Aleksandar Bulajić, Tamara Nikolić, Cristina C. Vieira (Eds.)

Navigating through Contemporary World with Adult Education Research and Practice

Institute for Pedagogy and Andragogy, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade, Serbia
ESREA - European Society for Research on the Education of Adults
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Editors

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УНИВЕРЗИТЕТ У БЕОГРАДУ
ФИЛОЗОФСКИ ФАКУЛТЕТ

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WITH ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH AND PRACTICE

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Belgrade, 2020

The authors who participate in this book are responsible for the content of the chapters that were submitted to a blind peer-review process. Their perspectives and opinions may not necessarily represent the official positions of the scientific entities that support the publication, the publishers or the perspectives of the editors. The proofreading of each chapter was ensured by the respective authors, the editors not being responsible for the quality of written English.

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INTRODUCTION: CONTEMPORARY WORLD AND ADULT LEARNING AND EDUCATION

The book *Navigating through Contemporary World with Adult Education Research and Practice* is an assembly of different topics, reflections, novel theoretical analyses and examples of good practices, hopes and worries of a number of researchers and adult educators from various countries and continents. It represents the combined effort to respond and navigate through accelerating growth of research and practice areas of adult education reflecting different contexts, opportunities and challenges present in our contemporary realities. The diversity of theoretical as well as practice related approaches and perspectives encompassed in the chapters of the book emphasize the long way contemporary adult learning and education has come. From the negation and resistance to its establishment as a separate academic discipline, through those understandings that categorized it merely as a method of teaching for adults, to current growing plurality of paradigms and concepts exploring learning in almost every aspect of adult life — today we are contemplating and implementing not only what adult learning is and should be, but also what it could become for individuals, groups and larger communities in the long run.

While some of the adult education research and practices nowadays are more inclined to the ideas of neoliberalism, other point to a welfare state as a framework for the adult education model that has a more holistic and human-centered approach. However, it is not the case of "either-or". There is a substantial body of work representing growing responses to the current situation marked by the rise of neoliberal thinking and weakening of the welfare state, and it is situated between those traditions. Such research and practices of adult education and learning promote novel and creative ways of approaching adult education and learning based on self-organizing, community learning and collaboration. They are clearly overcoming the impression that there is nothing there between social justice and privatization of adult education and, therefore, opening and exploring new possibilities to create, organize and research education and learning of adults.

Crises and technology — Navigating through the future

Joint effort to understand current challenges in different fields of adult education and learning may be seen as an attempt to react to the *synergy of crises* we are facing. Present student debts and potential very near loss of many professions, especially related to tertiary sector, will most likely and very soon, become the next crisis to hit higher education and its traditional role. In several years to come, we might be witnessing the rise of a "global useless class", i.e., massive job and occupation losses affecting hundreds of millions of individuals as a result of recent breakthroughs in artificial intelligence (AI) and automation (Harari, 2020, 00:01:03–00:01:15). The marriage of recent revolutions in digital and biomedical sciences may give new opportunities for abundant and prolonged life for some, leaving many behind the scientific and technological leap forward. New social stratifications and class divisions seem to be certain if not addressed in time.

At the same time, Steven Pinker argues, data give an optimistic picture of the fruits the social and technological progress brought over time. Among other data, Pinker notes that: average life expectancy rose constantly worldwide from around 30 years in the second half of the 18th century to more than 70 years in 2015; child mortality until 5 years of age dramatically decreased from 1/3 in the richest countries about two hundred fifty years ago, to about less than 6% in the poorest countries nowadays; in 1820, 90% of the global population lived in extreme poverty, while in 2015 less than 10% was extremely poor; the annual war/battle caused deaths dropped from 22 per 100 000 per year in the 1950s to 1.2 per 100 000 per year in 2015; from different periods of the 20th century until 2015, mortality due to road accidents, airplane crashes, natural accidents and disasters (lightening strikes, floods, earthquakes, volcano eruptions etc.) and job injuries decreased to a large extent, to become 88%–99% less likely to occur; in the 19th century people of Western Europe and the USA worked for more than 60 hours per week, compared to about less than 40 hours per week in 2015; and in the 86% of countries of the world happiness increased over the several past decades (Pinker, 2018a, 00:04:44–00:08:44; Pinker, 2018b); in 1940 less than 5% of Americans had completed academic undergraduate studies (BA), while by the end of 2015 almost a third of Americans held a BA degree (Pinker, 2018b).

May it be that the progress we are experiencing is clouded by a worrisome portrait depicted by the media and contemporary culture *weltanschauung*? Although humanity advanced extraordinarily in many respects and quality of life improved at an unprecedented rate during the past several centuries and decades, one has to take into account that this progress has its downfalls and potential risks that have to be addressed in order to find proper orientation in the general dizziness created by technological jumps and economical changes. From 2008 to 2018, anxiety was estimated to have significantly increased in the USA (from 5.12% to 6.68%), while in the sample subsection of individuals between 18–25 years of age there was a significant increase, almost doubling in size (from 07.97% to 14.66%). Also, the prevalence was the highest in the lowest income group in comparison to all other income groups and in those with some college education compared to all other education levels (Goodwin, Weinberger, Kim, Wu, & Galea, 2020, p. 443). A systematic review of depressive disorders prevalence among university students showed that 30.6% of students were affected by some form of depression, which is quite higher than in the general population (Ibrahim, Kelly, Adams, & Glazebrook, 2013, p. 397).

In 2020, student debt in the USA reached $1.56 trillion (Friedman, 2020), and about 16.6% of USA citizens have debt regarding federal student loans (Lombardo, 2019). Higher education fees in the UK led to a number of negative outcomes already by early 2000s (Metcalf, 2005), such as an increase in debt and a decrease in students' satisfaction. In Canada, high student debts led to recent graduates' dissatisfactions in terms of employment, while first-generation graduates with high debts experienced less job benefits, lower incomes (even three years upon completion of higher education) and potential regrets about the choice of education they made (McIvor, 2018). In spite of the views that student debt is a useful type of debt, as for being an investment in human capital (Baum, 2016, as cited in Nissen, Hayward & McManus, 2019) and that higher education participation was rising since the early 2000s in many developed countries such as the UK, there is evidence that lower-income class students show more "debt-averse attitudes" than upper-income class students in England, in 2015, and much more than they did in 2002 (Callender & Mason, 2017, p. 41).

Since the 19th century until the present date, adult education rose to become more than a method, organization and providing chances for adults to learn. Maybe more than anything, it acts as a diverse social movement advocating for fairness, equity of chances and social engagement, especially for less privileged social classes. Data regarding student debt seems to show, quite intuitively, that the most affected with the debt crisis are the ones lacking in life opportunities. Can we expect similar data, showing vulnerability of lower-income class adult learners, once the increased digitalization and automation make many current jobs obsolete? How do we need to conceptualize the role of adult education if/when these events take place? In the future, many jobs and professions may need to be thoroughly reinvented. This means an individual may need not to just increase the existing base of knowledge and skills, but to change the base itself, thoroughly transforming it, to learn new skills from the scratch (Harari, 2018). Would compensatory short-term adult education programs be enough to accommodate for these needs? New systemic solutions with greater involvement of governments and societies will probably be necessary — a reinvention of the education system as a whole may be needed. Non-formal and online education (which to a large extent still act as compensatory agents to the formal system) offering new and advanced skills are often expensive and time-consuming, reachable only to the ones who already possess high learning independence, self-direction and adequate wealth. A recent research investigating participation in massive open online courses (MOOC) in statistics and chemistry found around 40% of respondents experience participation barriers related to lack of resources and finances (Shapiro, Lee, Roth, Çetinkaya-Runde & Canelas, 2017). It would be interesting to know how many of those who are in conscious need for participation in these courses experience financial barriers or more systemic barriers related to wider social exclusion for a number of possible reasons.

As increasingly developing AI becomes part of everyday life and human experience, creating new educational needs, both higher education and adult education in general will need to undergo significant changes. All fourth industrial revolution technologies, including AI, will put more focus on adaptability, self-directed learning and thinking as the top needed qualities (Penprase, 2018). More than creating and offering compensatory programs, adult education may be progressively needed in providing learning-how-to-learn skills, fostering self-directiveness, offering support in increasing learning adaptability and development of critical thinking. The teacher role, in general, may likely go through transformation, with more activities of providing motivational and emotional support to adult learners, as well as making the instruction process more strategic and less didactic in terms of planning and designing of learning. Moreover, the role of the teacher in formal education may come to be closer to the concept and current role of the adult educator or facilitator. Intelligent software will be (is) able to create individual tailor-made programs, time adaptable as the learning process unfolds, adjusting the learning external and intrinsic cognitive loads to learners' individual cognitive capacities, as well as to prior knowledge networks. AI provided assessment and evaluation may evolve to constantly monitor learners' knowledge network structuration, adapting the program algorithms to resolve issues in individuals' knowledge base misconceptions or gaps. In other words, intelligent software will be able to learn about the learner, constantly accommodating to individual learners' needs. Aside from the obvious increasing dependence of human learners on intelligent software, AI and machine learning will influence individual learners in manners one can still not fully comprehend. It is probable that human cognition will adapt to become more focused on augmented reality and a new system of symbols will emerge from the evolution of software-human interaction.

It seems that in each possible scenario of further progress, lifelong learning will need to rise to become the central cohesive point of the whole education system, which was its desired purpose from the very beginning. The qualities that for decades were the focus of adult education and learning, such as decentralization, independence from the authority, *deformalization* of learning, self-direction and adaptability, may become principles to be infused by the entire system of education in an emerging sci-tech dominated society. This is of course also the question of values *per se*. One could also ask the question whether embracing these values will be enough and adequate *for all* in the fourth industrial revolution. What about social inclusion, equity of chances and critical aspects of thinking and social activism? Especially in the 20th century, adult education also functioned as a value regulator of societies pointing out to social injustice and creating *alternative learning for communities* and *alternative communities based on learning*. What if the current stampede of technological progress starts to distort a concept of lifelong learning into a lifelong race of obsessive learning of new skills needed for uncritical compulsive customization of human condition to evolving technologies? It is not just the question of who will be excluded from this accelerating marathon but also an issue of how will it affect the wellbeing of the ones who manage to keep the pace. Adult learning and education, more than ever, may be called to action to prevent its learning principles from being hacked by the increasingly techno-driven reality in a way they become contrasted to its core values.

Adult education and learning between neoliberalism and the welfare state

Modernity has left us with a legacy of the two dominant lines of thinking that have both proved utopian in relation to predicting the future we live today. On the one hand, liberal thought positioned that a fair and prosperous society would come along with the progress. On the other hand, critical theory, which recognized a certain amount of repression of the new society in the making, was counting on the material and psychological affordances to provide social stability (De Lissovoy, 2015). Despite these expectations, contemporary capitalism found its way to infiltrate in all aspects of social life, depriving people of any reassurance against powerlessness within the system, taking on different forms: social inequalities, insecurity of employment, declining incomes, increasing poverty and social instability, leaving more and more people on the margins of society. De Lissovoy marks neoliberalism to be the major factor of such tendencies or, in his words, "the principal contemporary agent of these predatory impulses" (2015, p. 1). As an ideology that supports the idea of a free market at the expense of government control, it promoted many ambiguities in all areas of social life, and produced many contradictions in today's world.

What marks neoliberal systems most is heightened individualism registered in terms of individual freedoms of autonomy and choice. Moreover, this position overcomes liberal values of self-reliance, autonomy and independence as necessary conditions for one's self-esteem and, rather, promotes the entrepreneurial side of a subject. Explaining neoliberal position, in that sense, Davis and Bansel (2007) claim that one can achieve freedom through continuous self-improvement through individual entrepreneurial activity. Thus, a central element of neoliberalism is *responsibilization* (Fernado, King & Kunkel, 2020, p. 191) — the premise that every individual is responsible for her/his faith. Those who do not succeed in this competitive arena are marked as an economic liability.

Neoliberal focus on the interests of an individual has inevitable consequences in promoting disregard for public welfare. Moreover, as Davies and Bensel (2007) argue, the "social" and the "economic" in neoliberal discourse represent binary opposites, and the "social" does not comply with what is seen as the good economy. The neoliberal views impose an idea that the state should have a limited regulatory role and the private sector can provide the majority of services for its citizens. This shift put the welfare state in crisis, with the consequence of marginalizing those who cannot comply with the harsh rules of competition. Therefore, by taking the position that there is no alternative to free market-driven economic growth, neoliberal ideology is inevitably marked by insecurity and isolation. "As the economy preoccupies public debate, it leaves little room to speak of injustice, social transformation and other areas that support democratic visions" (Fleming, 2010, p. 16). In that sense, Harvey (2005, p.16, as cited in Fleming, 2010) concludes that it appears that "inequalities are structural to the neoliberal agenda".

The discourses and practices of neoliberalism have found their way into the field of adult education. They established themselves in the form of educational policy, financing and funding regimes, debates on standards, and ongoing educational reform to make education more market responsive. The neoliberal position is that economic productivity does not come from government investing in education, but education being a product on a free market to be bought and sold (Davies & Bansel, 2007). Therefore, neoliberal policies support adult education with the focus on marketable skills. In its efforts to adjust to the demands of the market and contribute to the increase of productivity, the welfare state put an emphasis on creating a skillful workforce, on the account of other areas of adult education. Anything that cannot be bought or sold is devalued or seen as unimportant, and that is why and how the majority of adult education and learning is left out of funding (Fleming, 2010). The main aim is to produce a new subject appropriate to neoliberal economy (Davies & Bansel, 2007). Participants of adult education are seen as consumers or customers, while educational institutions are viewed as providers of goods to be bought, that have market value and are described in economic terms.

Accordingly, in the neoliberal view, learning is an individual enterprise and responsibility. Adult education met the needs of producing these highly individualized and *responsibilized* subjects allowing them to become "entrepreneurial actors across all dimensions of their lives" (Brown, 2003, p. 38, as cited in Davies & Bansel, 2007). Fleming (2010) argues that this is also being promoted through the concept of lifelong learning, which has become a link between the economy and adult education. In his opinion, this concept "connects the traditional field of adult education [...] with the political and economic interest in training adults for the global economy" (para. 2). He points out that, somehow, we accepted the belief that the economy would not develop unless we are all learning.

Such focus on producing degrees, on practice, and on professional training inevitably reduces the opportunities to connect learning with society (Taber, 2014). As the welfare state is no longer responsible for providing all society's needs for support, individuals and groups are left to themselves and responsible for their well-being (Davies & Bansel, 2007). Adult education is subject to cuts in social programs and funding as part of a "necessary" austerity agenda, which additionally marginalizes adult learners. Consequently, adult education in the neoliberal terms deepens inequalities, powerlessness, austerity, and social and ecological crisis. "This highly utilitarian and intensely ideological approach to education impoverishes our capacity to discuss the complex and multidimensional nature of learning and offers no language for exploring how education might be used to create higher levels of social equality" (Finnegan, 2016, p. 49).

It can be argued that, being primarily focused on the capitalist marketplace rather than on democratic values, mainstream adult education is supporting and reproducing the dominant culture. Following the neoliberal agenda, it reaffirms the status quo in today's society, rather than providing the basis to allow engaging in critical inquiry processes (Taber, 2014). Inevitably, adult education needs to play a part in some kind of social reconstruction with critical and equity-oriented programs, with an aim at bringing social transformation. De Lissovoy argues that the current situation can be described as the "state of generalized social emergency" (2015, p. 7). To address this situation, he proposes that what is needed is a creative project of fundamental transformation, in which education undoubtedly has an important role. In his view, education should be seen as a resource in the continuing struggle for social transformation.

In that sense, Taber argues that while the majority of government leaders and adult education administrators embrace neoliberal ideology and its various forms, these "are also being contested by scholars concerned with social justice" (2014, p. 16). According to Davis and Bansel (2007), adult educators who believe that education should play a role in ameliorating poverty and other societal ills should be encouraged to take on critical perspectives on the relationship between adult education and societal inequities. This perspective should come from a moral commitment to correcting those inequities through the educational efforts and learning activities in adulthood. Should adult education transform the culture, it needs to transform itself and propose new andragogical principles in response to neoliberal views and promote the belief that it can act as a transformative agent that can affect social change.

We argue that currently, adult education is at a crossroads consisting of, at least, two major paths. One is embedded in the neoliberal logic of late capitalism, promoting the idea of global economic growth, while the other relies on practicing critical praxis that focuses on a societal critique. Navigating through future research and practice in adult education is yet to be seen which path will prove to be more promising. Possible alternative to this is, of course, that the field takes on both paths (in a way that it builds on a critique, rather than it acts in a dismissive manner) and instead of taking a dualistic position, interchangeably produces new forms and tools for creating the new world for us to live in. In both cases, it will be interesting to witness the major paradigmatic and discursive shift that adult education and learning needs to undertake in its efforts to become the social change wheel for the future world.

Navigating towards the future of adult education research and practice with a cause: To leave no one behind

Throughout this book it will be possible to understand how fortunately diverse is the field of adult education practices and the correspondent research themes. Despite the contexts of learning, the contents to be learned and the theoretical approaches that are pursued by the educators, andragogists, researchers and other types of professionals in adult education, the focus is undoubtedly placed on the learner with his/her idiosyncrasies. Respecting its core traditional principles, across the years adult education has been trying to combat the concern expressed in the title of the influential book of Malcom Knowles (1973), which evidenced his conviction that the adult learner at that time was a neglected species. This was in fact the conclusion of a recent Delphi study with 14 Portuguese specialists in adult education practice (with more than 20 years of professional experience in average), which expressed their views about the key-competences, knowledges, and attitudes that adult educators should mobilize to perform efficiently their different roles: all the participants expressed opinions that demarcated them "from the myopia of technical rationality, pointing to theoretical support for the knowledge and skills of the adult educator into the humanistic, reflective and critical frameworks" (Lima & Amaral, 2019, p. 18).

Aligned with the view of adults as potential *organic intellectuals*,[1] the main aim of critical education of adults should be to support "the organisation of people's everyday life as a source of knowledge and recognising it as educationally and developmentally important" (Ostrouch-Kaminska & Vieira, 2016, p. 49). These means "to leave no one behind" in the trajectory of progress within democracy, as it is the plan until 2030 of supranational political agreed decisions, as the *Sustainable Development Goals* (ODS) (UN, 2015), for example. But, as it was mentioned before, neoliberal policies rooted in capitalism rules that have assaulted adult education practices and research in current times seem to point in a different direction. Reading from the outside, it seems that there are a set of "allegedly good intention policy makers" that decide about rules and recommendations for a "fairy-tale world" that will never be possible.

1 This idea was introduced by the Italian philosopher and activist Antonio Gramsci, that wrote from his cell in prison in the 1930s, in his *Prison Notebooks*, defending that people may be leaders in their social class (or may have an important role for the community to which they belong) using their internal resources and collective knowledge that should be mobilized to help to raise collective awareness for social transformation.

The emphasis on individuals' competencies for their potential mobility in the labor market, the renewed importance of meritocracy selection systems to advancement in society, and the insidious blaming of individuals for not being competent enough to face current challenges are undoubtedly letting a great majority of citizens excluded from public investment and many others completely ignored as human beings. Legal political deals — as the *Strategy of Lisbon* signed in 2000 for a period of ten years (Ivan-Ungureanu & Marcu, 2006) or *The New Competences Agenda for Europe* (EU, 2016),[2] just to quote two treaties — with the goal of reinforcing employability, continue to promote the financial support to increasing literacy rates and professional competencies of active population, ignoring the social relevance and importance of many other forms of adult education (Lima & Guimarães, 2018) and letting behind several marginalized groups. Repeatedly, some sets of the population are having a clearly marginal importance in the political agendas and governance priorities of the countries, as the seniors, migrants, adult people with disabilities or mental illness, among others. In fact, [...] neoliberal educational policy often pays lip-service to social justice through the discursive vehicle of 'social inclusion', [and] behind this promise of social mobility through educational attainment is a skills discourse that depends upon the objectification of students [adult learners] and their stratification [...]. (Smith & Duckworth, 2020, p. 490 in this book).

There are no abstract individuals and the structural inequalities that maintain discriminations and vulnerabilities cannot be solved with utopian laws. Systematic and societal changes are needed, involving different actors and acting by respecting an intersectional perspective, either in practice and in research, which has been of limited application in adult education (Merrill & Fejes, 2018). This means the recognition that some adults may suffer complex and interconnected forms of discrimination that prevent them from using the opportunities for learning and progressing in life that are potentially open to them. Ensuring *de jure* equality of opportunities to theoretically access new career opportunities, to develop new competencies for labor market and to increase the literacy levels, including digital ones, doesn't guarantee the effective enrollment of adults in such offers and, as a consequence, it doesn't mean *de facto* equality of opportunities for success. Several aspects may be pointed here for such a reflection, from the economic and familiar (familiar responsibilities of women in taking care of

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2 In June, 2020, it was published a reformulation of the European Skills Agenda, which pretends to foster sustainable competitiveness, social fairness and resilience. Among the different aims that the European Commission assumes as a priority to face the challenges and inequalities worsened by the pandemic crisis, there are goals related to nonformal education of adults and to learning through intergenerational, intercultural and communitarian processes. These include, for example, the increasing digital competences of the elders until 2025 and an investment in community learning centers for adults "where people of all ages can learn and exchange, building a resilient and cohesive society" (EU, 2020, p. 21). Apparently, this promise constitutes a step forward the previous limited upskilling pathways, designed mainly for active population, but only the future will show if the political intentions will be translated into more inclusive educational practices for all. Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=1223.

younger and older generations) to geographic (accessibility to training centers; availability of public transportations; the uneven available resources in rural and urban areas), and cultural (traditional values that prevent married women to go to school; hegemonic masculinity standards that discourage men with low literacy levels from attending adult education and training courses).

The emphasis in the economy seems to somehow silence the intrinsic needs and interests of adults as learning subjects, as well as their prior learning experiences, denying the democratic-emancipatory tradition of adult education (Lima & Guimarães, 2018). People aren't mere objects that should be adapted (or "equipped") to respond to new requirements of the labor market without considering their propensity to enroll in opportunities of education and training. Such propensity may be affected by previous experiences as adult learners, by their self-concept as learners, by their stereotypes and main roles, by their values and goals in life, among other factors (Caffarella, 1994). Also, pioneer researchers in adult education claimed that adults learn best in contexts that are informal, comfortable, flexible and free from fear (Knowles, 1970).

Instead of being guided by the economy, or considering the difficult balance between economy and inner people's interests, the priorities of the public policies should be oriented towards building more inclusive, fair, egalitarian, democratic and participatory societies, in which the action of all social actors is a part of a cooperative process (Lima & Guimarães, 2018). In this sense, following the quoted authors, education is seen as a process of empowerment and a mechanism of social emancipation available for all human beings, rather than a tool to respond to economic demands of countries.

As Lima (2018) stated, adult education tradition can in fact "educate" the crisis, helping adult educators professionals to rediscover the trail that they had begun many years ago, and thus avoiding treating adults as mere pawns of the capitalist demands that have dominated the governance of the world. As it was mentioned before, due to the pandemic situation that we are facing nowadays, previous inequalities between people and groups are worsening and all the countries of the world are dealing with dramatic unforeseen and undesirable scenarios. Public policies are strong tools to manage the common good, whether they relate to the labor market or other social and political rights of people and groups, as their right to learn and to participate actively in society across the lifespan. For these reasons, the navigation towards the future should be a shared collective task, with the aim of leaving no one behind in the search for reaching a dignified life.

Organization of the book

This book, *Navigating through Contemporary World with Adult Education Research and Practice*, contains thirty-three chapters (besides this introductory chapter) clustered in eight sections according to the topics and fields of adult learning and education they are addressing.

In the first part of the chapter *Adult Education in Late Modernity: Research and Practice between Welfare State and Neoliberalism*, Steffi Robak discusses the effects of neo-liberalization in practice and in the science of adult and continuing education. In the second part, the author develops a cultural and educational science-based theorization of adult and continuing education in late modern times. Robak provides a broad conceptualization of adult education, broken down in a model consisting of five portals of education: culturality, emotional elasticity and stabilization, political participation, including analytical-reflective skills, employability and professionalism. At the same time, the author presents a perspective of a common transnational education and research space. The chapter ends with an introduction to research on programs in multi-perspective research approaches and its contribution to the analysis of lifelong learning.

