeyer, M., 466
- Butler, J., 231
- Butler, K. D., 671
- Bynner, J., 360
- Byrd, M. Y., 233, 236–237
- Byrkjeflot, H., 301
- C
- Callahan, J. L., 233, 236
- Callon, Michael, 321, 323
- Cambron-McCabe, N., 555
- Campion-Smith, C., 1022
- Canada

- Canada (*cont.*)
- deskilling among professional migrants, 675–677, 689
 - distributed pedagogy of difference (DiPeD), 312, 687–688, 692–701
 - immigrant training and learning, 687–701
 - immigration system, 649–650, 671, 687
 - participation in adult education, 344, 346–347, 434
 - training and learning for integration, 688
 - unemployment and underemployment among immigrants, 688–689
- Capitalism
- alienation, 56, 104, 156, 176, 660
 - cognitive, 711–712
 - collective experience and trade union education, 105–106
 - commodification, 57–58
 - coordinated, 471
 - dead labour and mechanisation, 104–105
 - dependent market economies, 467
 - developmental, 617
 - disasters and exploitation, 403
 - dominant ideology, 56, 64
 - feminist critique, 64
 - fetishisation, 58
 - flexible, 678
 - hegemonic project and globalisation, 27, 58, 284, 301–302, 469, 494, 691, 709, 791, 996
 - importance of literacy, 328–329
 - inequality, 27, 56, 58, 985
 - institutional change, 54
 - liberal vs. coordinated market economies (LMEs/CMEs), 466–467
 - Marxist critique, 55–56
 - patriarchy, 64
 - skilling and deskilling of labour, 676
 - varieties of, 345, 354, 461, 463, 466–469
 - work and self-regulation, 104–106
- Capitalism (*cont.*)
- workers' experience of everyday life, 104–105, 175–177, 660.
See also Neoliberalism
- Capitini, Aldo, 489
- Capra, Fritjof, 398
- Carlén, M., 351
- Carney, S., 292
- Carpenter, Sara, 64, 81, 643
- Carpentieri, J. D., 370
- Carrier, J. G., 892
- Carroll, Lewis, 42–43
- Carson, Rachel, 405
- Castles, S., 673
- Catalonia, 429
- Cervatiuc, A., 690
- Chapman, J. D., 610
- Chappell, C., 746
- Charlesworth, S. J., 365
- Cheng, K. M., 864
- Chikoko, M., 958–960
- Childs, M., 675
- Chile, 59, 153–154, 451, 542, 730
- China
- adult education and learning, 587–604
 - capitalist system, 597
 - Communist Party, 588, 591, 595, 597, 599–601
 - Confucianism, 588, 858–859, 864–873
 - Cultural Revolution, 590, 592–593, 600
 - Great Leap Forward, 589, 600
 - human rights abuses, 597
 - impact of human resource development on education, 588, 602, 604
 - impediments to learning initiatives, 596–602
 - lack of academic freedom, 600–601
 - learning cities, 595–596
 - lifelong learning initiatives, 595
 - literacy programmes, 589–590
 - 'lost generation', 592
 - membership of the World Trade Organization, 588, 595, 601
 - migration, 672, 675, 688

- Mao era, 588–593, 600, 602–604
 MOOC platforms, 942
 pragmatic vocationalism, 603
 punishment of innovation, 599
 research quality, 602–603
 Shanghai Symposium on Adult Education (1984), 593–594
 Shuang Yu learning village, 595, 602
 Tiananmen Square massacre (1989), 594–595
 Tsinghua University Science Park, 595
 UNESCO conference on learning cities (2013), 595–596
 university teaching, 597–601
 workshop of the world, 587, 599
 Clancy, Patrick, 273
 Clark, A. K., 341
 Clark, Carolyn, 975
 Clark, M. A., 888
 Clark, Septima, 59
 Climate change, 397, 399–400, 415, 588, 1012
 Clover, D. E., 81, 410
 Cochran, T., 997
 Coffield, F., 610, 614
 Cohen, J., 554
 Cohen, R., 669–670
 Cole, A. G., 410
 Colin, S. A. J., III, 66–67
 Collard, Susan, 37, 228
 Collins, A., 917–918
 Collins, Joshua C., 7, 11
 Collins, M., 228, 865
 Collins, Suzanne, 991–995, 997–998, 1000, 1004–1005
 Communicative action, 56–57, 62, 100–103, 1016, 1018
 Communicative learning, 27, 1016, 1021–1022
 Communicative rationality, 10, 93–107
 Communities of practice, 99, 172, 249, 250–251, 255, 262, 294–295, 692, 920, 980
 Community education and development, 25, 404, 496, 537–538, 629–630, 722, 729, 742, 960.
See also Popular education
 Comparative policy studies on adult education, 421–437
 aims and goals, 425–426, 433
 counter-argumentative research, 427, 435–436
 diachronic/historical research, 426–430, 427
 epistemologies, 424–425, 437
 horizontal comparison research, 427, 430–432
 intergovernmental networks and alliances, 421–422, 424, 433
 intra-national comparison, 428
 research *of* vs. research *for* policy, 423–424
 research patterns, 421–423, 426–37, 427
 units of analysis, 425–427, 431, 437
 vertical systems research, 427, 432–434
 Competence-based education, 18, 21, 122, 124–125, 228, 342, 379, 381, 462, 500, 656, 865
 Competitive advantage, 24–25, 304, 609
 Complexity theory, 11, 191–205, 692
 biographical research and learning biographies, 178, 191–197, 200–204
 complexification of mutual learning, 197–198
 connecting patterns in learning, 192–196, 204–205
 cooperative inquiry, 202–204
 disconnection and fragmentation, 194–195
 duo-ethnography, 202
 joint construction of reality by knower and known, 196–197, 200
 languaging, 196–197
 layered theory of learning, 198–200
 learning as a life process, 195–196
 reflexivity, 201, 203
 uncertainty and emergence, 198, 202
 Confucianism, 858–859, 864–873
 Confucius, 858, 864, 866–869
 Constructivism

- Constructivism (*cont.*)
- constructivist cognitive science, 99
 - constructivist concept of learning, 860, 871, 905–906, 921, 947
 - constructivist epistemology, 13–14, 16–19, 18, 22–23, 26–28
 - constructivist social science, 181
 - radical complexity of learning, 196–197, 860
- Cooke, Bill, 140
- Corcuff, P., 781
- Cornwell, B., 960
- Council of Europe, 217, 380–381
- cradle to grave concept of lifelong learning, 380
 - Education and Training 2020* (2009), 381
 - Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants* (2014), 652
 - permanent education concept, 376
- Covington, L. E., 881
- Craig, D., 392*n*5
- Cranton, Patricia, 905, 992, 1018–1019
- Critical adult education theory, 36, 53–68, 103–106
- emancipatory epistemology, 27
 - focus on transformative change, 53–58
 - grassroots political activism, 54
 - Marxist foundations and discourse, 10, 53–59, 576
 - role of organic intellectuals, 58, 60–62
 - role of revolutionary social movements, 54.
 - See also* Critical pedagogy; Frankfurt School; Marxism; Radical adult education; Transformative learning
- Critical analysis, 10, 53, 182, 853, 944, 972, 1000.
- See also* Critical pedagogy; Frankfurt School; Marxism
- Critical pedagogy, 10, 53, 58–62, 64, 75, 137–138, 144, 202, 234–235, 414, 766, 768–770
- Critical race theory, 10–11, 53, 66–68, 227–229, 236–237, 677
- Croatia, 278, 279, 280, 281–283, 492
- Cross, P., 859, 863, 865
- Crossley, N., 551–552
- Crouch, C., 467
- Crowther, J., 363
- Croxford, L., 428
- Cseh, M., 231
- Cuba
- bilateral agreement with Timor-Leste (2002), 636–640
 - literacy method (*Yo, sí puedo*) and campaign, 159, 312, 448, 450, 452, 491, 629, 638–640, 642
 - peasant militia, 54
 - Revolution, 534, 542, 544*n*1
- Culpepper, P., 467
- Cultural economism, 25
- Cultural imperialism, 575, 681, 690
- Cusack, S., 870
- Cyprus, 281–283, 346, 501*n*10
- Czarniawska, B., 723
- Czech Republic, 282–283, 344, 345–346, 467
- D**
- Dahlstedt, Magnus, 730
- Dale, J., 151–152, 157–158, 161
- Daniel, John, 945–946, 949
- Darkenwald, G. G., 863
- Darville, R., 324, 328
- Dausien, B., 194, 201
- Davis, Angela, 64
- Davis, Mike, 78–79
- Dawkins, John, 124–125
- de Certeau, Michel, 114
- de Greef, M., 436
- de Lissovoy, N., 370
- de Solla Price, D. J., 762–763
- de Vita, A., 493
- Dean, Mitchell, 140
- Dehmel, A., 380
- Delaney, D., 5
- Delory-Momberger, C., 195
- Deng Xiaoping, 592–593, 600
- Denmark
- Aalborg University (Denmark), 290
 - Aarhus University, 292, 293
 - apprenticeship training, 471, 476

- education and training system, 463, 475–476, 478
- flexicurity, 261, 471
- folk high schools, 721–731, 784
- folkeoplysning* (popular enlightenment) concept, 475
- participation adult learning and education, 268, 344, 346, 480n7
- university system, 290, 292.
- See also* Universities
- Dennis, C. A., 981
- Densmore, K., 698
- Desjardins, Richard, 11, 345
- Desrosières, A., 329
- Dewey, John, 152, 246, 262–263, 296–300, 302
- Diamond, L. M., 912
- Dickinson, Emily, 1001
- Dirkx, J. M., 233
- Disability
- adult education and learning, 7, 879–894
 - disabilities studies perspectives on learning and education, 883–891
 - disability rights work in South Africa, 827–831
 - Enable Education Training and Development Initiative in KwaZulu-Natal, 889
 - feminist perspectives, 886
 - higher education research study in Romania (2014), 889–890
 - integrative model of disability in adult learning and education, 891–894, 894
 - intersections with other issues (gender, race/ethnicity, sexual identity, class), 885–887
 - learning disabilities, 880–881, 892–893
 - medical and economic perspectives of education literature on disability, 880–883
 - normate concept, 886–887
 - Quarterly Labour Force Survey 2008, 882–883
 - rights activism, 881–883
 - social model, 884–886, 890, 893, 1001
 - training and employment in Singapore, 619
 - UN policy documents and discourse, 884–885
- Dobson, Stephan, 635
- Dockès, E., 781
- Dohmen, G., 340
- Dolci, Danilo, 490
- Doring, A., 949
- Downes, Stephen, 927–928, 941, 948–949
- Drèze, Jean, 275
- Duff, A., 890
- Duguid, P., 294
- Duke, C., 268, 593–594
- Durkheim, Emile, 231–232
- Düvell, F., 680–681
- Dykstra, C., 557
- E**
- Edwards, Andres R., 398
- Edwards, Keith E., 910
- Edwards, Richard, 29, 138, 196
- Egypt, 495–498, 578–580, 961
- Eichler, Matthew A., 7, 739, 906, 908, 910, 913
- Eisner, E. W., 1018, 1022
- El-Geretly, Hasan, 496
- Eliason, M. J., 902
- Elkjær, Bente, 11
- Ellsworth, E., 137
- Emancipatory learning and education
- danger of stultification, 134, 142–144, 147
 - epistemic relativism, 16
 - epistemological perspective, 9–11, 13–14, 16, 18, 19–20, 23, 26–28
 - equality of intelligence assumption, 11, 133–134, 143–145, 147–148
 - heterotopias, 145–146
 - immersion and immersive learning, 17–20, 18, 22, 29, 30
 - knowledge as power, 14, 16, 18, 19
 - limit situations, 134, 145–146
 - paradoxes and ambiguities, 137–141, 143, 147
 - popular universities, 784–787
 - will and intelligence, 143–144.