In the chapter *Renewal from the Margins: Change-Oriented Adult Education in Do-It-Yourself Learning Spaces*, Ivan Kirchgaesser investigates a number of change-oriented, nonformal, non-vocational adult learning spaces that are rooted in personal values and a sense of meaning and purpose, and that are all developed and facilitated by individuals with a Do-It-Yourself spirit. The author argues that they redefine what learning can look like, what the desirable outcomes of that learning are, and what knowledge and capacities are needed in the world today. It is the author's belief that these efforts can set an example for the future and are well worth taking seriously when looking for signs of renewal in the adult education field under the pressures of neoliberalism.

Magali Balayn Lelong's chapter, *Value Formation, Value of Adult Education: Study of Emancipation and Authorization Processes in Adult Learning*, is a study aiming at shedding new light on the topic of the intrinsic value of higher education programs in lifelong learning. The study relies on the spectrum of concepts and paradigms — from the Hegelian and Habermasian understanding of emancipation, which the author relates to Mezirow's traditional notion of transformation, to Dewey's theory of values and Galvani's self-education kaïros. Participants, adults that enrolled in higher education programs after taking a professional break for that purpose, were able to determine their individual identity values and define new norms during the process, as well as extrapolate their here and now, a sort of *dasein* to a wider environment.

In the chapter *Apologies and Affronts: Decolonizing and Reconciling Memories from Canada's Indian Residential Schools*, Cindy Hanson promotes a strong reflection about social justice and the potential role of adult education in promoting the reconciliation process in Canada policies concerning settler-Indigenous issues. Her chapter is crossed by several concerns to which the author intends to respond: How can adult education be a catalyst for epistemic solidarity? How might this work build practices of reconciliation, solidarity and collective action? What indeed is the historical and social cost of not doing this work? Refusing the compensatory models of reconciliation that are based on the hegemonic role of the state, she proposes several possibilities of interactions and dialogue —

relational methodologies — that adults' educators might use to decolonizing, engaging and reconciling. In her opinion, adult education can play a crucial role in fighting colonialism heritage which is ingrained into the structures of power that operate daily in settler-colonial nations.

In the chapter *A Customized Social Contributory Policy Rationale for Learning of Older Adults*, Satya Brink fosters an intense discussion about the lack of opportunities for senior adults to learn after retirement, departing from an analysis of Canada's situation. She begins with a contestation of the negative effects of neoliberal policies on the chances that are offered to older adults to engage in learning activities, referring that there are no formal indicators available in Canada. Her proposal is directed to the need of offering customized answers to specific needs and interests of seniors in terms of learning after active life, and she argues that this is a critical issue because these citizens contribute enormously to the economy and now are being relatively forgotten by the state policies and priorities.

Lyn Tett is the author of the chapter *Policy and Pedagogy: Pushing Back Against Neoliberal Ideologies in Family Literacy Programmes*. Based on a research that was developed in Scotland related to family literacy projects, she first discusses how the dominant neoliberal discourse is affecting adult education policies and how these policies impact on pedagogy. Giving the example of big data approaches as PIACC and some theoretical roots as Human Capital Theory, she contests the use of metrics to assess the individuals´ competencies and their propensity to labor market requirements. After that, she demonstrates how the practitioners have been trying to resist to the limiting effects of such a discourse, by giving examples of the experiences shared by the six experts that were interviewed and the twenty-seven mothers with whom they have worked within the scope of three projects in communities with high levels of unemployment. The chapter ends by pointing out the importance of a learner-centered curriculum, both in terms of its effectiveness in developing learning and in terms of its contribution to promoting a more socially just form of education that leaves no one behind.

Deindustrialization, economic crises, job loss, inequality, oppression and educational marginalization is a topic Joe Forster's study *'Exit, Loyalty and Voice': The Experiences of Adult Learners in the Context of Deindustrialisation in County Durham, North East England*. The chapter depicts and analyzes two life stories of people who went through employability programs struggling with changes brought by the forces of economic transformation in the late 1970s. Interview excerpts and study results' analyses introduce an insight of how the lack of adequate education provision and constricting education to here and now economic shifts (may) affect communities and subjectivities in the long-term.

Rachel Bélisle and Évelyne Mottais's study, *Recognition of Prior Learning: Between Social Justice and Privatisation of Education*, focuses on exploring RPL (Recognition of Prior Learning) services at the secondary level of vocational and general adult education. Basing their conceptual framework of educational access on Sen's capabilities approach, they tackle different conditions and barriers to RPL processes. RPL is seen as an opportunity for adults to pursue what they would like to do and as a contribution to their empowerment in the current social context marked by neoliberal economies.

Vasiliki Karavakau, Anastasia Kefala and Theofanis Papastathis tackle the issue of the role of Higher Education in regard to lifelong learning and educating adults in the chapter *Reversing the Neoliberal Agenda in Times of Crises: Universities Educating Socially Vulnerable Adults*. Specifically, their aim is to challenge the extent to which higher education manages to respond successfully to the — as they state — call of the neoliberal *Zeitgeist* to serve the demands of lifelong learning. The agenda of Higher Education for lifelong learning programs addressed to the socially vulnerable should take account of an interdisciplinary approach to respond to the needs and interests of the vulnerable adults. Arguing that it is a duty of Higher Education, primarily to itself, to be something more than a reflection or response to the needs of economy and consumption, they conclude that its goals should be inspired by the broader educational philosophy of educational inclusion and social cohesion in order to make an attempt to reverse the neoliberal trend.

On the basis of the premise that many adults can experience a mental health crisis that affects their education and job access, Shanti Fernando, Alyson King and Kathryn Kunkel interviewed adults participating in four different Supported Education (SEd) programs run in psychiatric hospitals. In the chapter *"I Came from a Lifetime of Teachers Giving up on Me": Finding Motivation in a Canadian Supported Education Program during Neoliberal Times*, they highlight the voices of interviewed students to explore the role of motivation in educational goal achievement. Doing so, they use a theoretical framework of motivation theory informed by the neoliberal concept of sacrificial citizenship and the supported education model. The findings illustrate the importance of providing educational programming for adults who do not easily fit into the neoliberal model of work in order to empower them as advocates for their own services.

The chapter titled *Educational Situation of Migrant Families in Serbia*, by Jana Mišović, depicts the results of the study concerned with people crossing the Balkan route and not being able to move further along the migration paths to the rest of Europe. The focus of the study is their educational situation, how the migrant family members of different ages value and make use of the educational programs offered to them by different organizations. Results offer important insight showing that, although all participants value offered educational opportunities, their participation rate in learning activities depends on their family roles — parents less being able to participate due to other family responsibilities. This interaction between family role and participation also matches with family role and type of education (formal, non-formal). The author highlights the need to further develop educational programs for migrants, encompassing not just the migrant families, but also the local population, sensibilizing them for the needs of migrants.

The significance of the research conducted by Natalija Gojak and Zorica Milošević, reported in the chapter *Educational Support to Families with a Member Suffering from Alzheimer's Disease*, is in its comprehensive encompassment of different actors and aspects related to this specific form of family adult education and health support programs. The authors find most of the existing support programs insufficient and inadequate, as the families with members suffering from Alzheimer's disease are in dire need of more systematic support and learning opportunities related not just to personal area, but also the ones related to family education and community participation and development.

A European Integration Perspective on the History of Education in the European Economic Community by Philipp Assinger takes us back to the 1970s and 1980s, the time of implementation of the neoliberal frameworks in European policy. The chapter depicts the European integration in regards to education, viewed and analyzed from the perspective of neo-functional and liberal theory. Thoroughly analyzing and explaining changes in this process, the author highlights how it evolved between two internally contrasted dimensions: nation-state sovereignty and common policy, as well as vocational training and general education.

In the chapter *Active Citizenship and Adult Learning as an Oscillating Priority of EU Policy*, Martin Kopecký investigates the changes of the concept of active citizenship envisioned and depicted in EU policy documents related to adult learning and education. Examining the question from up-to-date and relevant theoretical perspectives, the author takes the reader to the key time points and corresponding adult learning and education relevant documents where the concept of active citizenship is used — offering his critical reflection and emphasizing the gap between academic/scientific approaches and policy use of the notion.

Advancement in the implementation of lifelong learning and participation in adult education and further needs for their development in the context of ongoing restructuralization of industries in the EU and Hungary are addressed in Reka Toth's chapter *Individual Learning Account — an Efficient Way to Contribute Boosting Participation in Adult Education*. Special attention is devoted to the role of the *individual learning account* concept as a means to advance adult education participation — the main features and potential further functions of the concept are discussed and analyzed. The author concludes that the concept may be able to lead to more independent and efficient financing/funding for further enhancement of adult education participation.

Considering the globalization pressures on the young adults' prospects for their future as qualified professionals and citizens, Maja Stojanovic and Petra A. Robinson, in the chapter *Brain Drain, Brain Gain: Why Do Non-Native English-Speaking Students Decide to Enroll at a Graduate School in the Southern United States?*, bring an interesting discussion about the brain drain/brain gain debate, by interviewing six non-native English-speaking students that decided to enroll in US universities to increase their academic knowledge and qualifications. The conclusions are very thought-provoking for debating the organization of higher education opportunities in the countries of origin of these young adults, concerning the connection between local/regional labor market offers and younger adult students' expectations. Some more personal factors and other more institutional issues emerged from the narratives of the interviewees, but all of the conclusions may be read through the andragogy lenses: the motivations of adult learners to continue engaged in learning are based on an intricate set of reasons that are not linear and directly apparent.

Perceptions of Students in HE on Teaching Ideology and Authority by Lecturers: Questioning Neutral Viewpoints about Academia, by José M. Barroso-Tristán, Rodrigo Matos de Souza, and José González-Monteagudo, is a chapter devoted to discussing issues related to freedom of expression and thought in higher education contexts in Brazil by young adult students. The authors did a small qualitative research with a focus group methodology involving 18 students and found that the authoritative postures of teachers and their ideological impositions foster a close-mindedness attitude in the classroom. Because of such form of symbolic violence, the students referred that they are being silenced in their opinions and political-pedagogical thoughts, preventing them from deepening and developing their own autonomy, which directly affect their learning and self-determination as adults and citizens. The conclusions open a reflection about the role of higher education teachers — and the higher education system itself — in what concerns to power and authority exerted in a context of learning that should be characterized as ideal to foster critical thinking and free discussion of ideas and ideals.

Natassa Raikou's chapter, *Approaching Contemporary Higher Education in Greece Through the Lens of University Pedagogy: What Is the Role of Adult Education in this Context?*, presents a reflection about higher education mission and university teaching strategies in Greece, debating the advantages of using the principles of adult education to help students to develop critical thinking and autonomy in the use of information and knowledge. The authors argue about the need to rethink the traditional university pedagogy and present some examples of active and motivating teaching strategies that may be used in different areas. By explaining the development of a longitudinal study that lasted for a decade, using the Transformative Learning through Aesthetic Experience (TLAE) Method, in the University of Patras, it was evident that its impact on participants revealed the importance of the three dimensions of learning that should be seen as intersected: content, incentive, context.

The chapter *Arts and Academia in Málaga: The Concerns of Social Science Education Regarding Social Engagement and the University's Third Mission*, authored by Clotilde Lechuga-Jiménez, departs from a large European Project led by Poland with the title "Exploring European Cultural Heritage for fostering academic teaching and social responsibility in Higher Education" (EU_CUL). The universities' relations with different cultural entities and diverse stakeholders from Málaga (Spain), a city with a very rich patrimony (e.g., museums, archeological sites, monuments) are explored, debating the importance of creating opportunities for the higher education institutions to exert their social responsibility. This may imply the inclusion in teaching programs of concrete activities (e.g., study visits) that surely have learning advantages for students. At the same time, it may represent economic benefits for all the entities involved by reconsidering cultural heritage as a strategy for enjoyment and knowledge. Also, cooperation with such community entities may open further opportunities for labor market insertion of future professionals. Through the organization of seminars, art and cultural heritage conferences, debates, exhibitions, among other possibilities, the universities and the cultural entities may create joint programs for citizens of all ages, fostering lifelong learning.

Anett Kovács presents *Survey on Validation of Learning Outcomes Acquired in Non-Formal Learning Context in Hungarian Higher Education*. The survey involved 1282 higher education teachers. The practical purpose and long-term goal of the research is to gain information based on the results of the research and contribute to the development of the national validation system with possible recommendations. On the one hand, the research provides knowledge on teaching and the evaluation culture of teachers and the current validation practices in the Hungarian higher education system. On the other hand, it provides an insight into teachers' opinion on validation of learning outcomes acquired in non-formal learning context. In addition to that, it informs us on what validation practice the teachers use. Finally, the supporting factors and barriers of validation were examined.

The chapter *Implications of Diversity in Program Planning — A German Perspective*, by Clara Kuhlen, consists in a theoretical reflection framed on the PhD thesis of the author about the concept of diversity in program planning in adult education. The concept of diversity is scrutinized through an intersectional approach, and program planning is considered a complex issue in adult education practice due to its antinomies, such as the adjustment of economic and educational functional logics. Built on the necessity of taking societal, political and economic implications into account, diversity is considered an influential factor for program planning and used in order to analyze its complexities. Following a qualitative approach, and in order to understand how diversity is respected and included as a core value in program planning, the author conducted problem-centered interviews with program planners, but the main conclusions are not presented in this chapter.

The question whether short-term vocational trainings are a significant determinant in changing the position of the individual in the labor market is addressed in Vesna Fabian and Miomir Despotović's chapter on *Quality of Vocational Trainings as a Factor for the Employment of the Individual in the Labor Market*. The results show that the quality of the vocational trainings represents a significant determinant in changing the position of an individual in the labor market, as there is a correlation found between high quality trainings and successful employment. The trainees with work experience relevant to the attended vocational training, or the trainees attending vocational trainings based on the needs of the local labor market have better positions in the labor market.

The chapter *Work-Based Learning for Higher Level VET Provision*, by Zorica Milošević and Ljiljana Dimitrijević, reflects on a regional work-based learning in the framework of current European training and education policies. They depict the regional cooperation, within a "Master 5" project between Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia devoted to achieving further development and greater visibility of higher VET opportunities in the region. The chapter offers an insight in the current state and specifics of development in the field of worked-based learning and VET in the region showing that modernization of VET boosted an integration of non-formal education and work-based learning, and further development of models highlighting transparency of competencies.

In the field of teacher professionalization, within the chapter *Drawbacks and Opportunities of Reflection-Centered Concepts for the Further Education of Teaching Professionals*, Anita Pachner and Christina Baust examine to what extent teachers are sensitive to handling heterogeneous learning groups. They introduce the concept of professionalization based on a *difference theoretical approach* defining it as the ability to deal with conflicting perspectives and requirements for action in appropriate way. In their research, they have identified two central elements of teaching practice that are sensitive to heterogeneity: *awareness of one's own practice of observation and action* and *willingness to refine one's own practice of observation and action,* and they highlighted the potential of reflection-oriented learning environments.

The study devoted to examining the issue of programs that aim to support career development is presented in the chapter *Concept of Dynamic Careers from Students' Perspectives — I Will Try it by Myself, but Don't Leave Me Alone*, by Dubravka Mihajlović, Aleksandra Pejatović and Edisa Kecap. The study investigates the way in which young adults (204 undergraduate students of University of Belgrade) understand the concept, i.e., the notion of career, as well as what kind of expectations they have from the courses focusing on career development support. Results show that the students have extremely diverse and sometimes contradictory understanding of the concept of career, as well as that student expectations regarding support for career development can be clustered into several categories and subcategories, which is especially significant for the creators of career development support programs.

The chapter entitled *The Most Important Characteristics of Adult Learning Professionals in Serbia: Research in Progress Report* is authored by Viktória Beszédes. Beginning with a brief historical background about the development of adult educators as professionals with a consolidated identity, she debates the influence on this process of the political efforts of Serbia to become a member of the European Union (since 2012) and of the publication (in 2014) of the first Law on Adult Education. Afterwards, she presents some reflections about Serbian educational system and the country's formal and non-formal opportunities for learning that are open to citizens, highlighting the lack of information about providers and participants in non-formal adult education due to the inexistence of national systematic data. The empirical research involved an extensive semi-structured interview with six experts with more than twenty years of experience in adult education. She did a SWOT analysis with the answers obtained, which showed how the interviewees perceive the strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities of the Serbian adult education. International and national legal determinations seem to be important to the improvements in adult education field, but most of all the effectiveness of the adult education activity is connected to a set of factors that are centered in adults as learners in their contexts of life.

In her study *Invisible Profession: Facts and Tendencies about 30 Years of Adult Education in Hungary*, Eva Farkas introduces the developmental trajectory of the adult education system in Hungary in the past 30 years. An important focus of the study is the analysis of the situation and training system of adult learning professionals in Hungary. The analysis led the author to a conclusion that even though at the level of rhetoric and professional policy documents it is a priority goal to educate adults in Hungary, the practice differs. The author states that adult education has an extraordinarily peripheral role and is exposed to the subjective value judgement of a small group of decision makers.

Robert Smith and Vicky Duckworth are the authors of the chapter *Digital Research as a Resource for Reimagining Further Education* that draws on the project "Further Education in England: Transforming lives and communities". Departing from the narratives of a diversity of participants (learners, teachers, employers and learners' family members), the authors present the findings from a collaborative research project into how further education, supported by critical pedagogy, may offer a new opportunity in which adult learners who have often had negative experiences of schooling are able to experience education as a transformative process. These innovative strategies to promote learning in adult life made use of a digital platform to present and disseminate publicly the participants´ narratives and show how research can use new and emerging technologies to have an impact on people's life. The authors concluded that digital literacy and practices are to be used in research training in order to meet the needs of participants in contemporary times.

To foster deeper understanding in research of the relationship between the work-related usage of informational communication technology and the learning of employees, Kristinka Ovesni, Nataša Matović and Saška Janković use mixed methods research and discuss its results in the chapter *The Work-Related Usage of Informational Communication Technology and the Learning of Employees*. They applied explanatory sequential design using nested samples for the quantitative and qualitative components. In the quantitative component, data were obtained with scales, and analyzed from 483 employees in different companies in Serbia, while for qualitative component semi-structured interviews were conducted with 35 respondents from the same sample. Their results indicate that employees value work-related learning supported by ICT and that ICT-based learning is often used in organizations: to communicate and inform employees, and to find an adequate solution to possible problems.

Nikola Petrović and Jelena Anđelković Labrović concentrate on problems of adult learning in a virtual environment. The purpose of their chapter, *Learning Resistance and Defense: A Data-Driven Approach*, is to identify the possibilities, challenges, and limitations of the data-driven approach to learning resistance and defense, which come from learners' feelings of isolation, disorientation and helplessness. Resistance to learning is the learner's reaction to the current situation, while defense is the result of long-term developments. A data-driven approach to responding to learning problems recognizes off-task behaviors, current behaviors that are unrelated to learning and disengagement, a behavioral tendency that continually affects the learning process. Once the behavior is recognized, the issue of further action is raised. As they point out, there are three possibilities: the educator can make the decision on corrective actions, and consequently take action; the system makes the decision on corrective actions and educator takes action; and full automation — when the system decides and implements the action independently.

In the chapter *May "Entrepreneurial Andragogy" Be a Response to the Challenges of Inclusive Entrepreneurship Policies?*, Jean-Michel Mégret and Jérôme Eneau argue the importance of working towards the development of autonomous and critical entrepreneurs by promoting what they call "emancipatory self-directed learning" in adult learners, instead of training them to learn some operational competencies or procedures to start a business. Departing from the analysis of the French context and policies regarding the promotion of inclusive entrepreneurship, the authors focused their analysis in the problems faced by very small enterprises, which deal with great pressure to survive. Using quantitative and qualitative data from a sample of entrepreneurs from Breton, France, the authors highlight some internal and external factors — an interaction of individual features and contextual issues — that may contribute to conceptualize the principles of "entrepreneurial andragogy".

Pierre Faller and Eric Bertrand take a closer look into the workplace training in the chapter *Professional Development at the Crossroads of Economic and Social Development Examining Multi-Dimensional Shifts in Perspective and Sense-Making by a Group of French Leaders*. They explore the transformative journey of their participants using a multi-referential framework which combines two lines of research: a multi-dimensional approach of human experience at work and a transformative perspective. It appears to be promising in better understanding the richness and complexity of how sense-making develops and is renegotiated over time throughout experience. The study shows that the transformative process is the product of dynamic interactions between an individual's way of meaning-making and the environment around.

The chapter *Entrepreneurship Education — New Content for the New Paradigm*, by Vukašin Grozdić, presents the results of the content and discourse analyses of the relevant EU and Serbia strategic and policy documents related to entrepreneurship and education from 2010 to 2019. The findings suggest that in regards to entrepreneurship within the context of adult education, the dominant discourse in strategic and policy documents amplify the economic value and function of entrepreneurship education with or without equally following it with narrative related to social entrepreneurship — altogether indicating a shift form the welfare state model more towards the neoliberal one. Within more recent policy documents, however, entrepreneurship is acknowledged as a complex skill, being conceptually extended to other socio-cultural dimensions as well.

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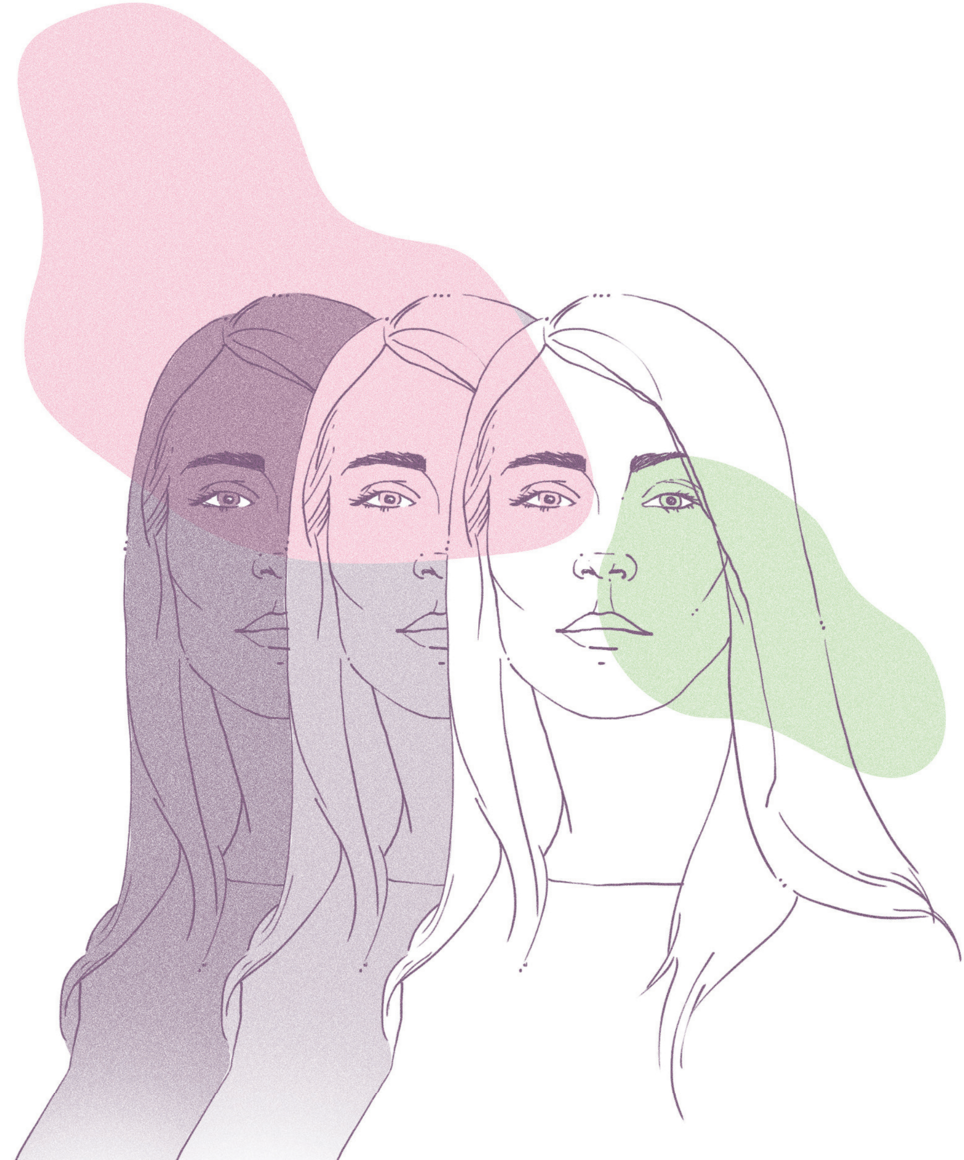

(RE)CONCEPTUALIZING ADULT EDUCATION — FOLLOWING EMANCIPATORY AND TRANSFORMATIONAL PATHWAYS

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ADULT EDUCATION IN LATE MODERNITY: RESEARCH AND PRACTICE BETWEEN WELFARE STATE AND NEOLIBERALISM

Abstract

The first part of the article deals with the effects of neo-liberalisation in practice and in the science of adult and continuing education. In the second part, a cultural and educational science-based theorisation of adult and continuing education in late modern times is developed. On the one hand, this is differentiated into five portals of education, on the other hand, a perspective of a common transnational education and research space is discussed. The article ends with an introduction to research on programs in multi-perspective research approaches and its contribution to the analysis of lifelong learning.

Keywords: social changes and hybridisation, adult and continuing education and cultural formation, portals of education, transnational adult education and research space, research on programs in multi-perspective approaches

Introduction

As a result of neo-liberalisation, strategies aimed at regulation, control and (self-)optimisation have been used in adult and continuing education since the 1990s. These developments weaken both the practice and the academic field of adult and continuing education and lead to efficiency thinking, more inequality and a decrease in the diversity and variety of the adult education landscape with its institutions, programmes and offers.

In this article, questions are raised regarding uniform thinking and research and common perspectives in adult education as well as the educational behaviour of individuals in society. The aim is to contribute to the understanding, support, research and design of the rhizome-like growth of adult and continuing education.

For the shaping of social processes, adult and continuing education sees itself as an institution of transformation. Current social topics include (flight) migration, the connection and transformation of cultures, processes of interpretation and related challenges, dealing with strangeness, cultural resources, but also radicalisation and right-wing thinking. The population must be prepared for these changes. At these points, the complex challenge for adult and continuing education as an institution that shapes culture becomes visible. The examination of social developments seems to make it necessary to grasp the major and culturally rapid developments and to analyse them with regard to corresponding educational questions and conceptualisations of education and their meanings. The social transformation processes lead to an expansion of cultural education processes, which must also be considered under the conditions of digitality. In the social formation processes, adult and continuing education as a human right takes on an important task for the formation of democracy.

Building on this, the present article provides a broad conceptualisation of education for adult and continuing education, which is broken down in a model into the five education portals of culturality, emotional elasticity and stabilisation, political participation including analytical-reflective skills, employability and professionalism. For the design of these portals in a transnational space in the transcultural sense, categories are taken up.

Finally, the rhizome-like growth will be discussed again using the example of programme research. Here, the development of the institutions is part of the rhizome-like process of change in society and the programmes and offerings are part of the rhizome-like growth that is expressed in the structures of the institutions.

Self consequences of neoliberalisation in adult and continuing education in practice and in science

Looking at developments since the 1990s, it is striking that neoliberalisation has used strategies aimed at more regulation, control and (self-)optimization. The educational policy and economic interest in habituating individuals to extensive self-regulation and informal learning, which was already initiated in the 1990s, cannot be fulfilled by all individuals in this way. This is shown by empirical results based on quantitative data analysis (Baethge & Baethge-Kinsky, 2004).

> *Thesis 1: Neoliberalism is at the end of all creative power, but it has developed broad effects in the direction of self-optimization and control. Adult and continuing education must be involved in design processes that support rhizome-like growth in practice and science.*

Regarding the first part of thesis one there are selected aspects that can be observed and mentioned in the practice of adult and continuing education and in science. For the second part of the thesis, theoretical and empirical considerations will address the need for rhizome-like growth in adult and continuing education.

In practice of adult and continuing education finance is a substancial precondition for securing education. The public financial security in the different countries seems to be very different, i.e. in Germany there is continuity, but more project-oriented financial strategies can be stated (Käpplinger at the ESREA-conference). The structural effects of this development must be examined in more depth. There is a lack of legal structures. These are too fragmented (Grotlüschen & Haberzeth, 2016), weakening the field. Instead, quality management systems were introduced, which are implemented by external control bodies. These systems, partly adapted from industry, are, as empirical results show, without effects on the quality of educational processes. Only for the meso-level in organisations can limited positive effects be proven (Hartz, 2011). Our own research in the field of professionalisation shows that the academic qualifications of adult educators are on the rise, but no adult educational qualifications have become established, they are far from dominating and not consistently required (Kühn, Brandt, Robak, Pohlmann, & Dust, 2015).

A further analysis shows that, at both international and European level, the introduction of market mechanisms leads to more competition for funding (Hodge, Holford, Milana, Waller, & Webb, 2018) and dominance seeking of single groups.

In the end these developments lead to more inequality and declining of the variety and diversity of the adult educational landscape with its institutions, programs and offers.

Adult education as a science

There are also developments in the scientific field of adult and continuing education that indicate a weakening of the field. An international tendency to combine adult education professorships with i.e. Human Resource Development (HRD) (Rubenson & Elfert, 2019, p. 25) or even the loss of professorships[1] in adult education raise the question whether the discipline has enough power to further establish a unique scientific culture. Adult education is associated with emancipation, critical thinking and enlightenment. Does this connotation loose significance or relevance? There seems to be a tendency that evidence-based pol-

1 Professorship is here understood as full professors holding designated chairs in adult educationresearch, i.e. the last and final step in the academic career structure. This should not be confusedwith assistant or associate professors, nor with university teachers in adult education in general (Nylander& Fejes, 2019, p. 232).

icy leads to more quantitative survey. An increase in quantitative survey studies to show the efficiency of learning partly leads to a narrowing of benefits to efficiency (Meyer-Drawe, 2010).This focus of education policy on evidence-based policy making has not provided sufficient stimulations to further differentiate and develop the discipline.

Bibliometric analyses[2] show two major structural contrasts, one related to the research object (education versus work) and one contrast separating scientists based on the level of analysis (cognition/learning versus politics).There are two contrast lines: separating more macro-oriented research in the south from researchers who deal with learning as a micro-process in the north (Nylander, Österlund, & Fejes, 2019, p. 56).

Another recent analysis of research topics shows that adult education is a weak field (Rubenson & Elfert, 2019). The results, concerning the research topic "education of adults" show a dominance of the perspective "learning of adults", with an strong influence of psychology, whereby the topic of teaching is thematically reduced to the perspective of adults learning processes (p. 20). A weak field regarding to Vauchez (2011) means deeply interwoven with neighboring fields and rather undifferentiated internally (p. 16). Rubenson and Elfert (2019) even speak of a fragmented field of research.[3] The discipline's logic of dividing itself into critical tradition and other approaches (Rubenson and Elfert, 2019) is not future-oriented and integrative in a constructive and creative sense.

Amy Rose states: "Adult educators have a vibrant and impassioned calling, yet the researchers fail the field. Are we not (...) able to move beyond a critique of power and oppression" (Rose, 2011, p. 44).

There was and still is a strong story of adult education as a movement. This story is not prepared for the effects of neoliberalism. We have to raise more questions and search for new answers. Our discipline needs more centrifugal forces; more shared perspectives and conceptualizations are necessary for adult and continuing education in late modernity.

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2 Nylander et al. (2019) analyzed five peer-reviewed journals pertaining to adult learning listed in Scopus between the years of 2006 and 2014 (*Adult Education Quarterly*, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, *Studies in Continuing Education*, *Journal of Education and Work* and *Journal of Workplace Learning)*.

3 More developments indicate that the research field of adult and continuing education must be further differentiated, post-structural tradition with its emphasis on gender and critical race theories and a major impact of the new economic paradigm with a rapidly increasing number of articles focusing on workplace learning resulted in a broadening of the conceptualisation of learning in adult education (Rubenson & Elfert, 2019, p. 21). Continuing vocational training (In-company resp. business learning) is reduced to workplace learning. It seems to divide the field, resp. subdisciplines emerge, i.e. workplace-oriented learning, out of the combination of adult education and HRD (see Rubenson & Elfert, 2019, p. 21).

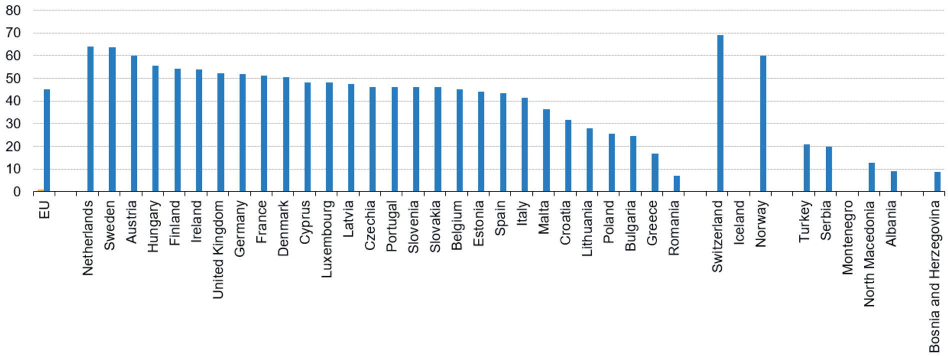

Figure 1. Participation rate in education and training (Eurostat Statistics Explained (2019). (*Adult Learning statistics*).

Part of the evidence-based policy but also relevant in research are international surveys. Are these a starting point to ask questions for shared perspectives that bring in own ideas and conceptualizations? In this context, how are stagnating participation rates and differences in rates in the different countries to be interpreted (see graphic 1)? Do we even refer to these results and what are our considerations and perspectives? At least questions can be asked:

Why are they stagnating? Is the individual smart enough or tired of learning or is it hindered or not sufficiently promoted? We can look at the social environment, at the system or at the individual in his learning activities, like the Adult Education Survey (see graphic 1). But we can also ask: What are the structural reasons for this? Is participating in adult and continuing Education sufficiently affordable? Are their structures and institutions sufficiently supportive?

I will argue that we must focus all these aspects and support the developing and shaping processes.

The following comments refer to the second part of *thesis 1* and introduce the relevance of adult and continuing education also with regard to the design of late modernity: Adult and continuing education must be involved in design processes that support rhizome-like growth in practice and science (see above).

Adult and continuing education as a discipline has an important relevance for understanding, supporting, researching and shaping rhizome-like growth: to explore how society (brings in objective needs), the individuals with their (subjective) needs, requirements and interests are considered and how the professionals take this up and transform it into offers and programmes. The metaphor of 'rhizome' is used in social science as well as in adult education research. It was introduced as a philosophical concept mainly by Deleuze and Guattari (1977). If the rhizome is a metaphor to describe the developments of Western societies, then adult and continuing education is part of this process. Authors in adult education research have applied the metaphor in different ways (see Käpplinger, 2019). Usher (2010) argues that Lifelong Learning is a rhizome and needs rhizomatic approaches. Enoch and Gieseke (2011) used the term rhizome in Germany (see also Gieseke, 2010). They identify a non-hierarchical, openly developing structure of educational provision, which contains elements of extension, decay and new linkages. As Käpplinger emphasizes, rhizomatisation is not meant as a process where everything turns into chaos, wilderness and becomes arbitrary. It is a heuristic concept for looking for different connected and unconnected traces and their connections (Käpplinger, 2019, p. 159). Rhizom-like growth is a metaphor to understand and observe adult and continuing education as a non-hierarchical, openly-ended and continiously developing structure, observing educational provision and how these refer to learning and educational behaviour in a broad sense.

As argued above, adult and continuing education as a science is also part of these developments.How can we as a discipline contribute in order to also shape and design our future societies and cultures?

Culture forming processes and the contribution of adult and continuing education

Let us get closer to ideas of understanding late modernity and the relevance of adult and continuing education.

In this chapter the following thesis is outlined.

Thesis 2: In order to be involved in societal shaping processes, adult and continuing education considers itself as a shaping, culture-forming transformation institution with corresponding/accompanying and fundamental research.

Adult and continuing education becomes a transformation institution and can be understood as a component of social processes. As a transformation institution it needs a continuous engagement with the relevance of their own interpretations and positions. A clear ethical positioning is a basic requirement, which includes at least these elements: We support the diversity of the population, work for the protection of minorities (with and without migration biographies), freedom of the press, cultural freedom of expression and Rule of law. Furthermore, in addition to the politically desired topics (e.g. digitalisation), we support and reach out to fundamental issues for the conservation of the earth. In doing so, we always keep the autonomy of the individual in mind and strive for this within the framework of our educational considerations.

Concerning the relevanceof cultural and educational sciences: So far, an important reference for AE in order to interpret societal developments is and was to understand modernization processes. Approaches of individualisation (Beck, 1986), reflexive modernization (Beck & Giddens, 1996) or milieu theories (i.e. Bourdieu, Vester, Sinus-Milieus) describe the requirement for the individual to constantly be able to make new decisions and to be able to orientate himself flexibly and quickly. Biographisation is becoming more and more complex (Alheit & Dausien, 2010, p. 720). Expansion of transnationalization processes in

Europe and on a global scale (culturally, economically, socially in institutions and structures), increasing forms of migration (currently still forced migration) are what we are dealing with now. These are overarching topics. Thus, connecting and transforming cultures becomes an overarching perspective for education. Especially, if we assume that people are involved in the formation of cultures. Individuals are concerned with cultural formation through processes of interpretation, deconstruction and construction: Interpretation, such as understanding migration processes and the challenges associated with them, deconstruction, e.g. of forms of racism or anti-semitism, and construction, such as new forms of living together (Fleige, Gieseke, & Robak, 2015; Robak, 2018). These are requirements in a migration society.

Flight migration poses a variety of challenges for society and refugees, such as insecure life planning, difficult living conditions, language, literacy, degrees/qualifications, vocational integration/employment, unfamiliar social policies, and fundamentally different gender relations. Some people have to overcome traumas. It is now a matter of shaping migration societies and placing education in them.

For Germany we know that already in 2018 about 4 out of 10 of the refugees since 2015 have a job (Tagesschau, 2018), currently already 35 % of the refugees have a job, it is calculated with 50 % after 5 years (Groll & Schuler, 2019).

The population must be better prepared for global changes and shifts, including migration. Basic topics such as dealing with strangeness, with different cultural resources and also with questions of memory cultures and cultural heritage (Hall, 2005; Smith, 2006; Tauschek, 2013), but also of all forms of Group-focused inhumanity (Zick & Klein, 2014; Zick, Küpper, & Krause, 2016) must be given more attention in education. Especially now, when forms of radicalisation are becoming even more easily accessible through digitisation and this right-wing thinking can spread more quickly (Ebner, 2019).

If we include all these developments, the complex challenge for adult and continuing education as a culture-shaping institution becomes visible. Shaping culture is an overarching perspective of the adult and continuing education. Dealing with social developments seems to make it necessary to grasp the major and culturally rapid developments and analyze those in respect to corresponding educational questions and conceptualizations on education and their meanings.

Mechanisms that influence the free development of the individual are still effective, and Lebenslaufregime (translated: life course regimes, i.e. there are certain aspects and institutions, structures that influence the life course) are particularly active in Germany (Diewald, 2010). Adult and continuing education can, however, positively influence those regimes and can have a changing effect on culture. The fundamental thesis here is that social transformation processes lead to an expansion of the processes of cultural formation, which must now be viewed under the conditions of digitality. These processes of expansion or forming can be described with certain theoretical approaches, which are: transculturality and hybridization (Bhabha, 2000; Reckwitz, 2006; Welsch, 2011), society of singularities (Reckwitz, 2017) and with culture of digitality (Stalder, 2017).

With the concept of transculturality, Welsch (2012) refers to the fact that cultures interpenetrate or intertwine each other and that the idea of self-contained and externally delimited "cultural spheres" can no longer be maintained. In a third space (Bhabha, 2000), which forms through perception and integration of cultural difference, new mixtures and forms are shaped (hybrid forms). Reckwitz (2006) describes this as "hybridization" that permeates the structures of modernization as a process of cultural shaping. This not only leads to a permanent change of culture, which is conceptualized as "subject-culture" in late modernity, but also to an often conflicting diversity of cultural practices, interpretations and perspectives. In the interspaces new cultural formations and redesigned forms emerge, which form a basis for the singularization described by Reckwitz (2017). With the described process of hybridization and transculture, we succeed in making the transition to digitization as a cultural transformation process.

Singularization means, that each individual contributes on this forming process. The individual participates in the shaping of culture. It must balance contradictory demands. Fields of tensions are increasing; a permanent searching process is taking place. Biographisation processes are becoming more complex (Alheit & Dausien, 2019).

We are approaching the core of this article; it is the conceptualization outlined below and presented in two graphics, which were further developed for the underlying keynote of the ESREA conference in Belgrade (graphic 2 follows in thesis 3).

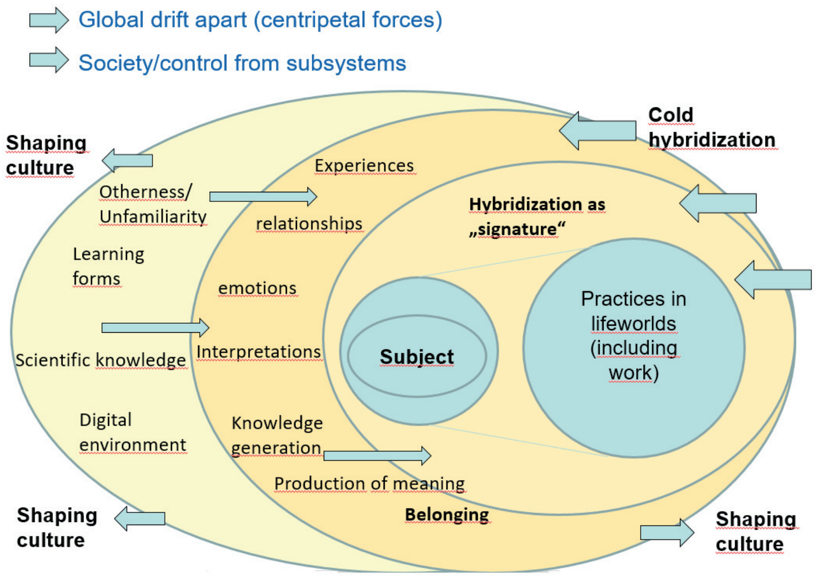

Figure 2. Hybridization processes shaping culture and the contribution of education (own image).

The inner ellipse depicts a fundamental hybridization process in which the above-mentioned subject cultures, analyzed by Reckwitz (2006), are involved in the shaping of culture through their practices in the various areas of the life-world. This process can be read in more detail in the above-mentioned study. It is assumed that this happens in the mode of hybridization and these form signatures (Schneider, 2000).

The following ellipse in the middle specifies educationally relevant aspects which the individual brings into hybridization processes and which are relevant for educational processes. The individual participates in cultural formation in a shaping role by generating, introducing and contributing experiences, relationships, emotions, interpretations, knowledge production (see the analyses in Robak, 2012a), meaning production (Reckwitz, 2017) and the shaping of belonging. The outer ellipse represents the connection to the environment and the living worlds. Cultural shaping takes place at this interface. From the educational perspective, the aspects of otherness, the design of forms of learning, scientific knowledge as such and the digital environments are given a particularly important role.

Adult and further education are considered here as a transformational instance and as a shaping component of culture and thus society. Participation in shaping culture can mean supporting countercultures in social movements; it can also mean enabling and accompanying knowledge generation and distribution. The focus should be on the individuals in their contexts, relations and relationships and the institutionalizations that accompany them. The widening of forms of institutionalization and lifelong learning from different perspectivescan can be understood as part of cultural formation.

Adult and continuing education take on a nourishing task. It is a human right. Learning and education move into the centre of the interspaces and more intensively in the "between". Hybridization must not be a cold hybridization. Cold hybridization controls the process, it prevents reflection, knowledge generation, intervenes in belonging, through exclusion and hierarchization.

Education is central to emotional differentiation and balancing requirements (Gieseke, 2016). The individual interacting in a way or mode of relational autonomy wants to make experiences, build up and differentiate interpretations and face the increasing demands of confrontation with unfamiliarity, digital environments and differentiating forms of learning. It is important to find your own positions and to feel safe in these positions.

Concerning digital environment and learning forms: In the Adult Education Survey (AES), digitally supported forms of education were recorded. According to this, 43% of all educational activities are digitally supported. 29% of adults participated in digitally supported education (BMBF, 2019).

We observe a high demand for scientific knowledge, for degrees, in order to position oneself and to be able to better assess the world. Adult and continuing education perceives and analyses these developments very fundamentally.

Shaping culture is then a reflexive process, it is not left to itself as unreflected socialization. Thus, education takes on an important fundamental task for democracy. The erosion of democracy is happening directly, but above all in many indirect ways that initially elude attention and observation. We have been experiencing this in Germany since 2015; the strengthening of right-wing forces and the taking in of part of the middle class had not been seen. We were also able to reconstruct this in the educational programs (Robak & Petter, 2014; Robak, 2018).

Thus, the perspective question can be: How can the individual develop and contribute to the shaping of society and how does adult and continuing education support this?

Hybridization as a superordinate process is influenced by practices of digitalization, by cultural difference, by how society deals with foreignness, with fears of alienation, with global shifts in democracies and non-democracies. At present, processes and resources that strive for processing in the sense of transculturalization, and thus with the aim of forming a new, common culture, are in danger; we are observing, as mentioned above, an increase in right-wing radicalism and other forms of group-based misanthropy.

The reflection of patterns of interpretation (see middle ellipse of graphic 2) gains new relevance: the recourse to existing patterns of interpretation reproduces only what is known, the stimulation with new productions of meaning challenges us to go beyond what we know and feel.

If this remains on a surface, without any connection to the shaping of knowledge structures and interpretations up to patterns of interpretation that allow and promote complex analytical abilities, this redundancy leads to a lack of democratic ability. The feeling of being left behind even in the very basic sense endangers the capacities to act and interprete. Fukuyama (2019) speaks here of the necessity of a new interpretation of identity, i.e. the formation of affiliations. Differentiation phenomena are necessary; every person needs confrontation, although confrontation does not mean fighting against somebody or something and is not to be equated with degradation.

Broad conceptualisation of education for adult and continuing education

The statements and considerations in the previous chapter form a basis for the following reflections on a broad conceptualisation of adult education and continuing education in late modern times.

The underlying *thesis three* refers to a broad conceptualization of education:

> *Late modernity requires the development of a broad resp. wide concept of education that enables access to adult and continuing education for the various contexts in which people live.*

This concept supports forms of institutionalisation between self-education, digital contexts, education in “adjunctive” organisations and in different institutions and organisations, belonging to different providers. This broad conceptualisation can be shaped in portals of education.

The term education here is not meant in the sense of upbringing; it rather considers enlightenment, emancipation, reflexive and analytical interests of the individual for all areas of the life world.

This also means that the structuring principles (according to Giddens, 1984) have to be further developed and differentiated, whereby for educational research in these areas field specific aspects always have to be taken into consideration, which are legislation, dialogue between politics, science and practice, differentiation of professionalisation and professionalism.

Our greatest shortcoming is, among other things, the lack of our own terms and definitions. How could we use international expertise to work this out jointly? A broad concept of education sees itself in the advocacy for individuals in relation to the shaping of society and culture.

It includes personality development, identity development, political and civic action, health, exercise and emotional stabilisation as well as employability as part of a broad educational concept (Robak, Rippien, Heidemann, & Pohlmann, 2015a, p. 34). We also associate the term employablity with a broad approach and include the interests of the participants abductively (Reichertz, 2003). The latter can aim at direct activity, personal professional development, pure interest without immediate usability, professional specialisation without direct activity reference, differential life contexts, personality development, identity formation, shaping of the environment/organisation, stabilisation of the body and emotional elasticity (Robak et al., 2015a, p. 265). This broad interpretation in the approaches takes into account different degrees of institutionalisation and, in vocational terms, different concepts of continuing vocational and in-company training, including approaches to workplace-based learning.

We were able to analyse and describe this broad concept of education empirically very precisely in our study on educational behaviour during educational leave by interviewing 561 people within the framework of a multi-perspective research framework.