- See also Empowerment; Lifelong learning and education; Transformative learning
- Empire, concept of, 165
- Empowerment, 44, 47–49, 67, 139, 275, 276, 407, 433, 820, 1020
- Engelman, R., 402
- Engemann, C., 94–95
- Engeström, Y., 172, 692
- English, Leona, 64, 68, 492
- Enlightenment ideals, 17, 23, 97, 798, 802
- Enuku, U. E., 918–919
- Environmental movements, 62, 133, 399, 401, 404–406, 410, 414, 552–553.
- See also Transformative sustainability education
- Environmental non-governmental organisations (ENGOS), 405–406
- Epistemology
- conceptions of knowledge, 15–30
- constructivist, 13–14, 16–19, 18, 22–23, 26–28
- critical realism, 15–16
- disciplinary, 13–14, 16–18, 18, 22–23, 25–28
- emancipatory, 9–11, 13–14, 16, 18, 19–20, 23, 26–28
- epistemic complexity, 7, 9, 13–30
- feminist, 64–65
- incommensurability, 22–23
- instrumentalism, 14–15, 18, 23–29, 298, 411
- Kuhnian paradigm shift, 28
- neoliberal vocationalist, 9, 13
- normative constraints and commitments, 15–17, 21–23
- situational, 9, 13, 15, 28–30, 29
- Erault, Michael, 174, 246, 248
- Erevelles, N., 886
- Erikson, E., 247
- Erkkilä, T., 1014, 1023
- Erlander, Tage, 730–731
- Espeland, W. N., 320, 329
- Esping-Andersen, G., 347
- Espiritu, Y., 656
- Esteban, M. T., 451
- Estes, Carol, 846
- Estonia, 282–283, 346, 472
- European Association for the Education of Adults, 791
- European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (CEDEFOP) study (2014), 250, 256–261, 381
- European Commission, 95, 164, 250, 271, 471, 477
- Action Plan on Adult Learning* (2007), 380–381
- Action Plan on Adult Learning: Achievements and Results 2008–2010* (2011), 341
- classification of learning, 343
- concept of lifelong learning, 379–380
- Draft AES Manual Version 8* (2012), 342–343
- Electronic Platform for Adult Learning in Europe (EPALE) (2015), 381–382, 390–391
- European Guidelines for Validating Non-formal and Informal Learning* (2009), 381
- European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning* (2008), 380–381, 385
- Making a European Area of Lifelong Learning a Reality* (2001), 380
- Memorandum of Lifelong Learning* (2000), 379–380, 389
- Task Force Report on Adult Education Survey* (2005), 342
- Teaching and Learning: Towards the Learning Society* (1995), 462, 479*nl*
- European Union (EU)
- lifelong learning policy and programmes, 376–377, 379–82, 461–480
- Lisbon strategy, 379, 462, 468
- Open Method of Communication (OMC), 379, 391*nl*.
- See also European Commission
- European Year of Lifelong Learning (1996), 378
- Evans, E., 620
- Evans, K., 275
- Evans, N. J., 910

- Evetts, J., 746
 Eyerman, R., 556, 563
- F**
- False consciousness, 20, 55
 Fang Jing, 592, 594
 Faundez, Antonio, 154
 Fávero, O., 446
 Feinberg, W., 152
 Fejes, Andreas, 737–738, 748, 750–751, 753, 755
 Feminism and gender issues
 authentic voice, 65
 critical feminism, 64, 227, 229, 232, 976–977
 critical race feminism, 886
 critique of capitalism and patriarchy, 64
 critique of masculine rationality in HRD, 232, 238
 critique of masculine values in lifelong learning, 678
 feminist disability studies, 886
 feminist epistemology, 64–65
 feminist physics, 413
 feminist theory, 10, 53
 gender bias and neutrality in research, 231
 heteronormativity, 65, 233
 historic connection with socialism, 83
 Marxist-feminism, 635, 643
 materialist feminism, 64
 misogyny, 994, 996–997
 sexism, 231, 237, 676, 689, 972, 996
 women's movements, 36, 83.
 See also LGBTQIA; Queer theory
- Fenwick, T., 196, 234–235, 691
 Ferguson, J., 890
 Fernández, Benito, 455
 Fernandez, J. A., 158
 Feuerbach, Ludwig, 55
 Field, John, 27, 376, 383, 620–623
 Fien, John, 410
 Figgis, J., 1013
 Finsen, Brian, 7, 738, 845, 848
 Finger, Matthias, 36, 79, 408, 576
 Fini, A., 928
 Finland, 278, 280, 282–283, 344, 346, 434, 722–723, 789–790, 798, 801, 802, 807–808
 Finnegan, Ruth, 315
 First Congress of the Peoples of the East (Baku, 1920), 83–84
 Fish, Stanley, 1000
 Flexicurity, 261, 349, 471
 Flowerdew, J., 114
 Foray, D., 122
 Formenti, Laura, 11
 Formosa, Marvin, 841, 847–848, 851, 870
 Fornes, Sandra, 880, 888
 Foucault, Michel, 29, 94, 139–140, 145–146
 France
 assimilationist migrant policy, 652
 Dreyfus affair, 785
 education and training system, 465, 467, 471, 476–477
 integrated vocationalism, 476
 migrant experiences, 674
 participation in adult education and learning, 281, 346
 popular universities, 781, 783, 785, 788–790, 792
 wage–labour nexus, 465
 Franco, M., 533
 Frankfurt School
 critical social theory, 53, 177, 182, 231–232
 critique of positivist social science, 176
 democratic socialist vision, 57
 negative dialectic, 176
 work on mass media and popular culture, 56.
 See also Adorno; Critical theory; Fromm; Habermas; Horkheimer; Marcuse; Marxism; Negt
- Fraser, Nancy, 310, 359, 361, 363, 367–368
 Freire, Paulo, 8, 26–27, 151–166
 active learners concept, 654
 authentic dialogue concept, 494

- Freire, Paulo (*cont.*)
 class suicide, 61
 codification, 135, 157
 concept of conscientisation, 58–59, 135, 155, 157, 162–163, 165, 457*n*4, 852, 1019
 concept of culture, 154–156, 165–166
 concept of radical love, 60
 critique of ‘banking’ concept of education, 26, 161–162
Cultural Action for Freedom, 60
 culture of silence, 155–156, 159–161, 166, 576
 dialogue and pedagogy, 144–145, 147, 154–158, 166, 449, 452, 698, 823–825
Education: The Practice of Freedom, 153–156, 158
Extension or Communication, 154
 influence on education work in Africa, 632
 influence on education work in Europe, 780, 789–790
 influence on education work in Lebanon, 574
 learning as a process of becoming, 658
 limit situations, 134
 literacy work, 153, 155–156, 158–161
 national icon in Brazil, 494
 oppressed/oppressor duality, 160–162
Pedagogy of the City, 154
Pedagogy of Hope, 154
Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 87, 135, 144, 151, 153–154, 161–162, 232, 448, 630
Pedagogy in Process, 154
 praxis, 59, 163
 problem posing education, 154, 162, 996
 role of the educator, 11, 163–164
 spoken books, 154
The Wretched of the Earth, 449
 work and influence in Latin America, 444, 446–452, 454, 457*n*4, 491, 494, 531–532, 540–543, 630, 640.
See also Critical pedagogy; Emancipatory learning and education; Latin America; Popular education
- Freud, Sigmund, 178–179, 185*n*2
 Friedan, Betty, 83
 Friedrich, T., 376
 Fromm, Erich, 56, 58, 231, 246
 Fursova, J., 693
 Furuland, L., 723
- G**
- Gadotti, Moacir, 153–154, 158–159, 415
 Gale, T., 698
 Gallagher, S. J., 65
 Gamson, J., 907
 Gandhi, Mahatma, 634, 729
 Garland-Thompson, R., 886
 Garton, A., 160
 Gay, Geneva, 693
 Gedro, J., 233
 Gee, J., 327
 Geertz, Clifford, 807
 Géhin, J.-P., 465
 Gelpi, Ettore, 152, 165, 489
 Germany, 175, 465, 467, 469, 672–674
 apprenticeship system, 255, 464–465, 473, 674
Beruf (occupational identity), 260
Bildung concept, 10, 93, 97–99, 107, 302–303, 800–802
 coordinated capitalist system, 471
 corporatist regime, 471, 473–474, 478
 disability and job training, 882
 educational journals, 752
 educational standardisation, 463–464
 Green Party, 406
 immigrant unemployment, 674
 participation in adult learning and education, 282–283, 344–346, 344, 463