We also asked for follow-up learning and the intended learning usage of the participants: One of our most important findings is that multiple interests in the interests and use of learning exist at the same time, but that these vary according to the educational sector. There are differences in the learning-utilisation interests in seminars of general education, vocational education and training and political education. Apart from political education, all the other seminars simultaneously have interests and perspectives of use which are based on professional concerns and which relate to different contexts of life and manifold questions of the lifeworlds (Heidemann, 2015; Heidemann, 2020 in preparation). Two examples shall be given: In seminars of the general education sector we could observe a dual structure of non-professional learning use interests of the individual on the one hand and vocational goals on the other hand (vocational development, employability). The participation rates reveal a strong focus on health education and cultural and arts education with the motivations to stay emotional flexible, creative but also with a motivation to keep mobile and stabilized for work and for employability in general.

In seminars of the vocational education sector the *immediate applicability for work activities* and the *long-term development of employability* are primarily relevant.

I would differentiate this broad concept of education into five large portals of education, which structure themselves primarily from the perspective of individuals and their interests, needs and demands, and which off course incorporate and integrate the needs of society, employers, etc. These five portals of education are: culturality, emotional elasticity and stabilization, political participation including analytic-reflexive skills, employability and professionalism.

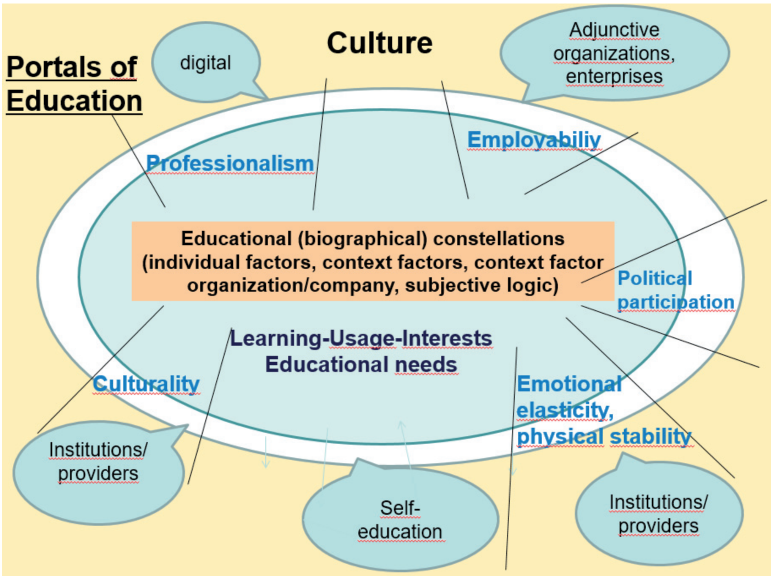

Figure 3. Portals of Education for adult and continuing education (own image).

We start with the inner part of the graphic: Our and other research showthat individuals form constellations, which have an influence on the learning and educational activities.

These individual constellations are structured by their biographies, including educational biographies, and situations. Educational monitoring studies, in particular a longitudinal study by Harry Friebel (2008), but also considerations by Jürgen Wittpoth (2018) and other colleagues indicate how biographical constellations are formed from aspects that have an effect in the different life worlds and at the workplace (e.g. position and complexity of the workplace structure). The aspect of time, as analyzed by Sabine Schmidt-Lauff (2018), is also one of the constellation-forming aspects that influence educational decisions and educational activities.

The aspects for educational-biographical constellations were qualitative and quantitative developed in the above-mentioned study on educational behaviour during educational leave (Robak et al., 2015a), then quantitative further developed (Heidemann, 2020 in preparation; Mania, 2018). We can differenciate into: Individual factors (sociodemographic characteristics – gender, age, educational level), context factor family (marital status, children in the household), context factor activity/employment (employment situation, work situation, activity, duration of employment, trade union member), context factor enterprise (area of employment, size of enterprise, works council, further training support) (Robak et al., 2015a, p. 276). Under the aspect of subjective logic, further education-related characteristics (decision to participate, further education/educational leave activity, learning and exploitation interests) are taken into account (qualitative research: Robak, 2015a; quantitative research: Heidemann, 2020 in preparation).

The complexity to shape these portals evolves from the fact, that the society can indidicate so called objective needs, that only brings the individual to training, when it is obliged to do so. However, participation in adult and continuing education is predominantly voluntary.

Thus, it is a professional task and advantage to find out subjective needs, interests and learning-usage-interests to invite people. These aspects must be analytically combined with the above-mentioned biographical constellations of individuals in order to pass through portals of education by designing suitable offers and seminars. This means that knowledge of and involvement in the design of these portals can support decision-making processes for educational participation of the individuals.

The portals are also structured by the different learning locations. These learning locations show different degrees of institutionalisation and different forms and approaches of didacticisation as well as different learning cultures; these are adult and continuing education organisations, adjunctive education including companies, digital learning forms up to other forms of self-education.

Educational institutions and organisations in which programmes and services are developed by professionally trained staff and also offered with face-to-face teaching remain important. But we also observe a growing role of organisations of adjunctive education; these are organisation with other main tasks than education, but they also offer qualification and education.[4] This results from a growing need for knowledge generation, for scientific knowledge as a whole, and also from innovation interests, such as the visible link between work and learning. In addition, there is an interest, e.g. cultural institutions such as museums, to address the public additionally through educational offers and to interest them in the institution and the offers and exhibits.

The diverse institutions and organisations are of high relevance; here we see specific aspects that attract different milieus for different institutions. Digital forms of learning and digital competences, as basic competences and as specialisations, are playing an increasingly important role, we see this currently in a research project on the development of digital learning and digital competences (FuBiDiKuBi, 2019). Also, projects of colleagues are dealing with this (Egetenmeyer, 2019). Forms of self-education will also retain relevance (Arnold, 2010).

The five portals are thus structured, on the one hand, on the basis of the aforementioned institutionalisations, on the other hand, on the basis of the learning forms and ways of knowledge aquisition, and on the basis of the contents (this is offered by the various educational sectors such as vocational training, cultural and intercultural education, health education, political education etc.). They resonate as a perspective with the learning-usage-interests of the individuals, which are composed of educational interests, motives and uses for the different contexts of life.

Furthermore, the portals take up empirical findings and theoretical knowledge and are guided by it.

These are: political and civic participation, employability, professionalism, culturality, emotional elasticity and physical stability. Thus, a portal of access only forms an approach, when the individual responds to the offered structure.

At this point, I would like to make two further comments, one on the role of continuing training in the company and the other on the role of legislation.

Concerning the uprising role of enterprise training in Europe (Eurostat, 2015): it is a part of the system and should be adressed by more research. I would like to argue that we do not banish also not isolate on the one side, but also not exclusively adress the enterprises and training or workplace learning on the other side. It can be considered as one institutional context, even if it is a big one. It is interesting to see how different it develops.[5]

4 The term organizations of adjunctive education was first developed on the basis of empirical results in a study that analysed the development of cultural and intercultural education in Berlin and selected regions (Gieseke, Opelt, Stock, & Börjesson, 2005).

5 The education report 2018 for Germany shows, that among those enterprises, who do offer CVET the forms of proposing learning and qualification varie: the bigger the enterprises the more opportunities to offer different forms: External Courses, internal or indoor-training; training at the workplace, attending conferences and speeches, Workplace rotation, selfdirected learning, quality circles (Bildungsbericht, 2018).

Furthermore, I would like to argue that in order to strengthen structuring (Giddens, 1984), the role of legislation must be strengthened. This must involve adult education, including science. Research can be referred to understand policies, politics and polities (Field & Schemmann, 2017; Milana, 2017; Milana & Holford, 2014). Research shows furthermore that a strong state involvement leads to more access (Desjardins & Rubensen, 2013).

There is no coherent continuing education law that comprehensively and coherently regulates all aspects relevant to continuing education (organisation, institution, financing, provision, participation, curriculum, etc.) (cf. Grotlüschen & Haberzeth, 2018).

We need to participate in the shaping of the principles of structuring, including legislation, differentiation of professionalisation and professionalism, both through dialogue between politics, science and practice and appropriate research to be meaningful and well-founded.

I increasingly see an important task in strengthening practice: this must also remain meaningful and be able to justify one's own work and performance well.

It is extremely difficult for us to influence it, but it is worthwhile to work for it. We can exemplify this in Germany with research on education vouchers (Käpplinger, Klein, & Haberzeth, 2013), educational leave (international Cedefop, 2012; Heidemann, 2020 in preparation; Pohlmann, 2018; Robak et al., 2015a) and initiatives that can also be seen in connection with the introduction of the Integration Act and the development and differentiation of cultural, inter– and transcultural education (Robak & Petter, 2014).

Reflections on common categories for the design of transnational/transcultural adult and continuing education

For the following considerations, I would like to follow on from the remarks of the last chapters and take up some categories for the design of the portals in a transnational space in a transcultural sense.

Thesis 4: In order to design a transnational/transcultural educational space of adult and continuing education it is necessary to conceive and further develop common categories.

The autonomy of the individual and a necessary professionalism of adult educators to support the rhizomatization of the field is a basis of these considerations. We need perspectives and research that can critically examine democratically taken decisions and democracy forming ideas, knowledge, attitudes and concepts. From what do we want to derive these common categories? If we look at our central references, these are the educational and learning processes of individuals in their social and institutional contexts. If we understand the actions of individuals as shaping society, this must be considered in its facets and transferred into the educational context in order to accompany processes of social formation and transformation.

Can we communicate without missing our common field? Large Scale Surveys seem to be a good starting point (see Field, 2016; Schmidt-Hertha, 2018). They follow the interest to understand participation, even though there are limitations. They are important not only for visibility but also for further discussion on how to develop those approaches for elaborating adult and continuing education as a discipline in late modernity.

Another study I want to mention is the BeLL-Study (Fleige &Sgier, 2016; Manninen et al., 2014; see also Manninen & Meriläinen, 2014; Thöne-Geier, Fleige, Kil, Sgier, & Manninen, 2017), because it has been conducted in ten countries, it develops categories coming from our discipline and it contributes important results to show the relevance of liberal education.[6] My research on different groups of German-speaking expatriates and cosmopolitans living in China shows which aspects play a role in learning and educational processes, in terms of competence development at the workplace, cultural learning and cultural education, as well as in terms of informal learning in everyday life world. In this case the individuals are of high qualification and able to speak Chinese language. This group was able to participate in education in Europe and China, using the offers of different providers in Europe and in China. The individuals were also able to realize a transcultural change of perspective. A transcultural shift in perspective means having in-depth knowledge of systems of interpretation and being able to switch between patterns of interpretation of different cultural origins. This requires a lot of resources and knowledge from many fields and especially about cultures (Robak, 2012a, 2015b).

All these considerations, the mentioned and further studies which cannot be carried out lead to the following categories which are currently relevant among others. Individuals must be able to deal with paradoxes in late modernity and maintain their capacity for democracy. The ability to shape culture, to undertake cultural transformations and to produce meaning is closely linked to the ability to be democratic.

A modern, steered society demands thoroughly regulated and differentiated emotional budgets, at the same time: To be innovative, the ability to learn, liveliness and creativity are required, that can mean balancing between "joining oneself" (informal learning) and the interest in abandoning prefabricated paths (Gieseke, 2016, p. 101). The ability to balance emotions also ensures democratic ability (Manemann, 2019). Thus, common categories can be: *Emotions* are essen-

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6 These are the categories: Changes in educational experience, social engagement, mental well-being, tolerance, sense of purpose in life, locus of control, health behaviour, self-efficacy, familiy benefits, work related benefits (Thöne-Geier et al., 2017, p. 181; see also Manninen & Meriläinen, 2014).

tial in order to form differentiated possibilities of reception and decision-making and to differentiate evaluation and decision-making processes. Emotional learning opens up for critical and reflective engagement with oneself and the world and strengthens individuals in dealing productively with the paradoxes and social challenges mentioned above (Gieseke, 2016; Manemann, 2019). *Experiences* (Böhle, 2009; Meyer-Drawe, 2010; Negt, 1971): The ability to experience and the preservation of and openness to new experiences are fundamental to shaping a common culture. They guide, among other things, the possibilities of cultural and educational participation and thus of shaping society. The ability to interpret (Schüßler, 2003) experiences and to classify them within the framework of patterns of interpretation, or even to deconstruct destructive or outdated patterns of interpretation and allow new ones to emerge, enables broad participation by the individual in education and in shaping democracy. The preconditions, processes under the sign of late modernity challenge to new questions. Thus, *interpretations* (Schüßler, 2003) and the *formation of interpretation patterns* (Arnold, 1991; Arnold, 1999; Mezirow, 2009) are assumed to be more relevant categories for further research or an in-depth examination of it. Other categories that should be mentioned are knowledge acquisition, generation and knowledge development, the above mentioned benefits (Manninen et al., 2014), *interests* (Grotlüschen, 2010) and learning-usage-interests (Robak et al., 2015a). The capacity for *creativity* and the desire to develop itin the most diverse forms can be regarded as a fundamental anthropological fact (Menke, 2013), so all people should be given these opportunities. Here too, new research and development challenges arise (Fleige et al., 2015; Reckwitz, 2012).

Understanding lifelong learning and the role of adult education through programs and multiperspective research approaches

For the last chapter I take up the metaphor of the rhizome, and assume that the individuals who wish to face and participate in cultural changes and shaping processes – with their educational desires (Reckwitz, 2017) – and the institutions that transfer these desires and the identified needs into educational offers, are involved in the processes of rhizomatization.

Thus, the accompanying *thesis 5* is: *For the joint shaping of a transnational/transcultural educational space and the perception of culture-forming transformation tasks, adult and continuing education need research at the levels of the individual, the organisation and the system with references to politics, but also above all to demands for professionalism.*

I would like to present one example of a research approach that we are developing further – research on the programs, program planning, including research on the participants' educational participation and the anticipation of this participation behavior for the planning processes (levels individual, organization, professionalism). Programs, programme planning processes, the single offers, projects and also concepts, are of particular interest.[7] In the programs it becomes visible whether there is at all institutionally back-bound lifelong learning, which is why we are strengthening this area of research in order to create visibility; of course statistics are important for participation on the part of individuals. We document what is offered in terms of seminars, projects (all kinds of offers that can be identified).

Programs (printed, digital) show the institutions understanding and interpretation of education, qualification and competence development (Fleige et al., 2018; Gieseke, 2000; von Hippel, 2019; Nolda, 2010). The methodology and method of programme analysis has been developed specifically for adult education and is further differentiated (Cervero, 2017; Gieseke, 2000; Käpplinger, 2019, see international Käpplinger, 2015; Robak et al., 2015b, 2019a, 2019b; Rose & Fleige, 2017; Sork, 2016; St.Clair, 2016). Program analyses offers the potential to identify and further explore relevant research aspects and categories, such as topics, themes, target groups, approaches, learning and knowledge forms, focus of the provider, profiles, learning/educational objectives, digital competence, digital media etc. It is a non-reactive method, the material is analyzed on the basis of a coding system by a team. Developing a coding system is part of an abductive research process (Reichertz, 2003; Robak, 2012b).

In the programs and offers it becomes visible how education is interpreted and offered through new interpretations. This is an expression of the rhizome-like growth that is realized through program and offer development.

The program creates heterogenous forms of organisations and institutions of adult education (i.e.: community education centers, academies etc.); "adjunctive" organisations of adult education who in principal have, as outlined earlier above, a different focus, such as museums; organisations for professional further education within enterprises. So it is not the programs that are controlled by institutions, but the development of institutions is part of the rhizome-like process of change in society, and the programs and offers that adult and continuing education provide are part of the rhizome-like growth that is expressed in the structures of institutions.

Our approach is a multiperspective one that analyses both the institutional and the participants side to understand how the institutions operate as a transformation institution.

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7 The Expert Group on Program Research includes scientists from various universities, both within Germany and internationally. An international conference on this subject was held in Hanover in 2015 (International Conference, 2015).

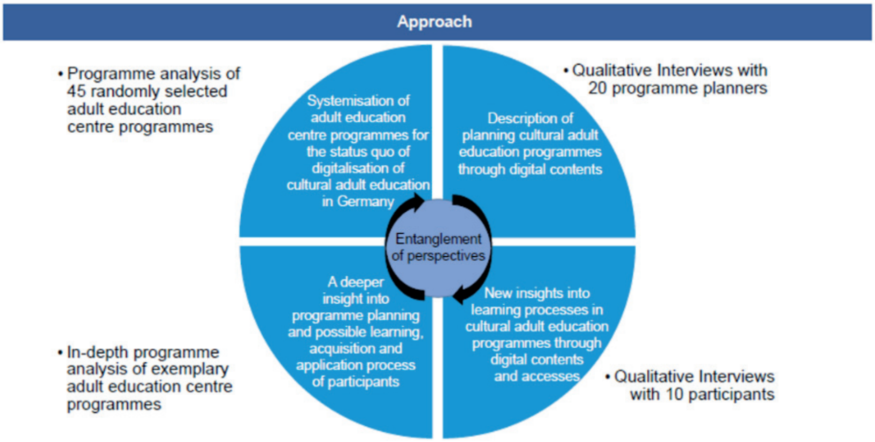

Figure 4. Research design for the project FuBi_DiKuBi (own image).

We observe that autonomous program planning activities of the Adult Educator initiative rhizome-like growth. There are many influencing aspects, such as finance structure, the laws on countries and also EU-level, but especially interesting are the different knowledge ressources planners need for their decision-making processes shaping the program.

In an ongoing research project on digitization in programs of adult education centres we (together with DIE, Dr. Marion Fleige) analyze how digitization is offered in program structures, how these programs are planned and how the participants learn in these seminars.

Analyzing the integration of digization as a topic and as digital learning forms show how adult and continuing education participates in culture forming processes, in the sense I introduced in thesis 2.

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RENEWAL FROM THE MARGINS: CHANGE-ORIENTED ADULT EDUCATION IN DO-IT-YOURSELF LEARNING SPACES

Abstract

Under the pressures of neoliberalism, adult education has been moving away from its socially engaged roots. Teachers are supposed to model learners as workers for the market. Increasing workloads keep educators from focusing on what is meaningful in their job. Within institutional frameworks, there seems to be little space for what could be seen as one of the most fundamental purposes of education: enabling people to become critical and creative co-shapers of society, capable of navigating a complex world that is facing unprecedented social and ecological crises.

Yet, when we shift our gaze from the centre to the margins, there are signs of hope. In the cracks of the formal education system and informally at grassroots level, people take the socially and ecologically engaged cause of education upon themselves. Often with little or no structural support from the educational establishment – but also out of the reach of its suffocating demands and policies. Two theoretical lenses can help to appreciate what it means to work from the edges of the learning system: Foucault's concept of 'heterotopias', counter-spaces that compensate for an imperfect reality by creating a new reality, and the Overton Window, a theory of change used in the political sciences to explain how ideas that seem radical at first get normalised over time.

In this paper, I investigate a number of change-oriented nonformal non-vocational adult learning spaces. Rooted in personal values and a sense of meaning and purpose, all are developed and facilitated by individuals with a Do-It-Yourself spirit. I draw on interviews with practitioners who, each in their own way, redefine what learning can look like, what desirable outcomes are, and what knowledge and capacities are needed in the world of today. What connects these people is their persistence and struggle 'to make it happen' against the odds. I will argue that however insignificant, makeshift, or curious these initiatives and projects may appear at present, they can set an example for the future and are well worth taking seriously when looking for signs of renewal in a field under pressure.

Keywords: change-oriented adult education, DIY learning spaces, heterotopias, Overton Window

Introduction

As I begin writing this paper, it is the first day of school for many children in the area where I live. There is a sense of excitement in the air. Parents give their offspring giant cone-shaped bags filled with all you need to embark on the adventure called education. Will it live up to its promise, I wonder? Will the teachers manage to help these little people become capable citizens, equipped with the capacities needed to face a world in crisis? There is still some time until these kids will have grown up. Meanwhile, the landscape of learning is changing. Awareness is growing that in order to live well and sustainably on our shared planet, it is not only important to learn your reading, maths, and science, but also to develop creative capacities, communication skills, and ecological awareness. For many people who are adults today, there is a lot to catch up on. Is there anything we can do, given the scale of the social and ecological challenges we are facing today? That is the question the practitioners involved in Do-It-Yourself [DIY] Learning Spaces ask themselves.

In this paper, I will begin by positioning my research in the field of adult education – as I will argue, a field under pressure. Then, I will explore the locus of the margins in relation to the centre. I will introduce two theoretical lenses that may help to appreciate what it means to work from there: Foucault's concept of 'heterotopias', counter-spaces that compensate for an imperfect reality by creating a new reality, and the Overton Window, a theory of change used in the political sciences to explain how ideas that seem radical at first get normalised over time. Subsequently, I will describe the evolution of the research project and its attempt to give visibility to educational initiatives based at the grassroots and in the cracks of the system, by representing each of the cases on my blog www.artistsofsociety.com. Finally, I will move on to mapping ten Do-It-Yourself Learning Spaces – examples of largely non-formal and non-vocational change-oriented sites of adult learning. Who are the people involved in these spaces? What are their aims, motivations, approaches, struggles, and achievements? What can we learn from the do-it-yourself spirit that drives their work? And what do these individual projects amount to in terms of shifting the priorities of adult education? What follows is a picture of renewal from the margins.

Spaces of renewal in a field under pressure

As ecological and social crises intertwine, humanity is presented with complex global problems that defy easy solutions (Abram, 2012; Akomolafe, 2017; Wheatley & Frieze, 2011). Our survival and that of the planet depend on every person's creativity: on our ability to develop new ways of perceiving, reflecting, imagining, talking, listening, and shaping our life conditions together (Beuys & Harlan, 2007; Kirchgaesser, 2018; Sacks & Kurt, 2013). What humans of all ages need are spaces in which we can learn to become such 'artists of society'.Whilst in the

Western world, efforts are being made to increasingly focus on the development of creative and critical thinking in primary and secondary schools (OECD, 2019), institutionalised provisions on such a scale do not exist for adults. Instead, the field of adult education – especially state-supported adult education – has been moving away from its socially engaged roots, as once established by, for example, the Nordic *folkbildning* system (Korsgaard & Martin, 2002), popular education in Brasil (Freire (1996 [1968]), and workers movements in countries like England, France, and Austria (Federighi, 1999). Today in countries such the UK, Germany, and the Netherlands, neoliberal policies support forms of adult education that focus on skills that will help people function on the market –maintaining the problematic status quo rather than questioning and re-visioning the capitalistic system that has been the root of current social and ecological crises in the first place. Whilst in the cracks of the system and in the shadow spaces of the curricula individual educators expose their students to different sets of values (Sandlin, Burdick & Norris, 2012), many mainstream sites of learning are drenched in the logic of late capitalism – namely, that there are no real alternatives and that economic growth for its own sake is what we should all aspire to (Fisher, 2009).

A depressing picture? If you look at what is going on in the centre of the field, probably yes. But if you direct your gaze towards the periphery, there are signs of renewal. In the cracks of the formal education system and informally at grassroots level, people take the socially and ecologically engaged cause of education upon themselves. Often with little or no structural support from the state and its institutions – but also out of the reach of its suffocating demands and policies. Testimony to these forces of renewal from the margins are accounts of educators from around the world, as they have been gathered in single-case study collections in books (e.g. Fisher-Yoshida, Geller & Schapiro, 2009; O'Sullivan, Morrell & O'Connor, 2002; Sandlin & McLaren, 2010) and in specific issues of academic journals (e.g. Clover & Hill, 2003; Dentith & Griswold, 2017; Finnegan, 2019; Lange & O'Neil, 2018). However, since these largely non-formal and non-vocational change-oriented learning spaces (Manninen, 2017; Manninen, Jetsu & Sgier, 2019) take all kinds of different shapes, it isa challenge to map and compare them. Yet, diving into this somewhat chaotic universe at the margins to get a sense for the variety of initiatives and the people behind them can be rewarding. Because even if at present, their efforts might seem insignificant, makeshift, or curious, their experiments could be of inspiration to a field under pressure to respond to the social and ecological challenges we all face.

Working from the margins of learning systems

In 2018, Lange & O'Neil highlighted the potential of educational alternatives conceived of in the margins of the system in their introduction to a special issue of the *Journal of Transformative Education* on Transformative Sustainability Education:

> "The final report of the United Nations Decade of Education for Sustainable Development indicates that entire education systems are straining at their edges to accommodate the needed transdisciplinary approaches and other transformations in education systems. The way forward often lays outside the strictures of formal, institutionalized contexts within non-formal and informal adult learning sites. In this polyarchy of learning edges, there are opportunities for the field of adult educationand lifelong learning." (p. 275)

How precisely can we conceive of the notion of the periphery in relation to the centre of a system? From biology we know that the edges of ecosystems are supposedly the most diverse and dynamic places, whilst the centre is more homogenous. Translated to learning systems, the centre is dominated by one particular paradigm or narrative, which is being multiplied through state-funded, hierarchically structured educational institutions. They hold authority, asserted through their power to set (epistemological) standards and award degrees and certificates. In order to maintain this authority, it is important that people adhere to these standards. The one valid reason for change is new knowledge produced by research carried out within this hegemonic framework. Supposedly. In practice, established educational institutions tend to be too big and bureaucratic as to be as efficient and adequate as they would maybe like to present themselves. Neoliberal austerity policies mean that employees are under constant pressure and that there is actually little space for experimentation, both in teaching and research. Managerialism causes staff to feel disempowered and ever bigger buildings turn educational spaces into anonymous learning factories. Even though Freire formulated his educational critique in the particular context of Brazil in the 1960s, his belief that "the efforts by individuals and groups within the system of oppression to implement education for liberation should be conceptualised as projects and distinguished from systemic education" (in Williams, 2009, p. 282) still holds its relevance today.

What differentiates the margins from the centre? In terms of adult learning, there is a much greater variety. People organise in different ways, from short-lived projects and meetings in living rooms of "friends educating each other" – in the spirit of Lindeman's definition of adult education (1926, p. 5) – to social enterprises that offer an eclectic range of workshops and experiences, to fully fetched alternative schools providing a range of programmes. What characterises these alternative educational initiatives from the margins is that they have emerged from a do-it-yourself mentality, which is why I started using the umbrella term DIY learning spaces to describe them. Whilst taking many different forms, these learning spaces are connected by "the appreciation of small interventions and the desire to work outside of totalizing master plans" (Talen, 2015, p. 142). As Glowacki-Dudka and Helvie-Mason (2004) point out, not being regulated means more space to experiment, to be flexible, and to remain responsive. If you don't buy into an existing framework, you can actually try something new. Something that you think is important and needed. But the landscape of learning at the edges is not only diverse, it is also dynamic and unpredictable. Whilst these can be circumstances in which creativity can flourish, there are downsides, too. Working in the margins doesn't simply meanone is free: a lot of time is spent navigating complex and competing interests (Cervero & Wilson, 1994, p. 4) and simply keeping afloat, both personally and financially. Marginality can be a "prime source of insecurity" (Clark, 1968, p. 149).

Clearly, working in the margins can be productive, but it is not straightforward. To abandon the trodden paths involves a whole range of choices and challenges that not everyone would choose to grapple with. The complexity and precarity only increases if the context the margins of which one works in is politically charged. In European countries, where the DIY Learning Spaces I engaged with for this stage of my research are based, alternative educational narratives are tolerated and even applauded as long as they don't break the law – although this situation may not be as stable as it seems, as some of the interviewed practitioners did mention having encountered resistance to their work in the past. The situation is entirely different if you are based in countries like China or Brazil, where the educational paradigm is closely linked to a political narrative that leaves little space for alternatives, making practitioners having to fear repercussions. Whilst some principles and characteristics, such as diversity and adaptability versus a more established and static order may be inherent to many margin-centre dynamics, the actual context determines what being located in either means in practice.

Two theoretical lenses: Heterotopias and the Overton Window

Despite the challenges involved, many DIY Learning Spaces deliberately position themselves in opposition to (aspects of) the dominant educational paradigm. Compensating for an imperfect reality by creating a new reality, they are counter-sites, like Foucault's 'heterotopias' (1986, p. 24):

> "There are [...], probably in every culture, in every civilization, 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. [...] 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."

The role of heterotopias "is to create a space that is other, another real space as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled." (Foucault, 1986, p. 27). The extent to which any given situation allows this role to be fulfilled depends on many factors. If the paradigm one seeks to subvert is neoliberalism, there are some special traps. Innovative initiatives are not only at risk of being co-opted by the very system once rejected by their originators, they can even come to fulfil a neoliberal dream:

> "Indeed, what could be more welcome to neo-liberal policymakers than a series of alternative spaces, which have internalised the language of entrepreneurship to the extent that they bill themselves as conceptual enterprises?" (Hadchity, 2019, p. 27)

Whilst many an alternative educational practitioner might appreciate the human scale of their heterotopia, the question arises whether such individual initiatives can affect change on a larger scale. The Overton Window (Mackinac Center for Public Policy, 2019), a theory of change developed by Joseph Overton in the mid-1990s used in the political sciences, offers an interesting perspective on how ideas from the margins can spread and influence the mainstream over time. It illustrates how what is radical today can become acceptable tomorrow and desirable eventually, as the window of normality slowly moves closer towards what were once fringe phenomena. This movement can be influenced.

> "There are two ways to do this: the long, hard way and the short, easy way. The long, hard way is to continue making your actual case persistently and persuasively until your position becomes more politically mainstream, whether it be due to the strength of your rhetoric or a long-term shift in societal values. By contrast, the short, easy way is to amplify and echo the voices of those who take a position a few notches more radical than what you really want." (Bolotsky, 2019).

In other words: if you stay with your principles and refuse to compromise, sooner or later you will "stretch the boundaries of what the majority considers possible and redefine what counts as the "moderate" position" (Lee, 2011). Thus, heterotopian ideas and practices may flow into mainstream reality.

The evolution of the research project

Following the DIY learning spirit myself, I started this research project in February 2019 during a period of suspension from a compromised PhD situation. Having worked closely with my then-supervisor on the development of the alternative 'University of the Trees: Lab for New Knowledge and an Eco-Social Future' (2018) for six years and doing my PhD on this work, I felt like my frame of reference was growing too narrow. Having had experience with diverse educational philosophies since I was a child and a sustained interest in alternative learning spaces since I was a teenager, I decided to contact friends and friends of friends in order to see what is currently living in the world of DIY Learning Spaces.

Soon, I started interviewing people engaged in such spaces about the nature of their work, their motivation, their idea of learning, the outcomes they anticipate, and the challenges they face. I spoke with project initiators and with people who joined existing initiatives as employee, facilitator, student, or participant. I also had some direct experiences of engaging with their work. According to my desire to bridge the gap between research and practice (Fisher-Yoshida, Geller & Schapiro, 2009, p. 2), I didn't just want to gather my data privately and produce a paper only to present it to a selected academic audience. I wanted the stories of the DIY Learning Spaces to be publicly accessible and engaging to read for the people who are actually involved in them. Therefore, I decided to write articles portraying each of the initiatives on my blog, www.artistsofsociety.com, which I started in October 2018. Even though the interviewees were aware that what they told me wouldn't be confidential – unless they requested to have certain sections left out in the public articles, which only happened on three occasions all related to income – they were very open to sharing their questions, aspirations, and experiences, both positive and challenging. They appreciated the space the interview gave them to reflect on their practice and were keen to see their stories being brought together on a public platform.

More than previously expected, the research project is taking on something of a momentum, with ideas for a second phase showcasing DIY Learning Spaces from outside of Europe and turning it into a longitudinal study by revisiting the people, projects, and organisations in 2, 5, 10, and maybe even more years. This would be particularly interesting given that the current interviews only show a snapshot in the – mostly early – development of the work, and in order to see whether and how it evolves and contributes towards a larger change over time, it needs to be traced over a longer period. My hope is that this research project itself might contributetowards connecting practitioners who are often working on shared causes but in relative isolation and amplify these voices from the margins. In that sense, it could be seen as what De Sousa Santos calls a "sociology of emergences", which is about actively "identifying [...] alternatives and seeking to "enlarge the signs of possible future experiences, under the guise of tendencies and latencies, that are actively ignored by hegemonic rationality and knowledge"" (De Sousa Santos, 2003, in Teamey & Mandel, 2016, p. 238).

Mapping the DIY Learning Spaces

Overview of the featured initiatives

The landscape of alternative learning spaces is both diverse and dynamic. Being located at the grassroots or in the cracks of the system, change-oriented non-formal and informal adult education initiatives pursue their socially– and/or ecologically-engaged, future-oriented aims in countless different ways. Still, each of the practitioners interviewed for this research has their own distinguished view on what kind of knowledge and capacities are needed in the world of today, and they (co-)create settings in which such learning can manifest. The sample of DIY Learning Spaces represented in this research ranges from dialogue-based gatherings and games with a purpose to projects supplementing existing (educational) provisions and altogether independent alternatives:

(1) *The Intuitive Story*, a time-travel roleplaying game involving the use of one's intuition;
(2) *Earth Forum*, a social sculpture dialogue practice and multi-stakeholder process;
(3) *Moving School*, a range of educational projects aimed at 'learning from the future';
(4) *Mycelium*, a creative thinking game for learning to deal with wicked questions;
(5) *Deconstruct Education*, an initiative to bring more awareness to issues of representation in the Danish curriculum;
(6) *ThoughtBox*, holistic teaching materials for "learning how (not what) to think";
(7) *FarmAbility*, a care farm for people with learning disabilities and autism;
(8) *Vakrēšana*, spaces for learning from each other by engaging in respectful dialogue;
(9) *Kaospilot*, a half private half state-funded design and business school with a curriculum co-created by students; and
(10) *Utopia Working Group*, a gathering of sociallyengaged creatives for mutual inspiration.

In this paper, I can only provide a glimpse into each of the projects. The full stories are available on my blog.

Who is involved?

Nearly all these DIY Learning Spacesprovide not just one experience, but connect a range of activities for different audiences, including workshops, course programmes, talks, and blogs (1; 3; 4; 5; 6; 9). Whilst some offer one-off experiences (1; 2; 3; 4; 8), all aim for long term engagement. Among them are actual communities of learning, where people come together over an extended period of time (1; 2; 3; 7; 8; 9; 10). All work with adults, although in two cases, where practitioners provide both curriculum supplements and teacher training (5; 6), young people are involved too. In the words of the interviewees, target audiences include "friends" (1; 2; 4; 8; 10) and "strangers" (2; 8), "locals and refugees" (3;

8), "people with an interest in questions of social and ecological change" (2; 6; 10), "People of Colour" (5), "marginalised people" (3; 5; 7), "people with learning disabilities and autism" (7), "creatives" (2; 3; 9; 10), "teachers" (5; 6; 9), "students" (3; 4; 5; 7; 9), "the public" (2; 3; 4), and "policy makers" (2; 5).

Whilst most of the DIY Learning Spaces want to be inclusive and reach out to people from different backgrounds, this is not always easy. Diversifying who gets to be involved and hence increasing one's impact is therefore in many cases an aim for the future.

Approaches to learning

Altogether, a myriad approaches to learning manifest in these spaces. Many initiatives engage their participants in a consideration ofspecific social and/or ecological issues, such as climate change and mental health (2; 3; 5; 6; 8; 10). Others focus on inclusion and representation of marginalised peoples and perspectives (3; 5; 6; 7; 8). There are projects that explicitly focus on the development of creativity, imagination, and intuition (1; 2; 3; 4; 9; 10) or on social capacities, including empathy and respectful communication (1; 2; 6; 7; 8). Others, again, promote embodied learning and focus on enhancing sense perception (2; 3; 6; 7; 10). What follows is a taster of the philosophies informing the work of the DIY Learning Spaces as described by the practitioners involved.

(1) "The Intuitive Story enables people to rediscover their capacity for intuitive knowing and to become more empathic." (Noa Golan, Germany/Israel)

(2) "Earth Forum builds a sense of community, which is based on the recognition that we live on a shared planet and are faced with the question of how we want to treat it." (Heiko Nowak, Germany)

(3) "Although the Moving School projects can be very different, what links them is a communal and hands-on approach that encourages participants from mixed backgrounds to explore the direct relevance of certain themes to their own life." (Ludwig Möller, Germany)

(4) "There are all sorts of social penalties for thinking creatively. I think that's the most important thing to overcome. That's why we need a safe space for learning together." (Dan Holloway, UK)

(5) "Deconstruction refers to the action of breaking something into separate parts with the purpose of understanding their deeper meaning and examining the reality they create." (Mette Toft Nielsen, Denmark)

(6) "ThoughtBox has been designed to address three levels of learning: 1) Thinking, as in learning to question, 2) Feeling, as in developing empathy, and 3) Connecting to self, society, and the natural world." (Rachel Musson, UK)

(7) "Spending time outside and engaging in meaningful activities as part of a community is not a given for everyone. Providing more than a safe space or entertainment, FarmAbility enables people with learning disabilities and autism to do just that." (Olek Salmanowicz, UK/Poland)
(8) "Learning to listen to each other is as important in Vakrēšana as becoming confident to express oneself." (Laura Bužinska, Latvia)
(9) "Kaospilot's philosophy is based on embracing uncertainty and trying to navigate rather than to resist it." (Edda Luisa Kruse Rosset, Denmark/Germany)
(10) "By committing to regular meetings, sharing questions, ideas, and projects that really matter to us, and being open to what wants to emerge, we create a community of mutual inspiration and support." (Daniel Weyand, Germany)

Dilemmas of growth

What connects the learning spaces featured here is the DIY spirit driving their (co-)creators: the urge to contribute something new where a lack is being perceived. To better understand this spirit of renewal from the margins, I engaged with most of the initiatives in their early stages. Although often, a longer period of research and development preceded the actual founding of the initiative, five out of ten were established less than two years ago (1; 4; 5; 6; 10). Another four have been running for up to ten years (2; 3; 7; 8), and one has existed for 28 years (9). In terms of organisational structure, some of thelearning spaces are completely informal and happen in people's living rooms or out on the streets (2; 8; 10). Others have been incorporated as a social enterprise or comparable legal body (e.g. the German *Verein*) (1; 2; 3; 4; 6). The exceptions are one charity (7) and one half private half state-funded alternative school (9).

Moving to a new stage in a project's evolution comes with its own dilemmas. For example, how can you pass on a method you developed to others? Laura Bužinska, founder of Vakrēšana:

> "Now, other people are also starting to facilitate Vakarēšana. It is great to be able to share the responsibility, so it doesn't start feeling like a burden on me. This new development also makes me realise, though, how much depends on the host and their character. That has been a real eye-opener. It poses a question about multiplying, because it's not just about passing on a method. Although the basic process is simple, there are so many variables that influence the quality of the space! And everyone works with them in a different way."

The concern of finding a form that will allow the initiative to grow and professionalise, whilst staying true to its original values, is echoed by Ludwig Möller, founder of Moving School, a charitable association (German: *Verein*):

> "How will pinning down what our work is about impact on its ability to shape shift and develop as it happens? How does defining an entrepreneurial niche and establishing a brand to be better able to sell our expertise and experience go together with working for social and ecological causes?"

For some, adopting an entrepreneurial spirit is a challenge. Others take a more pragmatic approach. Edda Luisa Kruse Rosset:

> "We all want to contribute to a paradigm shift, and yet we have to deal with the complexity of the world as it is. It means having to make necessary compromises and moving between different agendas, as we try to find ways of making our ideas work in practice. In the reality of a capitalist society, we have to learn how to make projects financially viable and communicate them appropriately. This applies both to our own work as well as to the school itself."

In contrast, some people choose to bypass the money question by making their livelihood through other jobs. However, not earning your main income from doing what you love has its drawbacks. Dan Holloway, creator of Mycelium:

> "It is great that I can make use of the university's infrastructure – we have events at museums and libraries, so I get to meet and talk to the public. But whereas academics get to do that as part of their job, I have to go along in my spare time and sometimes hoodwink myself onto the guest list [laughs]. But it's definitely worth the time and it's an interesting experience as well, because you have to find a creative way of doing it. Now, it is a question of growing outwards from here."

Doing things differently

For many DIY learning practitioners, their motivation is linked to a critique of mainstream education. Several of the interviewees felt limited at university. They experienced a lack of space to engage in meaningful conversations, struggled with scientific conventions, or resisted the idea of linear progression as enforced by the Bologna system. Noticing how educational institutions were failing young people, Ludwig Möller even had a burnout from working as a school and university chaplain:

> "Even in one of the richest countries of the world, educational institutions are having difficulties to make already disadvantaged young people flourish. Too many enter society without unfolding their full potential, with low self-esteem and few aspirations. The question how this could be different, and how education could be more empowering and inclusive, has been driving me ever since."

Having worked as a teacher for 13 years, Rachel Musson describes the stunting effect education can have:

> "It seems as though when we start to grow in the world, we are almost shackled or suppressed by our education environment (particularly at Secondary level), or perhaps something systemic happens that shuts down our sense of innate,

natural openness, connection, and empathy that we hold as young children. I've described it before as the butterfly-to-caterpillar effect of education. That's why ThoughtBox focuses on processes of unlearning and remembering."

Referring to a higher education context, Dan Holloway has a somewhat different perspective:

> "It's become this dogmatic position that creativity and education can't go together, and that in order to be creative you have to work outside of education altogether – whereas I think that if you teach people to teach themselves, it can be education but not in the sense of educating. [...] If you are teaching someone how to do things in a prescriptive way, you will reinforce the problematic situation. However, if you help people to develop the mental tools to find a way of asking or approaching their question differently, you have the hope of finding a way out."

Making an impact

Being involved in a DIY Learning Space creates impact on different levels – some very concrete, some hard to gauge. Witnessing how people are affected by what you do, especially if it is rooted in a sense of meaning and purpose, gives great satisfaction. It can be a reason to carry on despite the challenges involved. Olek Salmanowicz from FarmAbility:

> "It is the sense of progression. When people first come in, they are often quite hesitant and anxious. This can be due to their previous education, which has given them a sense of not being able to do things. Here, there are many activities to choose from, and we involve the co-farmers in finding what type of work suits them. The more opportunities you give people, the more they can discover and show their capacities. We create an environment of encouragement and trust, and that way, their confidence grows. Being able to see the impact over time makes the work rewarding, even though it isdemanding and the pay isn't great."

Sometimes, one's personal experience can be so fulfilling that it provides enough reason to carry on sharing the work with others. Heiko Nowak:

> "Earth Forum always allows me to discover the world anew, to encounter it with fresh eyes and to hear it with fresh ears. I see a value for myself, but I also see the social value. People who enter an Earth Forum as strangers might depart as friends, because they have gone through a valuable experience together. This is where I see a wider relevance to society."

Often, however, the effects of what one does are not so clear. Mette Toft Nielsen, initiator of Deconstruct Education:

> "I realise that it is difficult, because as soon as people leave the learning processes I try to engage them in, they walk into the world as it has always been. But I do hope that they get to reflect and that I manage to challenge the way

they think about the world – and I think I do – so that when they go out, they can begin to recognise the issues we talked about."

Laura Bužinska's final comment provides a good summary of the underlying intention and the combination of ephemeral and concrete forms of impact described by many of the interviewees:

> "To give people a sense of agency, the feeling that they affect things and situations around them and that their choices make a difference, is what I hope to achieve with this work. What we do is an example of that: if it wouldn't have been for us creating these initiatives, these precious and unique spaces simply wouldn't exist! What we do is creating reality."

Discussion

In the beginning of this paper, I stated that humanity's survival and that of the planet depends on every person's ability to become a creative co-shaper of society, and that learning spaces for people of all ages are needed to support this process. Conceived out of need to compensate for an unsatisfactory educational reality shaped by neoliberal interests, the DIY Learning Spaces presented here – like Foucaultian heterotopias – provide a range of such alternative learning opportunities. They are counter-sites, working independently from educational institutions, through more and less formalised types of organisation, or by finding ways of inserting alternative narratives and practices into the system.

In an attempt to enact and embody a do-it-yourself version of utopia, the people involved explore new and more connective ways of relating to themselves, others, and the world around them, creating and spreading practices that foster the development of the perceptive, reflective, imaginative, and communicative capacities required to navigate the challenges we all face in the world of today. They bring awareness to topics of ecological concern and social justice, elevate marginalised peoples and perspectives, and emphasize the importance of learning in community. The new knowledge acquired through these processes takes different forms and cannot always be readily evaluated, as their work involves experiential, relational, intuitive, imaginal, critical, and embodied ways of learning – the effects of which tend to be incremental and can often only be fully appreciated over time.A longitudinal study could shed more light on the potential of DIY Learning Spaces to contribute to a shift in the current educational paradigmat large.

DIY learning practitioners stand out by paying attention to detail in maintaining the quality of the learning space,which is as much a space of encounter, andemphasise the role of trust and time for people to flourish. Valuing a human scale, they are weary of unconsidered growth. Therefore, they are unlikely to start a revolution through numbers. Instead, they may move the Overton Window by familiarising new audiences with their work, steadily contributing to a normalisation of what are as of yet 'alternative' or 'fringe' educational practicesby "scaling across" rather than "scaling up" (Wheatley & Frieze, 2011) – sharing new knowledge and cultural practices trans-locally whilst maintaining the connection to concrete situations and struggles. These concrete situations will in turn shape the becoming of this work and determinewhat the implications are of promoting alternative educational narratives. In order to appreciate the cultural and geographical diversity within the overarching frame of DIY Learning Spaces, a second phase of this research will seek to also portray initiatives outside of Europe.

Becoming a catalyst for change is not the most comfortable choice, as it requires courage and stamina to advocate new ideas and practices – even if they are already finding resonance among a growing number of people. Yet, for DIY learning practitioners, the satisfaction of acting in accordance with their personal values and from a sense of purpose outweighs the price of being something of an outsider. Whether their work will actually contribute to the shifting of the mainstream educational paradigm, however, doesn't only depend on their individual will to carry on, but also on their ability to connect with each other, insert themselves in local contexts, and reach out to people who are not already like-minded. This remains a challenge, since creating and running a DIY learning space as well as finding the right 'construction' without following an established blueprint can be a messy process. Moreover, the Overton Window is being pulled from multiple sides, as various groups promote their respective and sometimes conflicting narratives. Therefore, being able to communicate one's ideas, creating spaces for dialogue with others who might not think like oneself, and inviting them into experiencing what alternative realities might feel like will be essential to a successful integration of the socially – and ecologically engaged values advocated by these practitioners into mainstream reality. The DIY Learning Spaces project is an attempt to support this movement of renewal from the margins.

Conclusion

Reading through this paper you may have wondered: isn't what these people are doing a bit naïve and idealistic? Aren't these projects just a drop in the ocean? Is this the way to respond to the crises we are facing today? Clearly, it is not the only way. Nor should it be. Wicked problems such as climate change and global inequality ask for responses on many levels, from direct action, lobbying, and policy making to individual changes in behaviour, community organising, and new forms of education that help change the mindset that caused these issues in the first place. More important than waiting for the perfect idea, the right way of doing things, or others to act on your behalf, I would argue, is taking it upon yourself, daring to take the first step, and start with something in your capacity. Naturally, it is important to keep reflecting critically as you go along, as there is always scope for improvement. I would call for some respect for the courage and stamina involved in sincerely trying to be a creative co-shaper of society, which often involves making long hours, working in several jobs to make a living or struggling to secure funding, not really being able to plan for the future, and having to explain over and over again what you are trying to do. It is not my aim to glorify a marginal existence, but for many DIY learning practitioners it simply is reality. And it doesn't have to be like that. States could fund alternative educational projects and actively support the renewal of their systems straining at the edges. A Universal Basic Income could distribute wealth such that more people would be able to act upon what is important to them. Because that is exactly what we need to turn the course of our ship steaming towards self-destruction: the creativity of *every* human being to shape society as a work of art.

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VALUE FORMATION, VALUE OF ADULT EDUCATION: STUDY OF EMANCIPATION AND AUTHORIZATION PROCESSES IN ADULT LEARNING

Abstract

This paper aims to address the intrinsic value of higher education programs in lifelong learning, relying on a research about emancipation and authorization processes in adult education, explained by the analysis of autoformation kaïros. This research is focused on professionals who decided to enter a higher education program.

In this research, emancipation is conceptualized on the basis of the Hegelian concept of alienation, as an identity building process that leads the subject to determinate his own social status. Our theoretical framework relies on the Transformative Learning Process (Mezirow, 1978) in which the initial interest to enter a training course, either technical or practical, becomes emancipative (Habermas, 1972). The subject experiences critical thinking and then explores new roles in accordance with his new position. This project of self-recognition overcomes the initial stakes of the training and becomes vital for the Self. Thanks to the course, the subject addresses norms (Canguilhem, 1966) and defines his own frame of reference.