- trade unions, 104–105
 university model, 102–103
 university networks, 789–790
- Ghana, 7, 549–565
 31st December Women's Movement, 561
 adult education as a social movement, 552–565
 constitutional rule and democracy, 561–563
 environmental degradation, 550–551
 Ghana National Council of Adult Education (GNCAE), 560–561
 Ghana National Education Campaign Coalition (GNECC), 562–563
 influence of Paulo Freire, 549
 Institute of Adult Education, 559–561
 literacy rates, 550
 local literacy movements, 557
 Movement for Freedom and Justice, 561
 NGO activities, 560, 562
 old and new social movements (OSM/NSM), 550–555, 557, 561, 563–565
 People's Educational Association (PEA), 551, 558–560
 political opportunity structures, 553
 poverty, 550
 resource mobilisation, 553
 revolutionary era (1981–1990), 560–561
 role of adult education in development, 550, 559
 social movement learning, 549–550, 555–557
 university-based adult education, 558
- Gibb, T., 699
 Gibbons, M., 823–824
 Gibraltar, 486
 Giddens, Anthony, 263
 Giroux, Henry, 138, 696–697, 982, 994, 1006
 Gitlin, T., 361
 Glendenning, Frank, 840, 846, 848
- Global South, 485, 630–631, 733
 developmental states, 707–708, 711–713, 716–717
 enclosure of the commons, 79
 learning priorities, 436
 literacy teaching, 330
 Project Alice, 791
 transnational migration, 649
- Goastellec, Gaële, 273
 Golding, Barry, 850
 Goldstein, 431–432
 Gonçalves, M., 1020
 Goody, J., 160
 Gorard, S., 919
 Gorur, R., 320, 323–324
 Goulart, João, 153, 446
 Gouthro, Patricia, 146, 612, 678, 740, 977
 Governmentality, 94, 139
 Grace, A. P., 66, 268
 Graff, H. J., 642
 Gramsci, Antonio, 55, 58, 60–62, 78, 152, 350, 488–489, 493, 972
 Gravett, S., 825, 832
 Greece, 278, 280, 281–283, 493, 500, 672
 Green, A., 464–466
 Greenberg, D., 94–95
 Greinert, W.-D., 463
 Grek, S., 370
 Greskovits, B., 467, 471
 Gruenewald, David, 410
 Grugulis, I., 716
 Grundtvig, Nikolaj, 494, 722–723, 725–727, 729, 784, 793
 Gu, Q., 861
 Guha, R., 404–406, 414–415
 Guinea-Bissau, 59, 153–154, 632
 Guo, Shibo, 312, 675–677, 679, 681
 Gustavsen, B., 301
 Gustavsson, B., 799, 810, 812
 Guthrie, H., 745
 Guy, T. A., 66–67
- H**
 Habermas, Jürgen, 10, 26–27, 152, 231, 554, 740, 825
 critique of project of modernity, 24

- Habermas, Jürgen (*cont.*)
 ideology critique, 182
 stabilised learning and the life-world, 100, 102–103, 1015–1016, 1018, 1023
 theory of communicative action, 36, 56–57, 62–63, 100–104, 107, 1014–1016
 typology of social action, 101
- Habitus, 48–49, 689
- Haggard, S., 944
- Hakkarainen, K., 921–922
- Hall, B., 80–81, 556–557
- Hall, K. Q., 885–886
- Hall, P., 354, 466–467
- Hall, Stuart, 657–658, 972, 1000
- Halliday, John, 26
- Halverson, R., 917–918
- Hamilton, M., 326–329
- Hanemann, U., 328
- Hansen, James, 399
- Hardt, M., 165
- Harman, G., 1013
- Harris, Roger, 25, 745, 748, 750–756
- Hart, M., 64
- Harvey, David, 79
- Hasle, P., 304
- Hathaway, M., 414
- Hattie, John, 100
- Hatton-Yeo, A., 851–852
- Havel, Vaclav, 399
- Hawken, Paul, 398, 415
- Hawley, J. D., 610–611
- Heath, Shirley, 315
- Hefler, G., 340
- Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich, 59
- Hiemstra, R., 870
- Higgs, P., 841
- Hill, Robert J., 65–66, 410, 557
- Hill, S., 328
- Hillier, Y., 1013
- Hirsh, W., 248
- History and historical entanglement, 114–115
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 164–165
- Hodge, Steven, 7, 9, 25
- Hodkinson, P., 871
- Hofer, Barbara, 45
- Hofstede, G., 860–861
- Hoggan, Chad, 10, 35, 41, 905, 992
- Hoggart, Richard, 974, 1013
- Holford, John, 86, 113, 552, 556, 739, 868
- Holloway, 977
- Holst, John D., 10, 55, 61, 554–555
- Hong, H. Y., 931
- Honneth, A., 361
- hooks, bell, 64, 162, 231, 996
- Hori, S., 870
- Horkheimer, Max, 56, 101, 104, 906
- Horton, Myles, 60–61, 154, 727–728
- Houle, Cyril O., 26
- Howell, S. L., 232
- Huckle, John, 408, 410
- Human capital and human capital theory (HCT)
 commodification of workers, 58
 conception of non-permanent workers, 709
 conception of skills, 466
 critical approach to, 229
 economics of education, 211, 213–216
 economics of training, 213
 instrumental approach to learning and education, 271–272, 275, 276, 341–342, 382–384, 819
 limitations of, 614
 model of lifelong learning, 822
 model of literacy, 328.
See also Human resources development
- Human resources development (HRD)
 bias and neutrality, 230–231
 Chinese, 588
 critical HRD (CHRD) paradigm, 234–236, 978
 critical management studies (CMS), 234
 critical paradigms, 228, 231–236
 critical turn, 7, 227–239
 dominant model in workplace education, 229
 entanglement with adult education, 227–228
 feminist critique, 232, 238
 influence of critical race theory, 11, 236–237

- influence of queer theory, 233
 relationship between theory and
 practice, 230–231
 social justice perspective, 228–229,
 233, 237–239.
See also Work and identity
 development; Workplace learning
 and education
- Humanisation, 100, 155, 161–162
- Humanism/humanist
 approach to education and learning,
 10, 18, 93–94, 98, 137–138,
 161–162, 376, 389, 817, 833,
 870, 905–906, 921
 post-humanism, 413–414
 progressive, 14, 24
 psychology, 36, 44, 46, 57, 60
 scientific, 14
- Humboldt, Wilhelm von, 102
- Hungary, 278, 281–283, 467, 722
- Huntington, Samuel, 499
- Hutchins, Robert, 121, 978
- Hutchison, B., 885
- Hyslop-Margison, E., 151–152,
 157–158, 161
- I**
- Identity construction and development,
 183–184
 adaptability, 251, 254–255, 949
 critical theories, 232, 234, 236–238
 experience of learning and
 education, 192–193
 learning and popular culture,
 971–986
 reflexivity, 195, 201, 263
 resilience, 251, 254, 949
 role of Internet technology,
 902–903
 role of popular culture, 971–986
 social and cultural negotiation,
 172–173, 177–178, 232, 246
 transformative power of education,
 275, 276
 war on terror and collective identity,
 984.
See also Narratives/narrativity; Work
 and identity development
- Igo, S. E., 329
- Ilieva-Trichkova, Petya, 7, 11
- Illeris, Knud, 10, 93–94, 98, 103, 107,
 920, 922, 932, 949
- Illich, Ivan, 154, 541, 588
- India, 414, 611, 672, 688, 729,
 791–792
- Informal economy, 79
- Information and communication
 technology (ICT), 6, 14, 24, 28,
 839
 affordances of technologies, 924,
 926, 928–930
 changing education practices,
 917–918
 computers as tools in education,
 923–924
 Computer-Supported Collaborative
 Learning tools (CSCL), 924,
 929–931, 933–934
 flipped class model, 918, 944, 950
 heutagogy, 948
 impact on older adults, 849, 951,
 965
 individualised learning and careers,
 248
 knowledge acquisition, 925–927,
 931–934
 knowledge creation, 921–923, 925,
 929–934
 learning without teaching, 171, 943
 learning-centric approach in adult
 and lifelong education, 917–934,
 950–951
 Massive Open Online Courses
 (MOOCs), 739–740, 918, 923,
 925–929, 931–932, 939–953
 metaphors of learning, 921–923,
 922, 925
 participation and connectivist
 learning, 921, 927–929,
 931–934, 941, 946, 948
 role of Internet in identity formation
 and construction, 902–903
 tutor identity, 949
 Web 2.0 tools for knowledge
 creation, 924, 928–929,
 932–934, 1012
- Inglehart, R., 554

- Inglis, Tom, 139
- International Association for Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), 212
- International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), 408, 431, 560, 593, 630, 642–643, 791
- International Labour Organization, 79
- International Women's Day, 83
- Ireland, 344, 345–346, 479
- Irving, Catherine J., 64
- Iser, W., 999
- Israel
- conflict with Palestine, 497, 579–581, 583
 - educational role of kibbutzim, 494
 - immigration from Africa and Eastern Europe, 498
 - literacy programmes, 494
- Italy, 260–261, 344, 345–346, 463–464, 489–490, 493, 499–500, 501*n*6, 672, 675
- Iversen, T., 469
- J**
- Jackson, Sue, 661, 945
- Jacobs, R. L., 610–611
- Jamieson, A., 945
- Jamison, A., 556, 563
- Jan, Shazia, 310
- Jansen, T., 138–139
- Japan
- education as part of life, 285
 - kominkans* (community learning centres/popular universities), 782–783
 - lifelong learning policy, 782
 - participation in adult learning and education, 346
 - retirement age, 851
 - sensei* (intellectual master), 164–165
 - Tokai University, 726–727, 784
 - workforce education and training, 465–466
- Jarvis, Christine, 740, 977, 980, 1022
- Jarvis, Peter, 138, 274, 573, 613, 678, 846, 848, 859–861, 865, 870–871, 920, 922, 932
- Jenkins, H., 973–974, 982–984, 986
- Jiang Zemin, 588, 595
- Jickling, Bob, 407
- Johansson, Barbro, 731–732
- Johnston, Anton, 491
- Johnston, R., 746
- Johnstone, J., 345
- Jokila, S., 430
- Jones, M., 882–883
- Jones-Quartey, R., 559
- Jordaan, R., 822
- Jordan, B., 680–681
- Joshi, H., 360
- Jubas, K., 976, 979–981, 1021
- Jung, Carl, 38
- K**
- Kahn, R., 402
- Kane, L., 629–630
- Kant, Immanuel, 97
- Kawachi, P., 965
- Kearns, P., 742, 746, 755
- Kehi, Balthasar, 634
- Kelly, 557–558
- Kemmis, S., 302
- Kendall, M., 966
- Kennedy, John F., 544*n*1
- Kennedy, P., 861, 864
- Keynesianism, 139, 217–219, 384
- Kidd, Roby, 588, 593
- Kierkegaard, Soren, 810
- Kim, K. H., 869
- Kinchelo, Joe, 155
- King, Martin Luther, 61
- King, R., 1015
- Kingsolver, Barbara, 991–996, 1001–1002
- Kinsey, A. C., 911–912
- Kirkwood, A., 933
- Kirkwood, C., 152, 162–163
- Kirkwood, G., 162–163
- Kirsch, Irwin, 323, 325