Our inquiry relies on the analysis of the autoformation kaïros (Galvani, 2006) as those pivotal, significant moments obtained thanks to the phenomenological approach, help unveil emancipation and transformation processes. The adults we interviewed all re-entered higher education programs after significant work experiences. They took advantage of the training as a place and time to address and then prize, according to Dewey's theory of value (Dewey, 1939), their professional and personal experience. Following the course, they then worked at what they call "their own place". Processes then revealed and analysed enlighten how the subject defines its identity and values, for which he is now recognized. Our research is linked to our experience as a practitioner. As a Human Resources expert, we accompany managers to address and find their posture, relying in particular on training courses. This process of self-critical reflection leads to forge meaning to one's work and develop both efficiency and effectiveness (Drucker, 2012) consequently in a global perspective of taking care and valuing of one's work.

This research, by questioning processes of emancipation involved in trainings, emphasizes how subjects, with re-examination of experience, then tend to embrace the societal

project of Honneth. This project of a strong, functioning state, where members experience an unaltered form of self recognition (Honneth, 2014) added to collective freedom (Honneth, 1996), is based on an approach of education and lifelong learning above and beyond an economical one, whether Keynesian or neoliberal.

Keywords: emancipation, adult learning, kaïros, value, autoformation

Introduction

In the paradigm of adult learning, continuing education projects are historically considered in a perspective of economic development and social advancement in many European countries. Most of studies addressing value in adult learning measure the benefit of the training. In France, it is a comparison between the professional or financial situation of the subject *ante* and *post* formation. Those researches can be focused on trainings for unemployed people (Cour des Comptes, 2018), vocational training (Calavrezo & Rémy, 2017) or training for employees (Stevens, 2013): They observe the effects and value of specific training devices or for specific subjects. Furthermore, they assume that the professional or financial project of the subject is very precise and previously defined. Other studies addressing value in adult learning concentrate on the motives to enter a training course, using by example the concept of expectancy value of Atkinson (Bourgeois, De Viron, Nils, Traversa, & Vertongen, 2009b) or the scale of Carré (Bourgeois, De Viron, Nils, Traversa, & Vertongen, 2009a). Both those types of research are assessments of training courses, done by the different actors involved. Furthermore, according to Mezirow and the Transformative Learning theory, (Mezirow, 1981) an initial interest for entering a training course, expressed as practical or technical, can become emancipative (Habermas, 1972). This supposes the way to question value in adult education needs another approach, as value needs to be considered not as an effect but as a creating process for the subject. So, our research about emancipation and authorization processes in adult education is the opportunity to address value in the perspective of the subject, as Dewey's theory of valuation is used (1939) as a methodological tool to understand and unveil those processes. Furthermore, our methodology of inquiry, built upon autoformation kaïros[1] studied and developed by Galvani(2006) enables for the subject the narration of their pivotal moments and the expression of their valuation. The analysis of those moments helps us to understand to what extent training courses can create value. We address the expression of value for the subject, as well as the understanding autoformation kaïros related to adult learning in a wider perspective.

1 In accordance with Pascal Galvani's translations, we will keep the French terms autoformation kaïros as the English translation by self-education or self-directed learning involves a downsizing of the concept. As he does in his whole research we will also use the word « kaïros » singular as well as plural.

Our study takes place the field of adult education and the experiential autoformation approach is focused on non traditional students, professional who enter higher education program, after a significant work experience.

The rest of the paper defines in the first section the emancipation in adult learning as a dialogical process, where the subject experiences critical thinking and is then able to determine their own position, status and role. The second section is focused on the results of our inquiry witch states aspects of the societal impact of training and shows how the subject can use one's experience to create value.

Context and research questions

This research is a part of the field of experiential autoformation. This field of adult learning inherited from the Philosophy of the Enlightenment is the trend of Progressive Education. Carré (Carre, Moisan, & Poisson, 1997) defines autoformation as an autonomous learning process by one self and Pineau (1999) adds that experiential autoformation is an autonomous learning process by one self about one self. In this context, what Galvani (2011) described as emancipating awareness process which enables the subject to train in the understanding one 's own life are studied. Our research is focused on adults who enter a higher education program during their working career. In doing so, they either make a professional break to attend the course, or become a student in parallel to their work. As a very important criterion, the course is their own choice, not one made by their employer. We assume the motivation for entering the course may not be very determinate. These adults may need something they cannot easily describe; instead they may express a need for "solutions". Alternatively, a question of meaning, especially in the professional field, may also be the motivation for undertaking a training. In France, possibilities are given to an employee to follow long education programs and have the position kept by the employers. The training can be entirely or partially supported, and compensation can be kept. Furthermore, subjects may also express a need for acquiring theoretical background, or feel illegitimate in their workplace, and may have issues to assume their position. They can also express they need toolbox courses where they can find rules to apply.

In our theoretical framework, emancipation is conceptualized on the basis of the Hegelian process of alienation (Hegel, 2011) linked to the Transformative Learning Process defined by Mezirow 1978). This implies that training courses enable the subject to define what Canguilhem would describe as their new and own normal (Canguilhem, 1966), by authorizing themself to hold a chosen status and therefore create a new norm. Once value is defined, how can it be addressed by the subject? To what extent can processes of emancipation or training courses be value-creating? What does the question of value imply for the subject in a wider perspective?

After detailing both processes of emancipation and transformative learning, we will explain how both are related to the question of value, as a concept and as a methodological tool.

Theoretical framework

Hegel, in his works, describes alienation as a process of identity building and self-awareness. According to Fischbach (2008, p. 94), this theory was built as Hegel wanted to address the concept of Labour: "Labour (...) is self-making object, self-reification of the Self". And this is "superior to the simple consumption or instant satisfaction of desire that is annihilation of the object". Nevertheless, objectivation is a positive moment, a moment of pure accomplishment. Hegel (Fischbach, 2008, p. 94) postulates that the "Self is a shape of pure anxiety, movement or night of the disappearance". He explains that the "Labour is stabilization, deletion of the movement as anxiety." The Self becomes an object, which is then turned into something "self-estranged" (estrangement or *Entfremdung*). It has to put this object away from it (externalization or *Entäusserung*) even if it is kept in it. Only when the object is apart, the Self is not only able to build its identity but also recognize itself by the dialogue with said object. The Self needs those two senses of alienation to overcome its original state of emptiness as Fischbach writes to explains Hegel's philosophy: objectivation, then objectivity to become a subject. Its explicit awareness of its identity makes the person into the subject as developed by Hegel (2011).

In our research, we assume that the course represents for the awareness a place where solutions will be provided. At the same time, the Self recognizes it as a secured cocoon, where it can experience the Hegelian process of alienation. We also assume that those reasons are partly indeterminate because, at that particular moment in lifetime, the subject may not be able to describe, to recognize and to face a dilemma or a destabilizing situation: the first step of the transformative learning process (Mezirow, 1978). From the data of a national study of women returning to college after a long break from school, including eighty-three in-depth interviews, Mezirow (1978) has identified ten phases of perspective transformation. He described how the subject, thanks to the training, experiences "critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions, then explores new actions, acquires new knowledge" (Mezirow, 1978, p. 100). Re-appropriation of one's own life, empowerment with new perspectives is the last step of that process in which the subject has moved, according to Habermas (Habermas, 1972), from a technical or practical interest of knowledge (about causing reality or personal relations) to an emancipative one (about self-recognition).

We assumed that Mezirow's transformative process is related to Hegel's process of alienation (Fischbach, 2008), as both could be achieved thanks to what Hegel calls Labour and what we describe as problematization of one's own experience (Balayn, 2015). Thanks to this process described by Fabre (Fabre & Vellas, 2006) we explained how a disorienting dilemma or a destabilizing situation experienced by the subject can be turned into a problematic situation. Relying on the basis of Dewey's 'logic of inquiry', conceptualization allows a meta perspective for the Self by addressing a personal problem with a wider concept.

Irrespective of whether the leading principles of the training course involve emancipation, the transformative learning process depends on the subject specifically (Mezirow, 1991). If not, the Self will use ingenuity to turn the training by and for the others into one by and for himself (Pineau, 2012).

Addressing value relying on research about emancipation process in adult learning implies addressing value related to both of the above processes. Indeed, addressing the processes of emancipation in adult learning means addressing the value of the training or, in other words, how can the training create value as Renier explains (Renier, 2016).Additionally, we have already used the concept of value in the building of a research method within a previous study; therefore we expect to find expression of value in our data (Balayn, 2015).

Some questions about value

Value, as a major concept in human and social sciences, and educational sciences in particular, has been widely addressed. This paper purposively focuses on some selected aspects of value.

There are different ways to address value, and the most obvious one starts with an economical approach. But when examined closely, neither the value in use (the utility of an object) or value in exchange (the power of purchasing other goods which the possession of that object conveys) as defined by Smith (1950), nor the labour theory of value on the relative quantity of labour by Ricardo (1821) seem to be fitting. This strictly economical approach may not be suitable in a research focused on the subject perspective (Balayn, 2015). We focus on the value in itself, i.e. the intrinsic value. In his book on "Theory of Valuation", Dewey (1939, p. 28) argues that "strictly speaking, the phrase extrinsic value involves a contradiction in terms" "as relation properties do not lose their intrinsic quality because it is caused by something extrinsic". This question, he says, cannot be decided by "dialectical manipulation of the concept of inherency" (p. 27). Value is a matter of relation, and from an initial question about the value of the object we move to a question about the value about the relation the subject has to the object, what is according to Dewey a proper way to address value.

When defining this relation, we immediately face two concerns in our research. First, the object is very difficult to determine, since we cannot establish whether it is the training or the project of emancipation. Second, according to the transformative learning theory, the training was expected to have at first a technical or practical interest which could be related to the vision of value in use or value in exchange. Our research focuses on what happens afterwards, when those interests have shifted. According to Dewey (1939), valuation is not only about the relation between the object and the subject, but also a question about the relation of means and ends and the action of prizing and appraising done by the subject about the object. Valuation is liking or disliking and more precisely prizing an end (as experiencing the quality of an object) and appraising a mean (to make that experience possible) to implement to reach that end. Furthermore, assuming that training to be the mean and emancipation the end or the purpose, how has the subject understood this relation? We will now explain how this has been accounted for in our research method.

Hypotheses and research method

Emancipation in adult learning can be addressed by Hegel's concept of alienation and Mezirow's transformative learning process. We have postulated that the question of value should be approached in terms of Dewey's definition of valuation, as the link between the subject and the object. Furthermore we expected to find value expressed by the subject. These hypotheses contribute thus to the theoretical framework.

Emancipation is a value in itself for the subject. If emancipation is the end, the training could be the mean. Our research deals with the intrinsic value of training courses as en emancipation process from the perspective of the subject. However, it may imply societal consequences and the extent of those needs to be subjected to investigation. In order to demonstrate the relevance of the chosen methodology for our research, we will first explain what the autoformation kaïros are and their use according to Galvani (2011). We will then show the adjustments we make to meet the purpose of our study.

Autoformation kaïros

"Autoformation kaïros" is a concept developed and studied by Pascal Galvani within his field of research focused on autoformation consciousness (*conscientisation*) and emancipation building processes. Inspired by the life history approach of Pineau (Pineau & Jobert, 1989), as well as by the anthropologic study of blazon as a meaning of autoformation (Galvani, 2011). In terms of the latter, Galvani argued that: "To understand and to be understood, humans use narrative process (life history) as well as symbolization (blazon)" (Galvani, 2016). While hearing people unfolding all the meanings they saw in those intense experiences, he had the intuition that those were key moments, that he called autoformation kaïros (Galvani, 2006) and defined "as moment of intuition and inspiration where the right act is at the right moment, a relevant interaction, a harmonic resonance between the subject and the environment" (Galvani, 2016) Kaïros is one of the three Ancient Greek words for time. The first is Chronos, which refers to chronological or sequential time, the second is Kaïros which signifies "a time lapse, a moment of indeterminate time in which everything happens, a time when conditions are right for the accomplishment of a crucial action: the opportune and decisive moment", and the last one is Aion, the time of eternity" (Merriam Webster, 2015). In order to study what he calls founding experiences, to explore those decisive moments that are at the origin of the experiential meaning of autoformation (Galvani, 2011), he has invented the workshop of kaïros *(l'atelier des kaïros*). He used the clarifying interview approach that Pierre Vermersch (Vermersch, 1990) has developed in order to shed light into the knowledge hidden in the act. Galvani then adapted this technique of interview as he worked with formation–research groups, he explained. Galvani (2016) has added the phenomenological perspective of Husserl to process of raising awareness studied by Piaget. This assumes that the hidden or under-covered knowledge is not unconscious in the psychoanalytic sense, but half-conscious or pre-reflected. It is possible to make it conscious by following different stages. The first one of them needs to be based on the reflecting act, the memory recall ability. To drive that reflecting act, the technique of clarifying interview will stimulate the sensorimotor memory by using questions oriented towards action, gesture, perceptions and bodily sensation.

No rationalizations, justifications or explanations are ever asked to the subject (*why* did you do that?). Instead questions are focused on the progress of the action, following a perception-action loop (*how* did you do that?). This phenomenological approach is based on the fact that ordinary awareness is purposive. There must be a standstill of this purpose to let the phenomenon of experience to be conscious.

This awareness only focuses on elements and clues that are deemed necessary for the implementation of its purposes. In our everyday acting, the widest part of our perceptions and our gestures is made without being aware, despite them being perceived and recorded by our senses, our body and our mind. But, Galvani states that in the kaïros as key and significant moments, the practical intelligence occurs the most intensively: autoformation can therefore be observed, described and understood (Galvani, 2016). The method focuses on:

- Description of the experienced phenomenon by emphasizing the sensorimotor memory,
- The background and unusual situations where the relevance of the gesture can be found, and
- Overall experiences: thoughts, actions, purposes, emotions, values, etc...

In practice, this constitutes two stages during the workshop that Galvani leads to study autoformation kaïros.

The first stage is a reflexive return onto one's experience, which will transform experience by the awareness. The trainer recalls the aim of the workshop and invites the participant to enter in contemplation " entering and staying in one's own bubble " as he says. He announces he will open the doors of the memory and invites the subject to trust their associative memory. Those doors, in accordance with the topic of the workshop are supposed to lead the subject to his specific moments: door of the first time, door of the best moments, and so on. During the speech of the trainer, participants write a few words to anchor the moment that have occurred to their memory. Moments chosen by participants are then narrated with every sentence started with "I remember". The aim is to obtain what Galvani calls "a phenomenological writing that described the lived experience instead of the mental representation" (Galvani 2016, p. 16).

The second stage features a decentring dialogue: "when several moments have been described, one can go from clarifying to understanding with the analysis of the contents of the story. Understanding allows integrating the intuitions of the acting by turning them into explicated and transferable knowing" (Galvani 2016, p. 18). In practice, every one shares in a small group his own moment(s) using the phenomenological description: reflections, awareness and reflexive comprehension are then discussed among participants.

Relevance for our research

Our method of inquiry is therefore based on Galvani's work. First, we believe that what we want to shed light on is latent and is under-covered in what Galvani refers as purposive awareness (Galvani, 2016). What we want to observe is the undiscovered movement of the Self, the quiet process of emancipation, and the steps of the transformative learning process. We therefore need to mute the purposive awareness, as this may have rationalized and transformed destabilizing situations and critical assessments and thoughts in a very rational and logical behaviour and thinking patterns. Second, what we want to point out the pivotal and significant moments of feeling at one's own place, in agreement with oneself: we need a phenomenological path to go towards those moments. Furthermore, the expression of kaïros refers to what Dewey (1939, p. 5) describes as prizing, where "emphasis falls upon something having definite personal reference, which, like all activities of distinctively personal reference, has an aspectual quality called emotional". Therefore, to address our research question, we have made some adjustments to Galvani's method.

To start with, for convenience reasons, we decided to run a one to one interview, instead of a workshop. When opening the doors of the memory that had been redesigned according our research, the subject is asked to write a few words on the pivotal moments which appear in his memory, just to hang the kaïros in his awareness. Those doors where all related to the training and we purposely said "before, during and after the training". The aim is to have a list of those moments related to the training. When completed, the interviewee choses the most significant, most important kaïros s/he wants to share. Then, for all of those autoformation kaïros, s/he tells a story in which every sentence starts with "I remember". Our position is to help the phenomenological revival using the re-launch and re-bounce words of the clarifying interview of Vermersch (Vermersch, 1990). At the end of the interview, we suggest the subject to have a reflexive time about his own kaïros and we ask to share his own analysis of those key moments and his new understanding of them.

After several tests to adapt and adjust our protocol, we ran several interviews with the same pattern. We directly approached two persons of our extended network, and four of them contacted us via our LinkedIn post. As required, all of these persons decided at some point of their career to take time out and to enter a higher education program. Even if not required, reasons to enter the training were found to be indeterminate, motivated by various purposes, or feeling of imposture, whether expressed clearly or not: for all of them, training appeared to be a solution, whatever the issue was.

Our results

Once the data we collected from the interviews is analysed, we explain how this contributes to answering our research questions.

Clarifying interviews generate large amounts of *verbatim* and we will only provide those that are relevant to address the research question in this paper. For each person we quote, we provide a short overview. We have chosen to show them according to two criterions, the largest gain from the training and the question of value. All the quotes are translated from spoken French.

The professional they want to be

A huge part of the kaïros is related to what we designate their professional identity. Either the subject expresses the professional he wants to be, or he refers to his own place.

Diane is a former psychomotrician that follows a course for being a kinesiologist. She told in the first kaïros that her intensive moment was when she realized that the trainer of a course she attended was the practitioner she wanted to be: "I remember I said to myself that this is this kinesiologist I want to be (...) This is an identification that made me realize, and that made me say: that's it, I have my model". She told us in her second kaïros how the speech of that trainer made her "usual critical preventions against everybody melt inside of her" as she said because she, the trainer, "understood what the real job of a caregiver was". This trainer, as explained, changed the position of the classroom, putting all of the tables in circles, contrary to the usual order. Diane said: "fundamentals have literally been brought back to the central place". This was very close to what constitutes the kaïros of Erin. Erin, after two decades of being an engineer in innovative telecom, wanted to be a teacher at University. So she first graduated in a Master of research and then made a PhD. She said that an intensive moment was when she experienced what she called "the joy of the researcher". "The moment when you feel in accordance with what you read, you understand everything that the author wanted to say (...) you are in your bubble (...) it is like a climax, it is the joy of the researcher yes it is!". As she said, that moment and this feeling was "the intrinsic value of being a researcher". Being a professional also means peer recognition, as Claudia explained in her kaïros. As a classical singer, she couldn't make living of it as she had to find a job quickly when she was young. After twenty years as an executive assistant, she faced what she called a "question of sense" and decided to combine her passion of lyric arts and her experience to do a master degree in management of artistic and cultural entities. She shared with us that the most important for her was the "peer recognition", when other artists told her: "you are part of our pack".

My own place

Bianca is a German lawyer who decided to come to France to make a French Business School because first she felt trapped in her job in Germany, and second she wanted to be sure that her "emotional link" to France could be seen on a CV. Afterwards, as she noticed that a French diploma was not required for a lawyer to get a job in France, she noticed that she had the opportunity to work wherever she wanted to. Moreover, she described a kaïros where she had the strong feeling that she "controlled (her) future thanks to the training". She had both liberty and security at the same time, because she could choose between several positions. That feeling of having a choice was completely powered by the training and not by the surrounding reality. We have noticed that the subject is not able to feel this ability or possibility to choose a position before the training, as he believes that there is something factually missing, something that would be gained thanks to the course. The same occurred for Flore, who entered a Master's degree after a strong experience in project management without a higher education diploma. In order to hold a position with more "responsibilities and skills I only had my experience and most of the time it was not enough" she said. She stated that the training gave her more self-esteem and made her more self-confident, as one of her intensive moments was during the defence of her Master's thesis where she knew that she would henceforth have the choice. This statement is shared by others interviewees in the same terms "From now on, I have the choice" and more stunning, "now I am at my own place" and when asked to tell more, the reply is "the one for me". *Place* in French can be translated with a position (professional) or spot (location). *A ma place* refers to both of them and also means *in my role*.

Value and valorising situations

The analysis of the verbatim unveiled many references to their intrinsic value, in different shapes. Kaïros are linked to the training and some are directly related to a situation where they felt they were valuable or valorised. Erin shared a moment where she received a phone call by her soon-to-be supervisor and how she felt valorised, with those words. The defence of Master's thesis of Flore is also decisive because, as she says "I saw in someone else's eye that I had value". Recognition is never far from the question of value. As Claudia said about the peer recognition, "it is something I am running after, even if I had it several times: as a flutist and lyric singer I am worth something".

In addition, interviewees spoke to us about situations where they were in an advantageous, valorising stance and rewarding position. For instance, for Claudia "The teacher said it was one (hers) of the best dissertations she had ever seen and she teaches in Harvard". Erin, when describing the Research Master she has done before her PhD said, "I don't remember, I was valedictorian, I guess".

References to value were made when intensive moments were shared but also during the reflexive time.

Our analysis

Training as a professional identity

Training as a professional identity building process is linked to our experience as a practitioner. As a human resources expert we accompany managers mainly in the fields of industry and healthcare to help them address and find their *posture* or attitude or persons from the private sector to find what they call their own place. The French expression we use is "*la posture professionnelle*". We have built and customized tools to have professional roots and interests emerge from the trainings we provide. The aim is to find if those are in accordance with the current life goals and the place of the person we accompany, and that those are also matching their current position. If not, we help the person to find what needs to be changed (position, company, training and even expectations). Addressing one's attitude is also initiated with training courses, as it can be the pretext of introduction of critical thinking, if the person is receptive. To provide a brief example, in time management training courses, managers start with questions on how they can optimize their time. We make them shift attention to what they really want to achieve during the working time, turning thereby a basic question into a wider one about the sense, the meaning they want to give to their mission.

Training courses are relevant places to address professional identity, because they provide a location out of the workplace and most importantly out of the temporality of the workplace. We help them being reflexive and having a critical reflection about their role, their attitude and their position in the structure. We believe that discovering, building and dealing with one's own professional identity are the biggest stakes of adult learning and professional training courses. The steps of this path of building identity we have observed in our professional missions are very close to kaïros described by the person we encountered during our research. The place they described as their own is defined the same way, whatever this position is. In addition, we have also noticed that when they are working at their own place, they are in a global process of taking care of what they do, where they do it, and with whom they do it.

Peter Drucker all along his book explains that "efficiency is doing things right; effectiveness is doing the right thing" (Drucker, 2012). Both are needed but the first has more to do with skills, while the second with critical thinking and ownership of the work, or customization. One is connected to assessment and second with what Dewey calls valuation. Doing things right means acting accordingly a previously normalized process, which has already been defined. The right thing that Drucker refers to needs to be addressed. The subject, thanks to the critical reflection enabled by the training, explores, defines and questions his frames of reference. Personal values that determine *wha*t is the right thing is combined to personal *metis* (Vignaux, 2003) to decide *how* to do this right thing. We consider this combination as the personal added value that we encourage people to interrogate and be aware of with the help of trainings. Looking for one's effectiveness enhances professional involvement since the right thing is not only according to, and for the benefit of, the structure but it has to be also for oneself When this process or state of mind starts, we notice that people start a virtuous circle: taking care of their job, being more effective, increasing their added value, raising their interest in the job. Work then matches professional interest and expectations, whatever those are.

More about value

When the subject refers to value, he really does what Dewey (1939) calls a valuation. In fact, pivotal moments are not pleasant moments but decisive moments for the global project of the Self. Bianca said: "Yes it is a negative thing, but in fact it is important for me." Flore: "it was a feeling of loss, but it was the beginning of something". "But" starts the reflexivity. The end was so prized that, how unpleasant the means was, it was valuable, as Dewey could say: as long as it serves the project, it is worth the pain. When Erin specifically refers to the happiness of the researcher, which we call the intrinsic value in our professional field, relation is made to what Spinoza (1994) describes as the Conatus. For Erin, the desire creates the value and enables not only the kaïros but also the endeavour to continue and enhance what she has felt. Furthermore, all of the advantageous situations that were told are also expressions of value and are also part of the emancipation process. The subject uses the interview for what Habermas (1992, p. 196) described as "the unlimited communication community, rather it concerns the claim to individuality itself, which relates to the guarantee that (the subject) consciously gives, in light of a considered individual life project, for the continuity of (their) life history." The interlocutive relationship implied by the frame of the interview then produced a new social norm as Vion (1992) explains, which is in accordance with the identity of the interviewee, whether it is chosen, unveiled or recovered: it is his subjective identity.

Values are also norms that, according to Dewey quoted by Prairat (2014, p. 172), "belong to the world of value and are specific valuation, dealing with means, and expressed with words of utility or convenience". Emancipation in this study is seen as a chosen status: that means producing a new norm or precisely what Canguilhem (le Blanc, 2008) depicted as one's own normal or social norm, one that didn't exist before the training. To define this new norm the person has to become what Foucault (Filloux, 1992)describes as a subject: moving from an object "constructed and passive" defined by the discursive practices of others, to a subject who is able and entitled to make those practices. Subjectivation, where the subject recognizes himself "as a field to address," supposes re-appropriation even a new design of one's own frame of reference and values. This step is one of the transformative learning processes and the first stage of normalization according to Canguilhem. That moment, when the subjects "address value" (le Blanc, 2008) or make "critical assessment of epistemic, sociocultural, or psychic assumptions" (Mezirow, 1978) can only take place during the training, The training is the secured cocoon needed by the Self to enable the subject to make those critical reflections. Thus, when the subject talks about his own place, he talks about his proper value or ipseity-value. Furthermore, the advantageous and valuing situations are the expression (of value) of the third stage of normalization, which allows the use of the new defined norm. The reflexivity of the subject confirms that kaïros are expressions of value.

Valuation and endorsement of their new professional identity as a normative activity is a part of the process of emancipation and authorization our research aimed to uncover.

Norms are social laws, meaning that they apply not only to the subject. As shown by numerous studies, higher education programs, as part of emancipation and authorization processes, have impacts on the economy. They also have other societal impacts. First, helping people to be recognized, having them defining their own value, is in accordance with the societal project of Honneth (2014), as we could described as a project of a strong, functioning state, where members experience an unaltered form of self-recognition added to what he describes as collective freedom (Honneth, 1996). Second, those courses could also be the place where the subject is in accordance with his values. Gerard entered the courses because he wanted to show his son that one needed to pursue higher education.

"Exemplarity was the basis of my commitment", he said. Moreover, he paved the way for higher education programs in his company as he pointed out with pride and satisfaction, promoting what he believes in. And we also think that when people have felt that they managed to change their status, their position, their environment, they see a possibility to make not *the* world a better place but more modestly and realistically *their* world becoming a better place. This leads to a realization that micro improvement can have macro impact. As soon as they either recognize their ability or feel entitled to, they can improve their own environment in order to change a wider one, in accordance with movements based on the hummingbird legend "I'm doing my own part".

Conclusion

The aim of this paper is to address the value of higher education programs in adult education. This question was addressed by studying the emancipation and authorization processes in lifelong learning. Emancipation is conceptualized on the basis of the Hegelian concept of alienation, as an identity building process that leads the subject to determinate his own social status (Fischbach, 2008). With what Mezirow explains as the Transformative Learning Process (Mezirow, 1978) during training, the subject experiences critical thinking and then explores new roles in accordance with his new position. Processes of emancipation are related to value of the training in this research, as defined by the Theory of Valuation of Dewey (1939). This allows unveiling the steps of the process and the expression of value. We ran six interviews of adults who had previously made a professional break to enter a higher education program. We have built our own method of inquiry based on study of autoformation kaïros of Galvani (Galvani, 2011). The analysis of these interviews concluded on the training being a professional identity building process, which made the individuals define the professionals they wanted to be. Our research was linked to our experience as practitioners, where we help people to find their own place. Value expressed within the kaïros showed that the subjects could define their proper or ipseity-value. New norms are also defined by the subject, and we recognize them as a part of the process we wanted to evidence. We have assumed that the intrinsic value of higher education programs would be the subject embracing the societal project of Honneth (Honneth, 2014). They also feel entitled to improve their immediate world in order to impact a wider one, thereby to project a micro perspective on a macro screen. Nevertheless, emancipation is related to the professional identity building or discovering. In our professional experience, benefits of being at one's own place are significant not only for the subject but it is so for their whole environment. Most of adult education programs tend to help to acquire skills for a specific position, especially in the case of learning careers. This is efficient and effective if the subject surely knows their own place. For all of the people interviewed, the question of skills was not determinant, contrary to the question of status, role and position. Accompanying persons in their professional identity building process is what we do as human resources expert. This is made possible in adult education programs such as those inspired by the principles of Ecole de Tours (Guillaumin, 2012), where problematization of one's experience is the main knowledge production, and value.

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REACHING SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ACKNOWLEDGING DIVERSITY THROUGH/IN ADULT EDUCATION

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APOLOGIES AND AFFRONTS: DECOLONIZING AND RECONCILING MEMORIES FROM CANADA'S INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

Abstract

Adult education has contributed to many of the institutions that uphold acts of colonization in spite of its politics of social welfare and social justice. I argue that is only through a shift in consciousness, a transformation in thinking, that positions of inferiority or epistemological superiority can be altered. I use the case of Indian Residential Schools in Canada to situate my example.

Canada continues to work through a period of reconciliation in relation to its century-long legacy of assimilation that forced Indigenous children into Indian residential schools. The reconciliation settlement process included over $3b in compensation to 38,000 adult survivors of the schools who made claims for serious physical and sexual abuse. The intergenerational legacy of trauma remains. Unlike other global stories of reconciliation, the testimonies of these abuses risk destruction by the very government that created them. My work in this area is to increase knowledge about the process and then mobilize it through public pedagogies, such as theatre.

By holding onto the subjectivities of learners and embracing emancipatory practices in adult education I understand decolonization as essential to creating contexts that make possible the "practice of freedom" (Friere, 1973). In this case, decolonizing education takes the form of a collective process that is essential to transforming political and socio-economic structures and healing ruptured relations of domination and subordination.

Such an analysis asks, where are we now? How do we break down the weak social and political analysis around settler-Indigenous issues in Canada? How do we build the collective will? What is the role or possibility for adult education to become a catalyst in this process? Are there other (real world) experiences that can assist in this process? How might this work lead to neoliberal or neocolonial practices or how can it build solidarity and collective action? Where is the position adult education? Finally, it asks what is the historical and social cost of *not* doing this work? Clearly, in the current climate of neoliberalism, adult educators are doubly challenged to break the bonds of colonialism by exposing its *modus operandi,* and by constructing ideas and conditions for transformation and solidarity.

Keywords: decolonize, reconcile, Indigenous knowledge, Indian Residential School, testimony

Canada's colonial legacy

The legacy of colonization has seen the creation of groups, nations, ethnicities, and racialized categories (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991). Adult education contributed to many of the institutions (the church and state for example), which upheld acts of colonization in spite of its politics of social welfare or social justice. In the current climate of neoliberalism, adult educators are doubly challenged to break the bonds of colonialism by exposing its *modus operandi,* and by building conditions for decolonizing. I argue that is only through a shift in consciousness, a transformation in thinking, that positions of inferiority or epistemological superiority can change. I use the case of Indian Residential Schools in Canada, to situate my example. Reconciliatory processes are not limited to Canada, as the case of the former Yugoslavia illustrates. My hope is that sharing stories, engaging with communities and developing public pedagogies we can move toward junctures of dialogue and hope. Without this, there is no possibility for decolonizing or solidarity.

Reconciliation and residential schools

Canada had a long history of mandatory residential schooling for its Indigenous population. Indian residential schools (IRS) in Canada operated from 1831 to 1996 (Schwartz, 2015) making the IRS history longer than the history of Canada (i.e. Confederation) itself. The schools were operated by Christian religious denominations and were made compulsory under the 1876 *Indian Act.* Although the Act was amended several times, it still exists as government legislation in Canada. This legislation determines who is a status Indian in Canada and therefore a federal responsibility, entitled to treaty and other benefits, and who is not (Regan, 2010). The Indian Act was also used to control all aspects of the lives of Indian [term used in the Act to refer to Indigenous people[1]] people.

Indian residential schools can be considered a historic policy widely understood as having had, as their central objective, the forced assimilation of Canada's Indigenous populations (Regan, 2010). Some have labeled Indian Residential Schools a form of genocide (Silver, 2013). The schools operated for a period of over 165 years – a period that damaged the lives of 150,000 Indigenous children, their families and communities (Regan, 2010). The damages inflicted upon individuals and communities as a result of the schools are best viewed as intergenerational and continue to this day. The long-term intergenerational impacts of the residential school system began when children were removed from their families. This caused trauma, grief and irreconcilable senses of loss to parents,

1 The term Indigenous is used to define people originating from a particular place and the term refers to peoples protected globally through the United Nations. Aboriginal is a colonial term that the Canadian federal government designated to lump Métis, First Nations and the Inuit together for constitutional and legal purposes.

children, extended families, and communities. Children already suffering from the pain of Indian residential school abuses returned home to parents (many whom had been residential school students themselves) who could not cope with the heartbreaking loss of their children (Hanson, 2016). The schools took away knowledge of traditional Indigenous childrearing practices, and important socio-familial links between families and communities, including many ceremonial practices. That many of these practices went underground speaks to the agency and resistance that operated simultaneously. The scope of the intergenerational residential schools legacy remains broad and devastating. Attempts to bring closure and reconcile the historic wrong brought on by residential schools, has been attempted over the past two decades. My research is to investigate spaces in public narratives for transformation in the way we understand this compensation process and its notion of reconciliation. First through a discourse analysis of media and Handsard documents (records from public debate in the House of Commons), then interviews and focus groups with those affected, and finally, through public performance. While I do this, I inquire into the role of adult education and public pedagogy in creating space for consciousness-raising and transformation.

Whose Settlement Agreement?

The forced assimilation that placed Indigenous children into Indian residential schools (IRS) concluded in 1996 when the last school closed. Many class action lawsuits followed. In an attempt to mitigate the damage and reconcile with Indigenous peoples, the government initiated the *Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement*. It was Canada's response (endorsed by all political parties) to litigation – class action lawsuits (brought on as early as the mid-1990s by survivors of the schools). Faced with spending millions of dollars in court damages for abuses incurred at the schools themselves, the federal government instead decided to negotiate an agreement with all the stakeholders of IRS (including survivors, the Church, national First Nations organizations, and the government). The Settlement, signed in 2006, included five main components: i) a common payment for all former students of IRS for loss of language and culture; ii) an endowment to the Aboriginal Healing Foundation; iii) support for commemorative activities; iv) establishment of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC); and v) the establishment of a compensation policy for dealing with claims of sexual or serious physical abuse – the Independent Assessment Process (IAP) (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010). The compensation process, the IAP, is the topic of my past and current research.[2] The Prime Minister also made an apology to victims of residential schools.

2 My initial study on the IAP was *Who Benefits: Compensation and Women's Experience of Healing from Indian Residential Schools*. In 2017 I received funding from the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) for national study on the IAP, *Reconciling Perspectives and Building Public Memory: Learning from the Independent Assessment Process.*

The question of *whose settlement agreements?* (the name of this section of the paper) refers to an increasingly prevalent practice in Canada for resolving historical issues with its Indigenous peoples, namely, class action law suits. Apologies by governments – federal and provincial – frequently coincide with the Agreements. The Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement is one of many agreements that started with litigation. The 60s scoop where Indigenous children were taken from biological parents to be raised by settler families is another. The fact that the Canadian Government responded to calls for redress to residential school abuses as a result of litigation concerns, not to outcries from the Canadian public or from a political transition (as in South Africa, Peru or Chile for example), resulted in a response in Canada different from other reconciliation processes globally (Stanton, 2011). There were fundamental differences in the way that Canada was practicing reconciliation: It was offering compensation as a form of reconciliation through the IAP; and "it did not include specific clauses for perpetrators, therefore failing to hold a justice mandate" (Enns Fehr, 2010, p. 26). This contrasts with South Africa where people had to choose (using binary categories) between identifying as a victim or a perpetuator of abuse (Moon, 2006). Australia has opted for an approach similar to Canada and this has been referred to as a "new form of settler nationalism" (Moran, 1998, p. 25). One exception to compensation in Canada was the TRC. To contextualize the work on reconciliation, I briefly discuss the TRC because its impact was public and widespread.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission

According to numbers collected by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, if you were a student in a residential school, you were most likely to die than if you were a soldier in WWII (Schwarz, 2015). Following the signing of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement, a national, public Commission traveled across Canada to create awareness about the Schools and to gather testimonies from survivors. It collected 6,700 testimonies, held public hearings, and finally, delivered 6 volumes of reports and 96 recommendations (TRC Final Report, 2015) addressed the Indian residential schools as a form of genocide. Those recommendations are being used in workplaces and post-secondary institutions, for example, to address historic inequities and colonial injustices between Canada's Indigenous people and its settler-newcomer populations. The term settler is used in this paper to distinguish Indigenous people from colonial/immigrant populations. Many delineations of reconciliation, including those used by the TRC, call for an acknowledgment of the deep legacy of colonialism in Canada that continues to impact social, political and economic structures. While much has been written about the TRC, much less is known or written about the IAP – a model of compensation that deals with serious abuses students endured at the Schools. Unlike the TRC which is public, the records from the IAP are slated for destruction. The stark difference here lies in the fact that the Indian residential school secretariat received applications from over 38,275 Survivors – four times more than that collected during the TRC.

Serious abuses: The Independent Assessment Process (IAP)

The IAP provided witness that over half of all living IRS survivors had experiences serious physical and sexual abuse. In itself, the large number of survivors compensated – roughly 25,000 (Indian Residential School Secretariat, 2019), attest to the levels of abuse in the out-of-court settlement process. Each of the claims involved an Indigenous Survivor in an out-of-court process providing personal testimony about the serious abuse they endured at the Schools. Today the cost of the IAP (99% complete is over $3 billion and the average claim was $90K Canadian (Indian Residential School Secretariat, 2019); making is the most expensive reconciliation compensation process in the world. It was fraught with complications and legal battles. Because Indigenous governing bodies were part of stakeholder group designing the process and because law societies work to maintain legal structures of knowledge and power, voices of opposition were few. Moreover early data in our discourse analysis indicates that most of the media focused on legal irregularities, not on the results of the process for the victims in the IRS process.

Many critics of the IAP voiced concerns that the process addressed colonial injustices using the laws of the colonial government (Green 2012). Despite the government's use of the language of "healing and reconciliation" when creating the IAP, the process was designed to determine the credibility of survivors' claims of sexual and physical abuse and accordingly, to award them with financial compensations. That colonial *models* were used to dismantle colonial *processes*, speaks about the practice of hegemony – Indigenous populations continue to be subordinated and *othered* because universalisms used in colonial structures, including educational institutions, construct colonized peoples and their knowledge as intrinsically different, threatening, and incorrect. Decolonizing education means examining who speaks for whom (Spivak, 1994), interrogating how knowledge about *others* is expressed, understood, and valued (Said, 1979), and how knowledge is embedded in colonial systems of meaning and power. In light of this, the conclusions of a doctoral study about the IAP highlight the role of power in shaping the discourse.

> Institutionalized power is distributed through a network of actors who, in the settler colonial context, reproduce the dominant ideologies of the settler colonial order through reparations programs. In effect, the relations between the administrators and recipients continue to mirror the relations between the colonizer and colonized. In the IAP, these relations disempower survivors and establish them as pawns in a reparations program that, one would think, would instead

> privilege their experiences and realities and position them as the key stakeholders whose justice needs would serve as the centerpiece of such a program. The IAP represents a process that further assimilates, revictimizes, and subordinates survivors to settler colonial rule. (Petoukhov, 2019, p. 197)

In the absence of a decolonizing shift, justice systems as well as education systems, including adult education contribute to the oppression of colonized populations (Battiste, 2013) and to devaluing diverse knowledge systems. Former Indigenous lawyer and professor, Monture-Angus (2014) stated that "the impact of individualization of our legal relations moves Aboriginal [Indigenous] nations further away from our traditions, which are kinship-based and collective" (p. 71). In this way, colonial structures, such as legal or educational institutions, languages and doctrines, work to undermine and destroy beliefs, symbols, values and epistemologies of the colonized to establish universal models that are pre-judged as modern and rational (Quijano, 2007). In the process, the agency of the colonized is further diminished as two study participants who went through the IAP explain:

> The adjudicator felt like a prosecutor. It was like, over and over again, and asking me, and I began to see, I was starting to see what was, I could see what was happening to me. Like I could see this person, and what was happening, and then she [the adjudicator] just kept asking me over and over again about incidents that happened in school.
>
> Well let's say you have a five-year old child who says that she was sexually abused by a supervisor and then the lawyer for Canada wants specifics, you know. They want to know exact numbers, they want to know very minute details. Whereas a child of that age, never mind the fact that this is 65 years later, a child of that age would have difficulty even responding to those kinds of questions (Focus group participant, Saskatoon).

Because colonialism is ingrained into the structures of power that operate daily in settler-colonial nations like Canada, it is difficult to decode. To encourage a public understanding of how colonialism and its manifestations in gender and racial discrimination works in practice, I wrote an opinion piece for a daily newspaper. In particular it explains how the model, by ignoring a gender analysis had discriminated in that it did not value unpaid work. Ironically the IRS had taught women how to do domestic work, but in the IAP model they were actually punished if they had only done this kind of work – in other words the model, like colonialism, discriminated on the basis of sex and race.

> The government states the goals of the IAP are "healing and reconciliation." It is hard to imagine that recalling serious physical or sexual abuse from childhood memories, which are then judged and assessed a level of compensation under the IAP model, is a form of healing or reconciliation. What's more, the model discriminates by not valuing care-giving or unpaid work — work done mainly by women.... For example, the IAP compensates former residential school students for loss of income or opportunity if the abuse they suffered at the schools can be linked to their inability to hold or function in paid employment or in

> succeeding with educational pursuits. But the model fails to compensate survivors if the abuse they suffered at Indian residential schools led to substance use or social dysfunction that disrupted family functioning, leading to a child welfare system's apprehension of their children.
>
> It is ironic that although Indian residential schools trained indigenous women to be domestics and caretakers, the removal of children by child welfare authorities is not compensable.
>
> This omission of valuing unpaid work is not unique to the IAP model as other Canadian legislation also fails to value unpaid work traditionally done by women (Hanson, March 2, 2017).

Using a framework that brought together Indigenous and Western knowledge might have contributed to building a policy model that would have more closely modeled the complexities of people lives and priorities. Instead, as several survivors in my first study noted, it re-traumatized the survivors and provided little or no healing or reconciliation (Hanson 2016). The proposed destruction of the IAP records presents yet other issues.

Destruction of records

The Supreme Court of Canada voted to destroy the IAP records within 15 years if by 2020 individual survivors make claims otherwise. That is, the individuals, many of whom represent the most marginalized populations in Canada, must make an application to have their records saved. The sensitivity or the abuse issues, the promise of confidentiality in the process, and the lack of knowledge about how the records might be used in the future, makes it unlikely many will remain. Ironically the Indian residential school secretariat, the very body created by the government to administer the IAP, has been given the mandate to create awareness about the individual's right to keep or destroy their testimonial records.

The National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation, an Indigenous led organization, was opposed to the destruction of the records. As of October 2018 less than five records of the 38,000 collected have been protected for future generations (interview for my study). This leaves a tremendous gap in the public's understanding of Indigenous-settler colonial history. As the Baltic nations and other European countries had their own histories of colonialism and genocide, the importance of making this history public and understandable cannot be overstated. This is also an area where adult learning can play a role.

As adult educators we play a role in developing methodologies that serve to engage communities; this was particularly true in the social welfare model and perhaps is even more urgent in the context of neoliberalism. The lack of awareness about reconciliation efforts by the public in Canada (Niezen, 2013) suggests that alternative approaches should be tried. The current path of reconciliation in Canada is recognized as flawed because it is a top-down approach that frequently emphasizes settler values and monetary benefits (Green, 2012) and it reproduces certain regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980) that limit public participation and emphasize Western knowledge. Certainly the idea that reconciliation comes through a cash settlement is problematic. Indigenous scholars acknowledge that reconciling views will require personal and collective shifts that emphasize opportunities for Indigenous agency and actions (Corntassel, Chaw-win-is & T'lakwadzi, 2009). Recognizing how power is embedded and resisted in the process will be critical. Building public pedagogy that decolonizes and develops new critiques and possibilities is critical. The development of community engagement and public pedagogies makes diverse testimonies about the IAP accessible to a wider audience.

Adult education: Decolonizing, engaging and reconciling

The history and process of attempted reconciliation regarding Indian Residential Schools leave behind many questions for adult educators and the field of adult education. Is the role of adult education to expose this Indigenous-settler history to a wider audience? How might adult education and research begin to determine, develop, and implement effective strategies for transferring knowledge about the Indian Residential Schools and their aftermath into public pedagogies and, more explicitly, into future processes of reconciliation? How might public pedagogies that merge intersections of "culture, media, informal sites of learning, democratic education, and social activism" (Sandlin, Malley & Burdick, 2011) provide opportunities for extending knowledge about this history? How might an uninformed public develop consciousness about "reconciliation in action"? How does community engagement and public pedagogy help us to interrogate more deeply the different perspectives around compensation and redress? Clearly the IRS settlement policies under the IAP and administered by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission require a complex lens – one that goes beyond settler-colonial relations. Further unless popular processes that engage communities and democratize knowledge are used authentic dialogue, essential in the process, will not be possible. Making the transfer of knowledge about the IAP to the public less instrumental and more focused on generating commentary, criticism and truth-telling through the use of story-telling and dialogic practices – methodologies adapted from popular education, adult learning and emancipatory theories of adult learning may be ways to engage more deeply on this topic.

Let me share a few possible pedagogical interventions in the hopes that this might spark ideas or additional queries. In particular I suggest decolonizing education through collective processes that transform political and socio-economic structures and healing ruptured relations of domination and subordination. My current research investigates public narratives and the way we understand the

IAP compensation process and its notion of reconciliation. Through a discourse analysis of media and State documents, then interviews with those affected, and eventually, through public performance, I am exploring the role of adult education and public pedagogy in creating space for consciousness-raising and transformation. As the study moves along I increasingly recognize how Indigenous media and popular forms of learning such as, the radio, can also be used. Attention to Indigenous media also involves an examination of Indigenous ways of learning – for example, at an earlier ESREA (local/global) conference Gregorčič shared an emancipatory model emanating from Indigenous learning.

Gregorčič (2009) pointed out how Indigenous resistance to colonial education continues to emerge organically, as seen in revolutionary movements of the Zapatistas in Mexico and campesinos in Honduras. She asserts that Western knowledges are fragmented, homogenous forms of knowing very different from the Indigenous or emerging pedagogies. She points out that revolutionary movements in Mexico "have begun to develop non-Cartesian and anti-capitalist approaches to pedagogy that invigorate collective work, imagination, human creativity, and human capital" (p. 357). These autonomous forms of community-based education, called *potencias* (potential), demonstrate how diverse knowledges can be developed and shared, even in adverse situations. They also demonstrate how learning about different knowledge systems and local practices can provide alternative to neoliberalism and colonial replications of domination and control. Seeing knowledge as plural or embracing epistemic solidarity allows us to learn new ways of understanding the world. In the case of recognizing Indigenous knowledge, the epistemologies connect us relationally to each other and to the world around us – a direct contrast to the individuality practiced in legal systems, and subsequently settlement agreements, as they are known in Canada. How can adult education be a catalyst for epistemic solidarity? How might this work build practices of reconciliation, solidarity and collective action? What indeed is the historical and social cost of *not* doing this work?