- Kitayama, S., 860–861
 Kivisto, P., 668–669
 Klein, Naomi, 398
 Kluge, Alexander, 104, 176–177, 185*n1*
 Knowledge-based economies, 11, 219–220, 289–290, 304, 354, 379, 671, 689
 Knowledge economy, 27, 111, 122, 125, 389, 612, 819, 865, 919
 Knowledge society, 95, 195, 462, 782, 794, 868, 921
 Knowles, Malcolm S., 26, 60, 501*n5*, 920–921, 926, 928, 950–951, 966
 Knox, J., 947
 Knutson, P., 976
 Kolb, David, 823, 948
 Kong, L., 712
 Korea, 346, 466, 520
 Korten, David, 398
 Kosmidou, C., 137–138
 Kothari, Uma, 140
 Krugman, P. R., 616
 Kuhn, Thomas S., 28, 36, 231
 Kumar, Prem, 311–312, 609, 613, 618
 Kunz, W. M., 972
 Kuruvilla, S., 618
- L**
- Laclau, E., 532, 972
 Lamont, M., 117
 Lane, M., 79
 Langdon, J., 557
 Lange, Elizabeth A., 7, 310, 410
 Lapassade, Georges, 535, 545*n5*
 Larson, D. G., 724
 Larsson, Staffan, 722, 747
 Larweh, K., 557
 Laslett, P., 841–842
 Latin America
 Alliance for Progress (ALPRO) programme, 532, 534
 Cordoba movement, 780, 786
 Council for Adult Education in Latin America (CEAAL), 444, 791
 dependency theory, 447
 extensión universitaria (outreach activities), 780, 785
 historical development of adult and popular education, 445–447
 indigenous learning and education, 783, 788
 influence of Paulo Freire, 444, 446–452, 454, 457*n4*, 491, 494, 531–532, 540–543, 630, 640
 landless rural workers' movement, 414, 456
 legacy of colonialism, 447–449
 liberation theology, 447, 453–454, 541
 literacy projects, 153, 446–447, 449
 popular communication movement, 447
 popular education, 59, 153, 311, 446–457, 489–491, 531–546
 popular universities, 783, 786–788
 radio schools, 446
 social movements, 79
 theatre of the oppressed, 447–448.
 See also Argentina; Bolivia; Brazil; Chile; Cuba; Mexico; Nicaragua; Venezuela
 Latour, Bruno, 310, 315–316, 321
 Lauder, H., 617
 Lave, J., 294, 367, 692
 Lavender, Peter, 848–849
 Lavery, D., 1002
 Law, John, 321
 Law, M., 37, 557
 Lawn, M., 370
 Lawson, K. H., 25
 Lawton, William, 943–944, 953
 Leake, D. W., 882
 Learning cities and regions, 100, 595–596
 Learning organisations, 99, 595
 Lederach, John Paul, 631, 635
 Lee, Moosung, 310, 376–377, 392
 Lee, R., 521
 Lee, W. O., 864
 Leithäuser, Thomas, 180
 Lekoko, Rebecca Nthogo, 8, 740
 Lemke, T., 139–140
 Lengrand, Paul, 539, 545*n8*, 588
 Levín, F., 533
 Levine, K., 324
 Levinson, D. J., 903–904

- Lewin, Kurt, 301
- Lewis, T., 144
- LGBTQIA (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer, intersex, and allies), 7, 739
- adult development and unfolding, 903–904
- conceptual issues, 901–902
- experiences of transnational LGBTQIA migrants, 908–909
- fluid gender and sexuality identities, 900, 902, 910–912
- heterosexism, 233, 237, 903
- inequality and discrimination, 907, 909
- Internet technology and identity formation, 902–903, 906
- Kinsey scale, 911
- models of gender and sexuality identity, 900–901
- oppression, 233, 906
- queering transformative learning, 904–913
- rights and practices, 908–910
- role of allies, 909–910
- sexual identity, 911–912
- trade union activism, 83.
- See also* Queer theory
- Li Li, Madame, 591–592, 594
- Libya, 152, 486, 495, 497–499, 672, 959, 961
- Lie, J., 667–668
- Life history research, 170, 177–179, 183, 655–656, 1021
- backstories, 655–656
- biographical research and learning biographies, 178, 191–197, 200–204
- biographicity, 201.
- See also* Narratives/narrativity
- Lifelong learning and education
- agency process and achievement, 274–276, 285
- analytic borderlands, 10, 111–112, 115–120
- bungee jumping, 268
- capability approach, 7, 11, 268–285
- capability conversion factors, 270
- chameleonic concept, 268
- Lifelong learning and education (*cont.*)
- comprehensive concept of learning, 99, 103, 107
- conceptual model, 276, 277
- conceptual vagueness, 268, 610–612
- Confucian view, 858–859, 864–873
- constructivist concept of learning, 860, 871
- diachronic entanglement, 125–128
- differential impact, 284–285
- elastic concept, 380
- emancipatory process, 11, 267–285
- EU policy and programmes, 376–377, 379–82
- focus on individuals, 94–95, 200, 274
- founding narrative, 462
- Goliath term, 268
- governmentality, 94
- hegemonic position, 152, 159, 268
- holistic approach, 47, 63–64, 111–112, 218–219, 367–368, 520–521, 523, 562–563, 575, 620, 746, 794, 819–820, 823, 849, 857, 860–861
- hybrid public policy regimes in Europe, 461–480
- ideal-typical regimes, 469–479, 474–475
- instrumental–utilitarian model, 613
- learning as competence, 122, 124–125, 500, 865
- learning as performance, 10, 111, 113, 121–122
- ‘learning turn’ in adult education, 10, 111–129
- liquid learning, 113–114
- market design and regulation, 122–123
- multicultural entanglement, 123–125
- neoclassical framework, 218–220
- neoliberal view of, 268, 350, 354, 376, 378–379, 392*n*8, 612, 865–866, 868, 871
- OECD policy and programmes, 219–220, 338, 376–380, 382–392, 793
- perpetual learning, 112

- personality-driven process, 268
 policy discourse of international organisations, 375–392
 Prior Learning Assessment and Recognition tradition, 674
 transdiscursive entanglement, 114–115, 120–123
 UNESCO policy and programmes, 217–218, 376–379, 385, 388–391, 512, 520, 532, 564, 819–820, 831, 919–920
 use in immigration policy, 650–654, 656
 utopian vision, 121, 129
 varieties of capitalism typologies, 461, 463, 466–469
 vocationalisation, 378
 World Bank policy and programmes, 376, 378, 385–387
 Life-world, 100, 102–103, 169, 176, 193–194, 197–198, 1015–16, 1018, 1023
 Lind, Agneta, 491
 Lingard, B., 328, 370–371
 Liodakis, N., 670–671
 Lipson Lawrence, R., 1019–1020
 Liu Xiaobo, 597
 Liu Yandong, 596
 Lobrot, Michel, 535, 545*n*5
 Londoño, L. O., 160
 Lopez, G. R., 890
 Lorca, Federico Garcia, 490
 Lorenzer, Alfred, 178–182, 184–186
 Lowy, L., 870
 Lozano, Guillermo, 738, 780
 Lucas, Arthur, 407
 Lucio-Villegas, Emilio, 8, 11, 152, 159
 Lukács, Georg, 116
 Lundvall, B.-A., 122
 Lunt, K., 943–944, 953
 Lyotard, Jean-François, 23–24
- M**
- Ma Mung, E., 670
 MacLean, T. B., 972
 Macy, J., 414
 Mainardes, J., 424
 Maley, A., 861
 Malone, Karen, 410
 Manalansan, M. F., IV, 908, 913*n*9
 Mandalios, J., 117
 Mao Zedong, 588–593, 600, 602–604
 Mara, D., 889–890
 Marcuse, Herbert, 56, 231
 Marginson, Simon, 273
 Markus, H. R., 860–861
 Marshall, T. H., 799
 Marsick, V., 966
 Martí, José, 450, 452
 Martin, B., 599
 Martin, Peter, 409
 Maruatona, Tonic, 7, 311, 513
 Marx, Karl, 53, 55–56, 58–59, 104, 152, 161, 164, 177, 185*n*1, 231–232
 Marxism
 Chinese, 593
 classical, 104
 critical theory, 10, 53–59, 576
 critique of individualism, 56
 grand theory, 175
 political economy, 85
 societal relations, 176
 structuralism, 116
 worker alienation, 56
 Marxophobia, 55
 Maser, C., 403
 Masschelein, Jan, 138–139, 146
 Massey, D., 118, 659
 Matheson, C., 610, 612
 Matheson, D., 610, 612
 Matsumae, Shigeyoshi, 726–727, 783
 Matthew effects, 348, 766
 Maturana, H., 196
 Mayo, Peter, 58, 68, 311, 492
 McAuley, A., 918
 McBain, L., 428–429
 McCarthy, J., 552–553, 63
 McCarthy, M., 555
 McClean, M. D. A., 888
 McClusky, H. Y., 845, 869
 McLaren, Peter, 55, 59, 138, 370
 McLean, S., 977
 McRuer, R., 887
 Mead, George H., 297
 Mediterranean region, 485–501
 adult education provision, 488–501

- Mediterranean region (*cont.*)
 Arab states, 495–498
 community education, 496
 cultural political construct, 485, 487–488
 digital media, 498
 education for self-management (andragogy), 492
 ethnic/religious conflict, 497
 lifelong learning for employability, 492–493, 500
 literacy initiatives, 495, 497–500
 MENA region and Israel, 494
 migration issues, 489, 498–499
 patron–client relationships, 490
 radical and popular education in the north-west area, 488–491
 rural universities, 491
 social purpose education, 493
 ‘weak states’, 490
 workers’ education programmes, 493, 499
- Méhaut, P., 465
 Meilland, C., 475
 Melo, A., 491
 Mercken, C., 871
 Merriam, S. B., 746, 859, 865
 Merriweather-Hunn, L. R., 66, 68
 Mexico, 54, 451, 785, 787
 Mezirow, Jack, 10, 26–27, 35–42, 49, 56–57, 62–64, 192, 196, 825, 1016, 1018–1019, 1024
 Mignone, Emilio, 535–536, 543
 Milana, Marcella, 310, 370, 428–429
 Milani, Don Lorenzo, 489
 Mills, C. Wright, 105, 176
 Mincer, J., 271
 Mindfulness, 45, 252, 259
 Minear, A., 886
 Mirchandani, K., 690
 Miri, B., 925–926
 Mishra, P., 1017
 Mizzi, R. C., 908–909
 Modernity
 grand narratives, 24
 liquid vs. solid, 113, 118–119
 project of, 14, 24, 102
 Modipa, T. R., 889, 891
 Mojab, Shahrzad, 64, 79, 635, 643, 660, 689
 Molnar, V., 117
 Monroe, Martha, 410
 Mons, N., 472
 Moodie, G., 746
 Moore, A., 155
 Moosa-Mitha, M., 653
 Morales, Evo, 455, 544
 Moretti, Cheron Zanini, 8, 310
 Morin, E., 198
 Moriña, A., 890
 Moriña, A., 890
 Mørk, B. E., 300
 Morrice, Linda, 312
 Morrison, Anne, 748, 750–756
 Mostafa, T., 465–466
 Mouffe, C., 532, 972
 Müller, W., 463–464
 Munck, R., 79
 Munn, Sunny L., 7, 11
 Myers, J. Gordon, 37–39
 Myers, Karen A., 881, 891
- N**
 Nabalamba, A., 958–960
 Nabi, R., 317
 Nakagawa, K., 982
 Narratives/narrativity, 65, 117, 122, 200–203, 259, 263
 abductive thinking, 194
 biographical research and learning
 biographies, 178, 191–197, 200–204
 biographisation, 194–195
 counter storytelling, 68
 master narrative, 120, 975
 national stories, 119
 popular fiction, drama and film, 978, 992–1006
 role of news media, 199, 322
 typology, 119–120
 Neale, B., 114
 Nebbia, Litto, 331, 332*n*12
 Negri, A., 165
 Negt, Oskar, 10, 93–94, 103–107, 175–177, 185*n*1

- Neidhardt, F., 552
- Neoliberalism
 economic globalisation, 4, 345, 349, 354, 408, 412, 451, 701
 entrepreneurial individuals, 139–140
 globalisation of performativity, 14, 28
 hegemony in western political economy, 218–219, 345, 350, 388, 791
 ideology of individualism, 122, 129, 219, 400, 680, 860, 868, 980, 1014
 influence on radical adult education, 80–81
 learning for earning, 408, 513, 740
 ‘left-wing’, 81
 managerialism, 139–141, 302, 400, 412, 738, 747, 1023
 market liberalisation, 219, 467
 predominance in adult education field, 81–82, 219, 222, 388, 436, 462, 467, 544, 634, 642–643, 805, 978, 981–982, 1013–1017, 1023–1024
 privatisation of public services, 58, 408, 448–449, 979
 segmentation and specialisation in learning, 195
 shift from ‘education’ to ‘learning’, 9, 13, 23, 80–81, 219–220, 274
 social disadvantage and inequality, 219
 social policy, 13–14
 view of lifelong learning, 350, 354, 376, 378–379, 392*n*8, 612, 865–866, 868, 871
- Nesbit, T., 434
- Netherlands, 282–283, 344, 346, 348, 651, 784, 790
- New institutionalism, 216, 340
- New public management, 212, 215, 220, 746–747, 755, 805
- New Science, 398, 414
- Newman, S., 851–852
- Newton, Isaac, 9, 49
- Ng, P. T., 614
- Ng, R., 689, 695
- Nicaragua, 54, 153, 159, 448, 450, 498
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 559
- Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), 81, 338, 398, 404–406, 408, 411, 415, 493, 560, 562, 630, 633–634, 636, 889
- Nordic folk high school model, 313, 721–733, 779–780
- Bosei Gakujuku and Tokai University, Japan, 726–727
- dissemination and local interpretation, 723, 733
- egalitarian teaching relationship, 721
- folk development colleges in Tanzania, 730–732
- Gonobidyalaya schools in Bangladesh, 729–730
- Grundtvigian tradition, 722–723, 725, 727
- Highlander Folk School in Tennessee, USA, 727–728
- holistic lifelong learning and personal development, 722
- ideal-typical forms of dissemination, 724, 732
- immigrant pupils, 722
- spread through inspiration, 725–728
- spread through migration, 724–725
- spread through persuasion, 728–732.
See also Popular universities
- Nordic social and economic model, 289–290, 301–303, 346–348, 353, 465, 722–724, 728, 780, 793, 797, 799, 802, 805, 811
- Nordic study circles, 797–812
- citizenship as ‘being’ and ‘acting’, 799–800, 804, 806, 809–811
- comparison of Finnish and Swedish contexts, 800–802
- ethnographic case studies, 806–811
- historical development, 802–803
- ideals and aims, 803–804, 811–812
- participation rates, 801–802, 802
- Nordvall, Henrik, 313, 730

- Norman, E. R., 984
- North American Association for Environmental Education, 407
- Norway, 279, 282–283, 344, 346, 721–724, 798
- Nóvoa, A., 370
- Nowotny, H., 824
- Nthomang, Keitseope, 8, 740
- Nussbaum, Martha, 11, 48, 269–270, 272
- Nutbrown, C., 1022
- Nyerere, Julius, 730–732
- Nylander, Erik, 737–738, 748, 750–751, 753, 755
- O**
- O'Connor, D., 870
- Odgren, E., 980
- Offe, C., 554
- Ojugwu, C. N., 918–919
- Older adults, 7–8
- active/productive ageing, 843–844
 - adult education providers and provision, 846–848
 - ageing populations, 839, 959–960, 961
 - barriers to lifelong learning, 619, 863, 966
 - categorisation, 842
 - Confucian view of lifelong learning, 858–859, 864–873
 - critical perspectives, 844–846
 - cultivation of wisdom, 870
 - deficit discourse, 844–845
 - disengagement theory, 845
 - East–West comparison of lifelong learning, 860–872
 - fourth age, 841–842, 847, 850–853
 - gerontological education, 840
 - health and education, 849–850
 - ICT impact on older adults, 849, 951, 965
 - intergenerational learning, 851–852
 - learning in later life (educational gerontology), 738, 839–853, 857–872
 - men's shed movement, 850
- Older adults (*cont.*)
- multigenerational workforces, 620–623, 621
 - open education resources (OER) case study (Africa), 957–968
 - silver industry, 843
 - social exclusion, 844
 - third age learning, 788, 841–842, 847
 - types of needs in older adults, 869–870, 958, 966
 - volunteering, 844–845
 - workplace learning, 851
- Olesen, Henning Salling, 11
- Oliver, Michael, 883–884
- Olkinuora, E., 1012
- Olofsson, G., 555
- Olsen, M., 377
- Onfray, Michel, 788
- Onganía, Juan Carlos, 534–535, 545n3
- Open education resources (OER), 7–8, 740, 957–968.
- See also* Information and communication technology
- Organic intellectual, 58, 60–62, 75
- Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)
- adult learning and education agenda, 11, 211–212, 217–221, 338, 341–343, 351, 362, 431
 - Beyond Rhetoric: Adult Learning Policies and Practices* (2003), 383–384
 - Competence and Cooperation conference (1984), 125
 - Education and the Economy in a Changing Society* (1989), 338
 - Equity and Quality in Education: Supporting Disadvantaged Students and Schools* (2012), 360
 - International Adult Literacy Survey (IALS) (1990s), 215, 220, 318–320, 324, 340, 343, 344, 348, 431
 - Jobs for Youth: United Kingdom* (2009), 478

- knowledge-based economy concept, 122, 219
- Learning a Living: First Results from the Adult Literacy and Life Skills Survey* (2003), 340, 343
- Lifelong Learning for All* (1996), 219–220, 338, 378, 382
- lifelong learning policy and programmes, 219–220, 338, 376–380, 382–392, 793
- literacy assessment, 310, 316, 318–320, 324–325, 327–331, 331*nn*5–6, 9, 360
- National Qualifications Frameworks, 384–385
- OECD Skills Strategy: Towards an OECD Skills Strategy* (2012), 351
- Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), 215, 320, 331*n*6, 340–348, 344, 353–354, 362, 423
- Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), 324, 328, 331*n*9, 362, 387, 391, 468, 472–473, 475–477
- Promoting Adult Learning* (2005), 384, 392*n*6
- recurrent education concept, 217–218, 220, 376, 382
- refugees and migration, 654–655, 672–674
- Rethinking Human Capital* (2002), 383
- skills development agenda, 220, 369–370
- The Role of National Qualification Systems in Promoting Lifelong Learning* (2005), 384–385
- workplace guidance, 433
- Organisational learning
- communities of practice, 99, 172, 249, 250–251, 255, 262, 294–295, 692, 920, 980
 - knowledge production, 293–294
 - practice-based theory, 294–295, 303
 - pragmatism, 290, 294–296, 298–299, 303
 - routinisation, 293
 - social interactionism, 296–297
 - solving uncertainties, 296.
 - See also* Universities; Workplace learning and education
- Organization of American States (OAS), 536, 545*n*7
- Orr, David, 407
- Oslund, C. M., 881–882
- O’Sullivan, E., 63, 410, 414
- Ouane, A., 512
- P**
- Paavola, S., 921–922
- Pagán, Ricardo, 882
- Pagán-Rodríguez, R., 882
- Paiva, V., 455, 539
- Paldanius, S., 351
- Palestine, 571–584
- Al-Quds Open University, 498
 - context-oriented adult education theorising, 571–572, 584
 - fear of *ghazo’ thakafi* (cultural invasion), 583
 - global and indigenous terminology in adult education theorising, 573–575, 583
 - history of adult education, 579–584
 - intellectual gap between ‘thinking globally’ and ‘acting locally’, 572, 584
 - orientalist perceptions, 574
 - Palestinian Liberation Organisation, 580
 - patriotic identity and political activism, 580–581
 - philosophical and methodological dilemmas for adult education, 571–579
 - popular education movement, 581
 - ta’lom* (learning) and *ta’lim* (teaching), 574
- Palme, Olof, 218, 730–731
- Papert, Seymour, 923
- Park, J., 690
- Park, P., 157
- Parks, Rosa, 728
- Participation in learning and education, 11, 337–355, 359–71

- Participation in learning and education
(*cont.*)
- Adult Education Survey (2007/2011), 277–284
 - African universities, 820–821
 - age differences, 347–348, 621
 - agora (community space) concept, 799, 823–824, 828, 830, 832
 - classification, measurement and interpretation, 338–343
 - effect of ‘the long arm of the family’, 348–350
 - effect of ‘the long arm of the job’, 348–350
 - employer-supported learning and education, 344–345, 344
 - future research opportunities, 353–355
 - impact of personal characteristics, 347–348
 - impact of welfare state regime, 346–347, 353
 - inclusion and fairness, 273, 278–280
 - index of fairness, 11, 278, 279
 - inequalities, 338–339, 346–353
 - international surveys, 341–343
 - involuntary participation, 345–346
 - Matthew effect, 348
 - national participation rates, 268, 279, 281–283, 346–347
 - new tyranny of participation, 140
 - Nordic study circles, 801–802, 802
 - obstacles and barriers, 11, 281–283, 350–353, 619
 - OECD programmes and reports, 338
 - participation rates and trends, 343–350
 - participatory space and capacity, 695, 698–699, 701
 - reasons for non-participation, 350–351
 - redistribution, recognition and participatory parity, 359–361, 363–369
 - UNESCO programmes and reports, 338–339
 - Participatory research, 62, 157, 191, 452–453, 584, 629, 631, 635, 694–695, 806–811, 826–827, 968
 - Paterson, R. W. K., 25–26
 - Patton, M. Q., 230
 - Pedagogy of dislocation, 29
 - Peery, Nelson, 75–76, 86
 - Perón, Juan Domingo, 545*n*2
 - Perrons, D., 710
 - Perry, William G., 49–50
 - Peterson, David, 841
 - Phelps, Edmund, 597
 - Phenomenology, 102, 176, 178, 1015
 - Piaget, Jean, 99, 173–174, 574
 - Pichardo, N., 554
 - Pickard, L., 747
 - Piussi, A. M., 493
 - Plant, P., 433
 - Plato, 26
 - Plumb, Donovan, 79
 - Plummer, K., 902
 - Pohl, A., 433
 - Poland, 278, 280, 282–283, 344, 346, 348, 467, 672, 722, 784–785, 789–790
 - Political economy of adult education, 11, 211–223
 - critical social science, 216, 222–223
 - diversification of research, 221–222
 - economics of education, 211–216
 - human capital framework, 213–216
 - modernisation–Keynesian framework, 217–218
 - neoclassical framework, 211–212, 214, 216, 218–222
 - skills development framework, 220–221
 - Political opportunity structures (POS), 553
 - Politics of listening, 694
 - Popular culture and adult learning, 971–986, 991–1006
 - ‘auteur’ concept, 999

- collective intelligence and meaning-making, 974
- comics, 978–979
- convergence culture, 973–975, 981–986
- creative learning and fiction writing, 1021–1023
- Doctor Who*, 971–972, 981
- empathy as political act, 1002
- everyday spaces of learning, 981–983, 991–992
- feminist identity and *The Avengers*, 976
- fiction creators as teachers, 995
- fictions as teaching vehicles, 1000–1005
- intention/reception distinction, 999–1000
- interdisciplinary studies, 983–984
- I-pistemology, 985
- popular fictions, 977, 991–1006
- popular films, 980, 996–997
- public pedagogy, 975, 977–979, 982, 985, 993–994, 1006
- social media and online learning, 981–983
- television programmes, 980–981
- transmedia storytelling, 984
- video gaming, 982
- works of Barbara Kingsolver, 991–996, 1001–1002
- works of Joss Whedon, 992–994, 996–997, 999, 1002–1004
- works of Suzanne Collins, 991–995, 997–998, 1000, 1004–1005
- Popular education, 151–166
- critical response to European modernity, 449
- emancipatory dimension, 445
- ideals and goals, 455, 803–806, 811–812
- new social subjects, 453–455
- promotion of democracy, 798
- transformatory purpose, 452.
- See also* Argentina; Brazil; Cuba; Freire; Latin America; Mediterranean; Nordic folk high school model; Nordic study circles; Palestine; Popular universities; Timor-Leste
- Popular universities, 779–795
- Barefoot College in Rajasthan, 791–792
- commitment to emancipatory knowledge, 784–787
- Cooperative University of Paris, 792
- course offerings, 781
- definitions, 781
- funding, 783, 793
- intended beneficiaries, 787–789
- networks, 789–791
- organisation and functioning, 781–782
- social pedagogy, 793–794
- Porter, D., 392*n*5
- Portes, Alejandro, 668–669
- Portugal, 282–283, 486, 491, 632, 785, 791
- Post hoc mapping, 29
- Postmodern engagement, 29
- Postmodernism, 29, 68, 82
- Post-structuralism, 137, 768–769
- Powell, Enoch, 657
- Practice-based ontology of learning, 687–688, 691–692, 700–701
- Pragmatism, 53–54, 290, 294–296, 298–299, 303
- Pratt, C., 160
- Praxis, 55, 59, 85–87, 162–163, 351, 556, 565, 845, 852
- Precariat class, 79, 709
- Preece, Julia, 7, 436, 738
- Price, L., 933
- Prodi, Romano, 379
- Psychoanalysis
- methodology, 178, 181
- scenic understanding, 178–179
- symbol interpretation, 170
- unconscious, the, 178
- Psychoanalytic theory, 37, 39, 170, 175, 178
- Psycho-societal theory, 169–186
- dynamic subjective learning, 169–170

- Psycho-societal theory (*cont.*)
 everyday life experience and learning, 175–179, 183–185
 experiential learning, 174–175
 identity formation, 183–184
 language and language games, 11, 170–175, 180–182, 184–185
 material socialisation, 169–170, 179–182, 185
 methodology, 181–183
 sensory experience, 170, 179–181, 183–185
 symbolisation, 11, 170, 178–180
 unconscious dynamics, 181–182
- Puiggrós, A., 448–449
- Putnam, R. D., 651
- Q**
- Queer theory, 10, 53
 critique of HRD theory, 233
 emphasis on deconstruction, 907
 heteronormativity, 65, 233
 intersectionalities with disability studies, 887
- R**
- Race and ethnicity
 counter storytelling, 68
 critical race feminism, 886
 critical race theory, 10–11, 53, 66–68, 227–229, 236–237, 677
 microaggression, 67–68, 982
 racial identity, 67
 racial ‘suicide’, 61
 racism, 67–68, 237, 972, 982
- Racialisation, 236, 677
- Radical adult education, 10, 54–55, 75–88, 152, 488
 fetish of the local/micro, 81
 influence of neoliberalism on, 76, 81
 ‘really useful knowledge’, 81
 revolutionary educators, 76, 86–87.
See also Social justice; Social movement learning;
 Transformative learning
- Raffè, D., 428
- Rahnema, Majid, 588
- Ramallo, Jorge María, 534–535
- Rancière, Jacques, 11, 133–134, 141–147
- Rasmussen, Palle, 7, 10, 290
- Rational actor theory, 111–123, 129
- Rawls, John, 679
- Redmon Wright, Robin, 740
- Rees, G., 345, 354
- Reese, S. A., 929
- Regionalism, 431
- Research and publication
 Anglophone dominance, 766–767, 770, 774–775
 bibliometric measurement as policy instrument, 761–764
 bibliometric studies, 738, 747–748, 750, 756, 761–768, 771
 career and promotion prospects, 761–762, 765, 771–772
 citation game, 762, 764–765, 771–775
 citation patterns, 762, 765–769
 databases and indexes, 425–426, 738, 747–748, 750, 763, 765, 771
 effect of managerial reform, 761, 763
 gatekeeping function of peer review, 764–768
 journals and learned societies, 741–757, 752–753
 research excellence framework (REF), 762, 772
 strategic submission, 768–771
- Resource mobilisation theory, 553
- Ricento, T., 690
- Rida, M. J., 583
- Riddell, S., 611
- Riesman, D., 246
- Rivera, R., 345
- Rizvi, F., 370–371
- Robertson, D. N., 859, 865
- Robertson, I., 745–746, 754
- Robeyns, Ingrid, 275
- Robinson, Clinton, 318, 330
- Robinson, K., 400–401
- Rocco, Tonette S., 7, 11, 65, 233, 237, 880, 888, 891
- Rodriguez, Lidia Mercedes, 8, 311

- Rodríguez, Simón, 448
 Roets, G., 669
 Rogers, A., 376, 732
 Romania, 268, 278, 279, 280, 282–283, 467, 672, 784, 789–790, 889
 Rönnerman, K., 804
 Rorty, R., 361
 Rose, Nikolas, 140
 Rosenblatt, L., 999
 Ross, J., 949
 Ross-Gordon, Jovita M., 7, 739
 Roulstone, A., 883
 Rubens, J., 164
 Rubenson, Kjell, 7, 310, 383–384, 434
 Rucht, D., 552
 Rule, P., 889, 891
 Russia/USSR, 56–57, 83, 642, 784
 Rust, V. D., 722
- S**
- Saar, E., 469
 Sabán Vera, C., 532
 Sadik, Sahara, 312–313
 Said, Edward, 499, 733
 Salmi, J., 600–601
 Salo, P., 804
 Sambrook, S., 235–236
 Samuels, E., 887
 Sandelowski, M., 422
 Sandlin, Jennifer, 976, 978, 983, 985, 993–994
 Santiago, P., 273
 Santos, Boaventura de Sousa, 491, 785, 791
 Sarris, A., 999
 Sartori, G., 3
 Sartre, Jean-Paul, 152
 Sarubbi, Mario, 536, 538
 Sassen, S., 115, 120
 Satzewick, V., 670–671
 Sauders, C., 552
 Savage, G. C., 138
 Savickas, M., 254
 Schied, F. M., 229
 Schleiermacher, Friedrich, 102
 Schmid, R. F., 933
 Schön, Donald, 121, 293
 Schope, R., 902
 Schroeder, A., 932
 Schugurensky, D., 793–794
 Schuller, T., 950
 Schultz, Theodore, 271
 Schwartz, S. H., 860
 Scott, C. L., 237
 Seddon, Terri, 7, 10, 117
 Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 65
 Self-directed learning, 26, 57, 140, 384, 844, 847, 888, 918, 940, 966, 977
 Selkrig, M., 1020
 Sellar, S., 328
 Selman, G., 558
 Selman, M., 557–558
 Selwyn, N., 919
 Semeraro, G., 454
 Sen, Amartya, 11, 232, 269–270, 272–275, 319
 Senge, P., 595
 Service learning, 822–828, 831–833
 Setters, Tiffany, 983–984
 Sevón, G., 723
 Sfard, A., 921
 Sfeir, J., 581
 Shakespeare, T., 885, 890–891
 Shan, Hongxia, 312, 676, 688, 690, 697, 699
 Shavit, Y., 463–464
 Sherry, M., 884, 886
 Shor, Ira, 60
 Shuck, B., 238
 Siemens, George, 921–922, 927–928, 941
 Silver, M., 793–794
 Simons, Maarten, 139, 146
 Singapore
 authoritarian democracy, 617
 Central Provident Fund, 711–712, 715
 demographic features, 613–614
 dependency on trade, 616
 developmental capitalism, 617
 developmental state, 707–708, 711–713, 716–717
 entrepreneurialism, 714–715

- Singapore (*cont.*)
- focus on human capital
 - development, 612, 614–617
 - free trade agreements, 616
 - future-centric and experimental learning, 614
 - inflow of foreign talent, 614
 - life expectancy, 621
 - lifelong learning, 609–624, 620
 - multigenerational workforce, 620–623, 621
 - non-permanent workers, 707–717
 - Skills Development Fund, 711
 - SkillsFuture initiative, 609–610, 615–617, 623
 - training for disabled individuals, 616
 - workforce training and development, 618–623, 711
- Singh, Madhu, 79
- Situational epistemology, 9
- Skinner, E., 931
- Skou, Jens Christian, 299
- Slade, B., 690
- Slovak Republic, 279, 282–283, 346
- Slovenia, 282–283, 467, 471–472
- Smith, Allan, 635–636
- Smith, B. G., 885–886
- Smith, E., 746–747, 754, 756
- Snyder, S., 198
- Soares, L., 446
- Social action, 20, 46, 62–63, 101, 114, 116–117, 137, 165, 561, 906–907.
See also Social movement learning
- Social justice, 7, 27, 152
- arts-based initiatives, 1020
 - capability approach to learning and education, 7, 11, 268–285
 - conceptions of inequality, 360–363
 - distributive, retributive and recognitive concepts of justice, 678–681, 698
 - effects of participation in literacy education, 359–371
- Social justice (*cont.*)
- equality of opportunity, 360, 362, 371, 859, 885
 - global justice movement, 77, 83
 - human resources development, 228–229, 233, 237–239
 - ideal-typical lifelong learning regimes, 469–479, 474–475
 - literacy research projects in Scotland, 363–369
 - pedagogies of difference, 691–692
 - redistribution, recognition and participatory parity, 359–361, 363–369
 - role of popular universities, 784–787
 - social inclusion, 7, 273, 278–280, 380, 384, 387, 436, 474, 500, 661, 844, 852, 902, 918–919
 - transcendent institutionalism, 273
- Social movement learning (SML), 10, 54–55, 75–88, 549–550, 552–557, 643
- coalition building among movements, 83
 - cognitive praxis, 556
 - collective learning, 557
 - movement intellectuals, 550, 556, 565
 - movement knowledge, 635
 - new social subjects, 77–80, 85–87, 445, 453–455
 - old and new social movements (OSM/NSM), 77, 79–85, 550–555, 557, 561, 563–565
 - political economy perspective, 84–85
 - preferred term for radical adult education, 81
- Social space, 117–119, 157, 659, 661, 781
- Sociological imagination, 105, 176
- Somers, M. R., 119–120
- Sørensen, O. H., 304

- Soskice, 354, 466–467
- South Africa
 apartheid system, 507, 509
 service learning and community engagement, 822–825
 service learning project (2012–2014), 826–833
 university contribution to lifelong learning, 821–833
White Paper on Post-School Education and Training (2013), 820
- Southern African Development Community (SADC), 7, 507–527
 challenges to lifelong learning provision, 522–525
 component countries and populations, 508–509
 early childhood care and development, 524–525
 education and lifelong learning funding, 519, 524–525, 527
 HIV/AIDS, 509
HIV/AIDS within the SADC Region (2012), 509
 impact of apartheid system, 509–510
 lifelong learning, 507–508, 511–527
 life-wide and life-deep learning, 512–513
 literacy initiatives, 510–511
 member state lifelong learning provision, 515–520, 516–519
 poverty, 509, 524
SADC Protocol on Education and Training (1997), 511, 514–515, 520–521, 523–524, 527
Towards a Common Future (2012), 511
 traditional African education, 525
- Souza, J. F., 156
- Spain, 282–283, 346, 429, 490–491, 493, 500, 786–787, 789, 890
- Speech act theory, 101
- Speight, Sarah, 7, 739
- Spiegel, G. M., 114
- Spitzer, R. L., 912
- Spretnak, Charlene, 398, 413
- Spruck Wrigley, H., 429
- Standing, G., 709
- Standpoint theory, 64–65
- Stanley, C. A., 236
- Stapp, W., 406
- Staugaard, H. J., 290
- Steele, Tom, 985–986
- Stein, Murray, 38
- Stenhouse, L., 164
- Stephens, J., 469
- Sterling, Stephen, 408–410
- Stevens, M., 320, 329
- Stodden, R. A., 882
- Storan, J., 431
- Storberg-Walker, J., 232
- Storey, D., 5
- Storey, J., 973
- Stoyanova, D., 716
- Strauss, A. L., 297
- Streck, Danilo R., 8, 310, 451
- Streeck, W., 466, 469
- Street, Brian, 315, 317–318, 324, 327
- Stringer, E., 826–827
- Stromquist, Nelly P., 738
- Suasnábar, C., 535
- Sullivan, F. R., 931
- Sumner, Jennifer, 410
- Swanson, R. A., 231
- Sweden
 adult learning and education participation, 479n4
 folk high schools, 722
 redistributive welfare state, 471
 social-democratic education system, 471
 universal regime of lifelong learning, 472–473
- Swimme, B., 414
- Swindell, Rick, 847
- Switzerland, 268, 463–464, 651
- Syria, 152, 486, 495, 497, 580, 651, 657, 672
- T
- Tabor, N., 979, 981
- Tacit frames of reference, 36–38
- Tacit knowledge, 102, 122, 367, 930
- Tagoe, Michael, 7, 311
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 729
- Tam, Siu Ling Maureen, 738–739, 848, 859, 862, 869

- Tamim, R. M., 933
 Tamish, Rahab, 311
 Tan, Sandra, 410
 Tan, Seng Chee, 739, 929–931
 Tapson, Jonathan, 943
 Tarrow, S., 553, 555
 Taylor, Charles, 361, 435
 Taylor, Edward, 39–40, 766, 905
 Taylor, Laramie D., 983–984
 Taylor, Robert, 923–924
 Tedder, M., 253
 Tello, C., 424
 Tett, Lyn, 7, 310, 363
 Thatcher, Margaret, 477
 Thayer-Bacon, Barbara, 398, 413
 Thelen, K., 468–469
 Thompson, E. P., 118, 974
 Thompson, J., 64
 Thompson, P. A., 1021
 Thornham, H., 982
 Tilbury, D., 403
 Timor-Leste, 629–643
 bilateral agreement with Cuba
 (2002), 636–640
 Dai Popular network, 633, 636, 638
 decolonisation, 632, 636
 FRETILIN independence
 movement, 631–632, 636–638,
 642
 Indonesian occupation, 631–635,
 637, 639, 642
 international aid agencies' education
 policy, 633–636
 'movement knowledge', 635
 National University of Timor-Leste,
 631
 peace-building, 630–631, 635, 637,
 642
 political crisis (2005–2007),
 637–638
 popular education and *Yo, sí puedo*
 literacy campaign, 312, 629, 633,
 636, 638–642
 Tisdell, Elizabeth, 64, 66, 1021
 Tito, Josip Broz, 492
 Tohti, Ilham, 597
 Tonkovic, Stipe, 492
 Torres, C. A., 152, 163, 166
 Torres, Rosa Maria, 500
 Totalitarianism, 56–57
 Tough, A., 847
 Transformative learning, 35–51, 53
 behavioural change, 46–48
 change in capability, 46–48
 change in worldview, 44, 47–49
 conceptual evacuation, 10, 35, 50
 creativity development through the
 arts, 1017–1024
 critical reflection, 63–64
 definition of, 41
 disciplinary expansion, 36, 39
 disorienting dilemmas, 38, 63, 199,
 1019, 1022
 education for world citizenship, 48
 epistemological change, 45, 47–49
 frames of reference, 36–38, 63, 1020
 Habermasian critical theory,
 1011–1012, 1014, 1021
 habits of mind, 37, 49, 1019
 learner's sense of self, 44, 47–48
 LGBTQIA perspectives, 899–913
 metatheoretical nature, 10, 35,
 39–42
 Mezirov's theory, 1016,
 1018–1019, 1024
 ontological change, 45, 47–48
 perspective transformation, 36–38,
 40–41, 57, 906, 1019
 philosophical underpinnings,
 905–906
 typology, 35, 41–51, 43, 48
 use of fiction writing, 1021–1023
 Transformative sustainability education,
 397–416
 Brundtland Commission report
 (*Our Common Future*, 1987),
 401
 concept of sustainability, 401–403
 domination matrix of oppression,
 410
 Earth Charter (2000), 402
 ecopedagogy, 415
 education for sustainable
 development, 408–409
 environmental education, 406–408
 environmental justice, 410
 environmental lifelong learning
 (ELL), 410–412

- environmental literacy, 407
 environmentalism, 404–406
 environmentalism of the poor, 414–415
 historical context, 403–404
 normalisation, of catastrophe, 400
 ontoepistemological framework, 398, 401, 413–415
 polyarchy of learning forms and spaces, 412–415
 process approach to learning, 399
 relational ethics, 413–414
 Rio Earth Summit (1992), 401, 408
 ‘sustainababble’, 397, 399, 403
 teaching for turbulence, 400
 transitional generation, 399
 weak vs. strong sustainability, 402
 Transitional learning, 191, 201
 Transnational migration, 321, 649–662, 667–682
 biographical and life history research, 655–656
 concepts of transnationalism and diaspora, 668–671
 cultural values and identity issues, 650–652, 656–660
 deficit model of migrants, 653, 679, 689–690, 692
 diaspora space, 656, 670
 eco-shock, 909
 educational initiatives, 650
 experiences of LGBTQIA migrants, 908–909
 hierarchies of belonging, 657
 immigrant adaptation, 673–677
 intercultural spaces and everyday pedagogy, 312, 650, 654–662
 language proficiency tests, 652–653
 lifelong learning in immigration policy, 650–654, 656, 661
 migrant ‘backstories’, 655–656
 migration figures and trends, 654–655, 671–673, 688
 refugees and asylum seekers, 152, 498, 580, 649, 651, 654–655, 657, 660, 671–672, 722
 retreat from cultural pluralism and multiculturalism, 650–651
 transnational lifelong learning and recognitive justice, 678–682
 triple glass effect among immigrant professionals, 676–677
 Trifonas, P., 691
 Trump, Donald, 651
 Tuijnman, A., 377, 857
 Turkey, 486, 493, 672, 674, 889
 Turner, B., 433
 Turunen, Anika, 738
 Tuschling, A., 94–95
 Tusting, K., 871
- U**
 Uchimura, Kanso, 783
 Ulrich, W., 229
 United Kingdom
 education and training system, 477–478
 Employment and Training Act (1983), 462
 Fircroft College, Birmingham, 722
 freelance TV industry, 716
 Knowledge of Language and Life (KoLL) policy, 653
 language proficiency testing, 652–653
 National Vocational Qualifications (NVQs), 462, 477
 participation in adult learning and education, 344, 346
 ‘Prevent’ strategy against extremism, 651
 Scotland, 310, 359–360, 363, 369
 United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2008), 884–885

- United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development (2005–2014), 399, 435
- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 133–134, 212, 310, 369, 404
- Adult Education: What Is Adult Education?* (2009), 575
- Belem Framework for Action* (2010), 389
- Belgrade Charter* (1976), 406
- Dakar Framework for Action* (2000), 388
- Decade of Education for Sustainable Development* (2014), 388, 409–412
- definition of adult learning and education (ALE), 339, 352, 563, 573, 575–576
- Delors Report (*Learning: The Treasure Within*, 1996), 121, 129, 377–378, 388, 512
- Draft Strategy of Education for Sustainable Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (2006), 819
- Educating for a Sustainable Future* (1997), 408
- Education for All (EFA), 386–388, 431, 635
- environmental education, 406
- First International Forum on Lifelong Learning (2010), 389–390
- Global Report on Adult Learning and Education* (2009), 389, 495
- Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL), 219–220, 331*n*10, 378, 422, 495, 865
- International Directory of Lifelong Learning* (2015), 390
- ‘knowledge ladder’ concept, 925
- Learning to Be* (Edgar Faure Commission report, 1972), 217–218, 352, 377–378, 382, 512, 588
- ‘learning to change’ concept, 388
- lifelong learning policy and programmes, 217–218, 376–379, 385, 388–391, 512, 520, 532, 564, 819–820, 831, 919–920
- Literacy Assessment and Monitoring Programme (LAMP), 578
- literacy programmes, 316–319, 497, 578
- Recommendations on the Development of Adult Education* (1976), 339
- Rethinking Education* (2015), 822, 830
- Review of Contexts and Structures for Education for Sustainable Development* (2009), 404
- Sixth International Conference on Adult Education (2009), 338, 389, 434, 564, 642–643
- Tbilisi Declaration (1977), 406
- Thessaloniki Conference (1997), 408–409
- Transforming Our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* (2015), 411–412
- UIL’s Strategy for Strengthening the Capacities of Governments and Civil Society to Attain EFA and Lifelong Learning in Africa, 819
- World Conference on Education for All (1990), 391, 508
- World Conference on Education for Sustainable Development (2009), 818
- World Education Forum, 388, 520
- United Nations-HABITAT, 78
- United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (UN-IPCC), 400
- United Nations Security Council report *An Agenda for Peace* (1992), 630
- United States
- Americans with Disabilities Act (1990) (ADA), 882
- civil rights movement, 54, 59, 61, 78, 405, 728, 881, 883
- community colleges, 722, 793
- folk high schools, 724–725
- Highlander Folk School, Tennessee, 727–728

- immigrant literacy policy, 429
immigration policy, 651
Monroe doctrine, 534
participation in adult learning and education, 344, 346
pervasive racism, 67–68
police brutality, 77–78
practice of torture, 599
Rehabilitation Act (1973), 881
Social Forum, 77–78
social marginalisation, 77
social movements, 77–79
strikes and political activism, 83
United States Agency for International Development (USAID), 581
Universities
Chinese, 597–601
communities of practice, 294–295
competitive knowledge production, 289, 292–294, 293, 296–304
contribution to lifelong learning in South Africa, 822–833
Danish system of organisational learning, 289–304
Danish University Act (2003), 291–292, 303
Danish university management structure, 291–292, 302–304
experience, inquiry and expertise, 298–300
expertise, 300
external management, 290, 302–303
German model, 102–103
influence of the Nordic model, 301–303, 779–780
networks, 291, 295, 303, 789–791
participation from below, 11, 290, 302
popular universities, 779–795
reward systems, 762
role in knowledge-based economies, 289–290, 303
role in shaping and constructing professions, 746, 755–756
social cohesion, 290
social world, 297–298
strategic management, 289–292
tensions and passions, 296–298.
- See also* Popular universities
Ure, B.-O., 469
Usher, Robin, 29, 137–138, 274
- V**
Valdes, Gilberto, 79
Valentine, G., 659
van Zoonen, L., 985
Vattimo, Gianni, 24
Vaughan, R. P., 819
Venezuela, 450, 788
Verdier, Eric, 311
Verner, C., 339
Vertovec, S., 655
Vietnam, 318, 346
Vinkour, A., 352
Vocational education and training (VET), 25, 96, 111–113, 120–121, 123–125, 252, 261, 432, 463–4, 476–477, 742–750, 754–755
Vocationalisation of education and learning, 9, 378
 competing epistemologies, 13–30
Von Foerster, Heinz, 197, 200, 204
Vygotsky, Lev, 152, 574, 692, 825
- W**
Wagner, D., 930
Wagner, J. N., 972
Wagner, R., 675
Wain, Kenneth, 26, 29, 285
Walker, J., 383, 392*n*5
Walker, M., 270–272, 274, 819
Wallin, Kerstin, 730
Walter, C., 557
Walter, Pierre, 406, 556–557, 699
Walters, S. H., 512–513, 521
Walters, Shirley, 552, 831
Walther, A., 433
Wang, Y. F., 595
Warr, P., 248, 258
Washington, J., 910
Watson, D., 950
Webb, Sue, 737
Weber, Kirsten, 186*n*3
Weber, Max, 101, 104, 231–232, 277
Weedon, E., 611

- Weert, T. J., 966
- Wehmeyer, M. L., 887–888
- Weinberg, Gregorio, 456*nl*
- Welton, Michael R., 56–57, 79–80, 138, 552, 554
- weMfondo, U., 521
- Wendell, Susan, 886–887, 894
- Wenger, E., 172, 294, 367, 692
- West, Cornel, 55
- Westin, C., 674
- Whedon, Joss, 992–994, 996–997, 999, 1002–1004
- Wheelahan, L., 746
- Wildemeersch, Danny, 10, 138–139, 660
- Williams, Raymond, 116, 152, 165, 974, 985, 1013
- Williamson, B., 398
- Wiltshire, H. C., 25
- Withnall, A., 848
- Wittgenstein, Ludwig, 170, 180
- Wolfson, M., 563
- Wong, Charles, 593
- Woodhams, S., 986
- Work and identity development, 11, 105, 234, 245–263
 adaptability, 251, 254–255
 cognitive development, 251, 256–257
 continuity and change, 246–248
 craft identity, 713–714
 discursive production, 247
 emotional development, 251, 258–259
 learning as becoming, 245, 250, 251, 253–254, 262
 models of learning and identity development, 249–253, 249, 251
 non-permanent workers, 710–711
 opportunity structures, 247–248, 250, 260–261
 personal narrative, 263
 personal and social factors, 248
 personality traits, 253–254
 practical mastery and development, 251, 257
 reflexivity, 201, 263
- Work and identity development (*cont.*)
 relational development, 251, 255–256
 resilience, 251, 254, 949
 social and cultural negotiation, 246
 socialisation, 248–249, 251, 255, 262
- Workers' Educational Association (WEA), 557–558
- Workplace learning and education, 60, 82, 233, 312–313, 342–343, 363, 365–368, 690–691, 978, 980
 disabled workers, 882
 distributed pedagogy of difference (DiPeD), 312, 687–688, 692–701
 dominant HRD model, 229
 employer-sponsored education and training, 360, 690
 knowledge creation approach, 923
 non-permanent workers, 707–717
 older adults, 851
 participation in cultural practices at work, 367
 situated learning, 173–174
 workforce development, 58, 610–612, 618–623
- World Bank
 concept of lifewide learning, 380
 Conference on Lifelong Learning (2003), 385–386
Education Sector Strategy Update (2005), 386
Learning for All: Investing in People's Knowledge and Skills to Promote Development (2011), 386–387
Lifelong Learning in the Global Knowledge Economy: Challenges for Developing Countries (2003), 819
 lifelong learning policy and programmes, 376, 378, 385–387, 819
Timor-Leste Education: The Way Forward (2003), 633–634
- World Council of Churches, 60, 153

World Environmental Education
Network (WEEC), [408](#)
Wright, Gary L., [981](#)
Wright, R. R., [978](#)
Wyn, Johanna, [112](#)

Y

Yang, B., [233](#)
Yang, C., [615](#)
Yang, R., [601](#)
Yao Zhongda, [589–593](#), [602](#)
Yariv-Mashal, T., [370](#)
Yeaxlee, B. A., [511–512](#)
Young, I. M., [681](#)

Youngman, Frank, [55](#), [631](#)
Yousif, A. A., [495](#)
Yugoslavia, [467](#), [487](#), [492–493](#), [499](#)

Z

Zald, M., [552–553](#)
Zemelman, Hugo, [532–533](#), [538](#)
Zepka, N., [513](#)
Zhang, X. L., [591](#)
Zhao, Y., [601](#)
Zhou Enlai, [589–590](#), [592](#)
Zibechi, Raúl, [79](#), [86](#)
Zöllner, L., [723](#), [725](#)