Validating and story-telling

Decolonizing approaches that unsettle settler-colonial relationships, honor non-Western worldviews, and query the contemporary politics of reconciliation, can assist to foreground Indigenous worldviews, including cultural practices and knowledge. I would like to share a story from a lawyer in the IAP that illustrates this point:

> Oftentimes you get clients [in the IAP] that that have been beaten down by colonial structures, especially those from remote, Northern communities. They lack self-confidence and usually speak English as their second language; and they have spent their lifetime on the trap-line, other than the several years they spent in residential schools. They show up at my office door with their head hanging low and express their fear of going to an IAP hearing for their claim and of

> being cross-examined. As a Metis [Indigenous] lawyer who spent time on the trap-line myself, I understand the special types of knowledge these elders have and to see them in this state is discouraging. As part of preparing them for their IAP hearing, I story-tell – to boost their confidence.
>
> My cross-examination uses storytelling and it goes something like this: I ask the client to imagine that they were to accompany me to my law school. In the scenario, I take them into a theatre full of law students and law professors what would they think? They always reply that they would be scared because they feel stupid and that law processors are so smart.
>
> I then say, "If you and a law professor were on an airplane and that plane crashed on your trap-line who would be the intelligent one?" They respond with a large smile on their face because through the story they understand they too have knowledge. (Interview with laywer4, 2019

Finding participatory and reconciliatory practices that are decolonizing are unlikely to emerge from typical sources. As the cases above illustrates, they often come from listening, compassion and validation of experience. Eliminating the shame from the experiences of the oppressed is frequently a starting point. Validating different kinds of knowledge is another. Participatory models and decolonizing resources that integrate new frameworks are emerging within adult education. These include museum pedagogies using decolonizing gazes such as those present in Kent Monkman's work (Johnson, 2019); films providing challenging views on treaties and reconciliation; and exercises such as the Kairos (2019) blanket exercise. Within Indigenous epistemologies and research methods, there is often a call for *relational* methodologies. The relations are human but also ecological – they suggest that we are all connected. The kinds of solidarity this requires means opening up to different ways of doing things. This becomes our challenge. Learning colonial history of Indigenous-settler relations is tied to this.

Conclusion

Like the work of adult educators in the welfare state, much of what we do to decolonize and build reconciliation is going to emerge from grassroots interactions, unexpected encounters and interrogating what appears to be normal. Compensatory models of reconciliation will never be decolonizing if they are built on the hegemonic role of the state. The field of adult education needs to explore more deeply how it contributed to colonizing and how it can play a part in decolonizing. This paper suggests questions adult educators need to ask and some of the methodologies the field can learn from. It also suggests that adult education can play a larger role in decolonizing by mobilizing knowledge in public pedagogies and using relational methodologies.

The role of listening, sharing, dialogue and openness to epistemic difference are key in my experiences with IRS survivors. This sometimes comes without vulnerability and a willingness to make mistakes. However, it is often within these acts of really listening, sharing and dialogue that a shift in consciousness becomes possible. The shift is often at first personal, and then it merges with other experiences and memories to become collective. We are not alone; we are all connected. This is the spirit of solidarity and ultimately reconciliation.

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A CUSTOMIZED SOCIAL CONTRIBUTORY POLICY RATIONALE FOR LEARNING OF OLDER ADULTS

Abstract

The economic, political and social policy rationales for earlier life stages do not fit the learning needs of older adults. These rationales focus on the instrumental value of education and the development of individual human capital to prepare people for work in the labour market and for progress in their work careers. Older people generally are no longer in the labour market and furthermore, their needs for learning are different from earlier years. While the principle of lifelong learning applies, the paradigm does not specify the value distribution among private and public beneficiaries. Regardless of liberal or conservative political governance, it is difficult to rationalize public policy or tax funded expenditures for learning of older adults if such learning is solely for personal benefit, particularly in competition with more pressing national demands for the public purse. It is hypothesized that learning by older adults can increase wellbeing, reduce public welfare costs and contribute to the community. Rather than an economic rationale to prepare adults for work, a social contributory rationale tailored to the particular learning needs of older adults justifies a customized approach for adults who no longer work. The aim of this paper is to critically examine both national data and learning opportunities for older adults in Ottawa, Canada in this customized social contributory context. Learning opportunities were collected using methods commonly used by older people such as advertisements, public announcements and internet searches. The list of learning opportunities included courses in four universities/colleges, video/audio courses, courses provided by MOOCs and ad hoc courses by organizations. Attractive characteristics for learning opportunities for older adults were self pacing, low pricing and day time scheduling. The vast majority of the over 1000 courses examined were not specifically designed for older people, even when they were advertised as "Learning in Retirement". Courses were examined for potential social benefits: Self development (knowledge and skills) (Example: history of jazz, genealogy), reduction of welfare budget (Example: falls prevention) and societal contribution (volunteer action).The majority of courses were for self development and those designed to encourage independence and contributions among older people were ad hoc and short, such as estate planning and yoga for aging health. The conclusion supported the hypothesis that a customized policy rationale based on a social contributory rationale holds promise to underpin a more defined role for public policy for learning in the years after retirement.

Keywords: learning, older adults, public, policy, welfare costs, community contributions

Context

Education has been a key mechanism to prepare learners for life in the societies they live in with both intrinsic and instrumental value. In the era of well-functioning welfare states, education was a public and private good and recognized as a primary lever for ensuring individual and national wellbeing and economic and social progress. Therefore, education was considered a key role for governments. Thus, public education was supported, free education was provided at least to the high school level and academic financial assistance was provided to improve accessibility, social equity and lifelong learning.

The rising neoliberal ideology in governments in the eighties has transformed thinking regarding education. Education is seen as an instrumental private good, as human capital that is held by individuals. Such commodification of education results in the demand for privatization and commercialization of provision with the aim of encouraging individuals to invest in their own human capital. Some governments, including Canada, are withdrawing or reducing public expenditures for education by introducing such measures as larger class sizes and fewer disciplines. Levels of public funding may be based on performance such as graduation rates, employment rates and earnings of graduates (for higher education, in particular). Societal expectation is that the earning and standard of living of individuals should be dependent on the success of individual human capital in the labour market. Market sorting and returns to education are considered a fair and objective yardstick. Efficiency and effectiveness using economic measures are used more than criteria of social inclusion and equal opportunities for policy development (Giroux, 2014 in Sardoč, 2018; Springer et al., 2016).

This altered thinking raises doubts about basic assumptions in the lifelong learning paradigm. Do the assumptions of individual responsibility for building human capital hold for people of all ages? Can it be assumed that individuals can equally access the required education in various parts of the country at various times in their lives? Further, questions arise regarding the potential of such policies to achieve their goals, whether economic or political, regarding the distribution of education among the population of all ages and the value of the resulting human capital for the country and the individual. Does such a policy distort the value of education in life while overestimating its value in work? Are there differential impacts on citizens over the phases of the life course? Are there short– and long-term social costs due to such an education policy that arises from unintentional achieved distribution of human capital on other government expenditures in related areas such as health?

Considerations from the perspective of adult and lifelong learning

Education is one of the largest items in government budgets, most of it directed to initial education of younger citizens. The investments are large in terms of both infrastructure and operations. The rationale for public investments is shifting to the development of individual human capital to prepare people for work in the labour market and for progress in their work careers while also contributing to the economy and growth of the country. Adult education and lifelong learning by older adults do not properly fit this model and are largely peripheral to this spending. Expenditures directed to adult education are largely investments in work related training, often provided by employers, unions and professional organizations.

Adult education is not as well institutionalized compared to initial and higher education in most countries. Its broad range of subjects, mixed public, private and non-profit provision, and modes of delivery have its advantages and disadvantages but this change in thinking can cause disruptions at its current stage of development. Its process of consolidation and stabilization can be radically affected by a decline in demand by older learners or by a shakeout of providers.

Deregulated market provision can have a negative impact on collective national human capital because neoliberal approaches do not necessarily prioritize equal provision or equal access resulting in uneven uptake and unequal distribution of results. This can particularly affect adult and later life learning since the motivations for learning and the incitation for investments are not the same. Because the numbers of learners among working adults and post retirement learners are low while the demand for short focused courses on topics is wide, providers may not see it as a profitable enterprise. Furthermore, cost reduction strategies such as the use of technology for delivery may not be attractive to learners in this market who are not always attracted to e-learning.

The research issues

Developed countries plan to encourage lifelong learning through public policies while coping with population aging however, there is little research on the lifelong learning of seniors. It is not wise to simply extend existing education policies to older ages. The economic, political and social national policy rationales for the education of earlier life stages do not fit the learning needs of older adults well. Since these rationales rely on economic private and public returns to education and learning resulting from the exertion of individual responsibility and private investment, there can be adverse effects on the learning of older adults for several reasons. Neoliberal education policy ideas (Peters, 2016) of privatization, efficiency, economic returns and focus on performance lead to public debate on the following: First, older people generally are no longer in the labour market and so their human capital can be undervalued since they no longer contribute to the labour market or the economy. Second, they may be seen as 'undeserving' in the same manner as the undeserving poor who rely on public welfare benefits. Third, the learning of older adults can be assigned a lower priority for public funding and policy attention relative to main stream initial and higher education. Fourth, if older workers take the space of workers-to-be at formal credential granting educational institutions, they may be negatively viewed as fraudulent users of services. Fifth, this approach does not specify the distribution or value of such learning among private and public beneficiaries. So, learning by older adults may be seen as a non-economic private pursuit of little public benefit. Sixth, under these circumstances, it will be difficult to rationalize public policy or tax funded expenditures for older adults, particularly in competition with more pressing GDP generating national demands for public financing.

In response, a more appropriate and real-life rationale must be used to incentivize older adults, stimulate providers and engage governments to invest in the learning of older adults.

The research hypothesis

Proactive policies aim to implement policies resulting in national good compared to models that respond to market demand (for example, the short course for managing self isolation and social distancing and use of special programs for elderly living independently alone during the pandemic.) The dissonance between the social welfare and neoliberal conditions for government investments and public policy means that any proposals for the learning of older adults must suit current expectations. Goals of equity and social welfare have a weaker claim compared to ideals of financial efficacy of public expenditure and individual responsibility. So can a workable rationale be developed based on current practice of learning by older adults? Can the growth of the learning of older adults be maintained while presenting the benefits in terms of government cost effectiveness and national comparative advantage? If no action is taken during the periods of neoliberal thinking, a whole generation of older adults will be disadvantaged by austerity cuts and lack of public action.

Rather than an economic rationale to prepare adults for work, a justifiably parallel but customized approach for older adults who no longer work can be developed. The suggested social contributory rationale has the advantage of being tailored to the particular needs of older adults while presenting evidence of monetized benefits and societal value resulting from learning and contributions by older adults.

Research questions

1. Can a strong case be made using the social contributory rationale for public funding for learning of older adults?

   The potential rationale must make both economic and social sense, while also meeting the requirement of fiscal responsibility in government policy to compete with other policy demands. The social contributory argument can be made that older Canadians are "deserving" on the basis of their positive contributions to the economy and by savings to other public funding, freeing money for other priorities.
2. Is the supply of learning opportunities for older adults and take up of learning commensurate with their population proportion?

   In Canada, about 17% of the population is 65 and over, a higher proportion than children 15 years and below who are provided publicly-funded schooling.
3. Is there a customized system or infrastructure for learning of older adults?

   The needs and characteristics of older learners tend to be different from learners who are younger. These can be grouped in terms of course management, costs, e-learning and learning objectives.

Method

The first research question was examined at a national level, using national statistics and previous research since the policy case would be made at a national level. Research questions two and three were investigated using data at the city level, to reflect the experience of learning by older adults.

The capital of Canada, the city of Ottawa, was used as a test case though findings are expected to support policy discussions in Canada and other developed countries. It is a city with a population of 1 million with a fairly representative population. The potential demand for learning by older adults was examined using city data where available at the beginning of 2019. Learning opportunities were collected using methods commonly used by older people such as advertisements, public announcements and internet searches. The process was validated by discussion with organizations of aging. The list of learning opportunities included courses in four universities/colleges, video/audio courses, courses provided by MOOCs and ad hoc courses by organizations. About 1000 potential courses were found including credit or non-credit formal classes, e-learning or mail order courses and micro-courses which offered a 'badge' or certificate. Courses were examined for potential social benefits: Self development (knowledge and skills) (Examples: history of jazz, genealogy), reduction of the public welfare budget (Example: Falls prevention) and societal contribution (volunteer action).

The information was then analyzed to answer the three research questions.

Results

Can a strong case be made for the social contributory rationale for public funding for learning of older adults?

The national analysis focused on determining if the social contributory argument can be made that older Canadians are "deserving" of public investments for their learning, on the basis of positive contributions to the economy and by savings to public budgets, freeing money for other priorities. The evidence of their monetary value was gathered where possible.

Contributions to the economy: Older Canadians make contributions to the economy, through multiple means. (i) Labour market: In Canada, one in five persons 65 and older or nearly 1.1 million seniors reported working during the year, the highest proportion since 1981 (Statistics Canada, 2017). More older adults engage voluntarily in part time work compared to adults of working age. Older adults also continue to contribute as tax payers. (ii) Volunteering: The Conference Board of Canada calculates that nearly CAD 11 billion in economic value is generated by the volunteer efforts of older adults (Conference Board of Canada, 2018). (iii) Financial contributions: Older adults also financially contribute or work to raise over CAD 4 billion for charities and non-profit organizations (Statistics Canada, 2017). (iv) Non-work participation in the economy: Older adults participate in the economy through consumption, savings and investment. Canadian data was not found. However, an Oxford Economics Report found that the "longevity economy" with 106 million people over age 50 were collectively responsible for US$7.6 trillion in economic activity of which US$ 4.6 trillion was spent on consumer goods and services (Anzilotti, 2017). Consumer spending power is estimated to total US$15 trillion by 2020. Also, the aging market will grow huge (OECD, 2014). Seniors are interested in values based investing and social impact based choices for investments. The European Commission estimates the value to the 'silver economy' at Euros 3.7 trillion a year, which was equivalent to the third largest economy in the world (behind the US and China) in 2015 (Technopolis and Oxford Economics, 2018). Based on these results from peer countries, the financial contributions of Canadian older adults are likely to be valuable, too. (v) Learning to maximize potential contribution: Maximizing potential is "possible but not inevitable" with support of public policy and a cultural shift. In order to maximize potential contributions, innovative power and social entrepreneurship, the OECD countries agreed that informal and formal education should be available to older adults (OECD, 2014).

Savings to public budgets: (i) Independent living: Savings arise from 92 per cent of seniors 65 and over who live independently at home, rather than in collective dwellings with care (Statistics Canada, 2014) (ii) Care giving: Self-care of seniors as well as the care provided to spouses, reduces the cost of public care. In 2007, there were 1 million Canadian caregivers over 65. (iii) Unpaid work: Older Canadians provide unpaid care and services to family and other seniors. For example, 57,000 grandparents parented their grandchildren (Carp, 2010).

Is the supply of learning opportunities for older adults and take up of learning commensurate with their population proportion?

According to population data, 15% of the city population of Ottawa was aged 65 and over, a couple of percentage points below the national average. The population of Ottawa by age is similarly distributed as the national population (Figure 1).

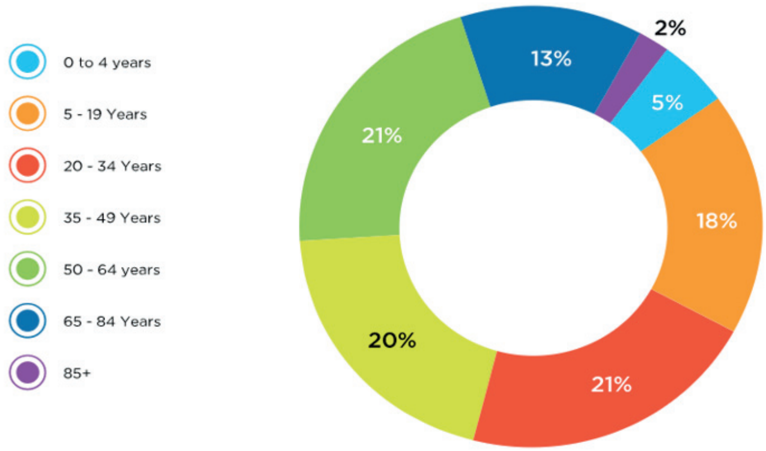

Figure 1. Population distribution by age, Ottawa, Canada, 2016.
Source: Ottawa insights

Little or no data is collected about older city residents. So the preliminary results are based on *ad hoc* information.

Generally, the availability of learning opportunities does not appear to be commensurate with the proportion of the population, nor are programs well-structured or institutionalized. Many institutions provide learning for older adults but it is often provided under recreation programs as a community service. For instance, Algonquin College has about 20,600 regular students but it runs "Ottawa Lifelong Learning for Older Adults", a program for persons 55 and older, providing 80 spaces at monthly seminars to "inform, educate and entertain".

Is there a customized system of infrastructure for learning of older adults?

Learning opportunities were collected using methods commonly used by older people such as advertisements, public announcements and internet searches. These included all learning opportunities whether they were specialized for older learners or not. Over a thousand courses were examined and grouped.

Formal education in educational institutions: (1) Regular courses: Such education was offered by the five major post-secondary institutions and by the high school system. All the post-secondary institutions offered their regular courses at a discount for seniors, which may be taken for credit or audited. (2) General interest courses: Three of them offered micro-courses specially for older adults. For example, Carleton university has a program called "Learning in Retirement" with ten courses (2 hours per week for 6 weeks) for 15 to 55 people on a variety of topics. Examples are "Italian for travelers" and a writing workshop. In addition, there is a general interest lecture series by a variety of speakers. La Cité collegiale offered a course on the basics of Microsoft Office and another "Its not too late to learn French" specifically for older adults. The Ottawa School Board offers a large array of general interest courses in a program called "Learning for Life" offered at city high schools. Titles are grouped under Arts and Crafts, Business and Finance, Baby Sitting, Cooking, Dance, Do-it-yourself, Fitness, Languages, Leisure and Self Development.

Micro-courses and short programs: (1) The City of Ottawa provides personal interest courses in Community Centres for persons over fifty. Examples are Driving refresher and Painting. (2) The Government of Canada provides a Mobile Outreach Service where staff along with delivery partners provide information services on Pensions and Health Care programs to seniors and caregivers in Nursing homes and Seniors Centres. (3) Short courses by Organizations such as Hospitals, Professional Institutes, etc. Examples: The Retirement Planning Institute offers a three-day course on Retirement Planning. City libraries offer Computer training.

On-line learning: (1) Universities in the city and elsewhere offer their regular courses through MOOCs (Massive Open Online Courses). Example: Introduction to Psychology; (2) Local and provincial governments provide short online courses. Example: Fall Prevention; (3) Online learning modules for self learning. Ottawa Public Health Caregiver Guide has five chapters that learners use at their own pace; (4) Video courses by international organizations, sometimes free. Example: Smart Art History by the Khan Academy.

In-home private learning and self learning: (1) Provision of courses, on videos or CDs. Example: Great courses has 600 choices which range from Philosophy (118 lecture course choices) to Religion (80 choices).

Informal learning: (1) Public lectures. Canadian Club Ottawa and the National Gallery offer a series of lectures.

Discussion

Can a strong case be made for the social contributory rationale for public funding for learning of older adults?

Even giving human capital more prominence than personal growth and development, a strong case can be made using the social contributory rationale for public funding. Data on public investment in education for older adults is not available for Canada. In the UK, of all public, corporate and personal investments to learning, only 2 per cent was dedicated to the learning in older years (50 and over) (Schuller and Watson, 2009). Any successful case for policies for funding learning and developing a cohesive systematic learning system for older adults, would be worthwhile.

The concept of human capital is predominantly used in terms of learning and skills of value in the labour market. However, a more comprehensive and inclusive view of the concept should include its value to active citizenship and to the principles of democracy. Active citizenship incorporates wider participation in the economy and society and values non-work contributions to the economy, savings to public budgets, but also contributions to family, community and the larger society that may not necessarily be monetized. For example, these could include actions such as voting and reducing household waste. Nonetheless, there can be no doubt that older Canadians contribute significantly to the economic wellbeing of the country, even if they are not working. Further, most older Canadians are tax payers and contribute to public coffers.

As an active citizen, retired older Canadians are able to contribute more time and resources than they were able to during their working years. The success of families and communities often rely on such social contributions by older Canadians. Learning can be important to increase the collective value of human capital in knowledge and skills that are not limited to those related to work in order to make older Canadian even greater social contributors. Learning could help older adults to keep up with the evolution of knowledge, the development of technology and the demands of citizenship so that they can make informed decisions and act responsibly. It is not certain that older adults can be best provided with this type of learning through market-based solutions alone.

Is the supply of learning opportunities for older adults and take up of learning commensurate with their population proportion?

The data are insufficient to give a reliable answer. First, it is difficult to quantify the share in the supply of learning specifically targeting older adults. This is because, unlike specific learning infrastructure for pre-schoolers or college students, there is no clear infrastructure for the learning of older adults. Much of the courses that were found were developed for the general public and only a few, such as those on falls or caregiving are specifically for older adults.

However, it is likely that older adults do not participate in learning at an optimal level, given their proportion in the population. Research suggests several reasons. First, Canadians who are older are less likely to undertake training (Park, 2012). Older people may have somewhat lower rates of participation in formal continuing education courses but not necessarily in informal learning (Livingstone and Raykov, 2013). Second, among older persons of the same age, those with lower personal income and less than post-secondary education were significantly less likely to participate in training (Park, 2012). The fact that there are costs involved for many of these courses may be an additional factor. Fortunately, Ottawa has the highest proportion of its adult population (25 to 64 years) with a bachelor's degree or higher (43.5 per cent in 2016) which of course means there should be greater demand (Statistics Canada, 2017). Third, the percentage of older Canadians with low literacy is higher than other adults. Literacy and numeracy skills peak at age 25 to 34 and decline steadily for older age groups. Thus 23 per cent of those aged 55–65 have low literacy compared to 11 per cent of those aged 16 to 24 years (Weldon, 2013). Fourth, it may be difficult for older adults to attend courses in community locations. Though about 88 per cent of older Canadians aged 65 drive, that proportion drops to 69 per cent by age 75 (Fast Company, 2018). Finally, e-learning at home could be a solution and it is positive that digital literacy is rising among older people. Most notably, among 65– to 74-year-olds, internet use rose from 65% to 81%, while among those aged 75 and older usage rose from 35% to 50% between 2013 and 2016 (Stephen's lighthouse, 2017).

There were 5,780,900 Canadians 65 and older (17 per cent) and there were slightly fewer children under 15 according to the last Census (Statistics Canada, 2017a) and this gap is projected to increase. By the mid-2030s, there will be close to 25 per cent of Canadians 65 and over in Canada (20.3 per cent in Ottawa), (Statistics Canada, 2017a). They are all eligible voters and the country will rely even more on their social contributions. Lifelong learning should become more mainstream rather than an option for the few.

Is there a customized system or infrastructure for learning of older adults?

Though there was a plethora of course options, it is not obvious whether these are the courses that older people need, want or can access.

The results were compared and evaluated against a framework which described the characteristics of an ideal customized learning system for older adults (Table 1). The characteristics were grouped under course management, cost, e-learning and learning objective.

No customized learning infrastructure for older adults was evident. The existing formal education and non-formal learning systems are extended to older persons. Courses are not modified but sometimes are delivered to a group of older adults rather than a mixed group with perhaps a lower fee. Ironically, the courses on topics important for seniors (Example: falls) are those delivered by non-educational institutions.

Table 1.
Characteristics of an ideal customized learning system for older adults compared to those used for all adults

Characteristics	Customized learning options, seniors	General options used for all adults
Course management		
Location	Delivered in locations where older adults are concentrated or where they can be easily accessed by them. Including access with public transportation. Preferably barrier-free.	Courses where they can be efficiently delivered.
Length and time	Courses of a desirable length of time (2 hours or less for a few weeks) and not late at night.	Evening and night courses, for a semester in Educational institutions to accommodate working adults.
Frequency	Courses offered fairly frequently, so that large numbers in small groups can be accommodated.	Perhaps once a year.
Composition of group	All older adults so the course can be paced and delivered (Reviews, appropriate examples and exercises) for a fairly homogeneous group.	Based on demand and registration.
Cost		
Cost of course	Free or heavily discounted, therefore subsidized.	Economically viable
Related costs	Cost of learning materials, transportation and parking should not be prohibitive.	Considered reasonable costs for students.
E– learning		
Advantages and disadvantages	Many older adults who would benefit do not have the literacy or the digital skills, so it would be for an educated, self-directed group.	Efficient delivery to large numbers of students.
Learning objective		
Work-related or professional skills	Appropriate for older adults who continue to work or practice but not to retired adults.	Valuable for working adults
Topics resulting in private and public good	Topics specific for older adults such as financial investment and divestment in retirement, self-care and care giving, estate planning, health in later years, etc.	General topics such as good nutrition, financial planning, yoga.
Personal interest	For growth and self-development, such as music appreciation, bridge and cooking.	For growth and self-development such as music appreciation, bridge and cooking.
Learning mode	Experiential learning, learning through interaction with others.	All modes based on learning theories.

Personal interest courses predominate. These courses help older Canadians stay engaged and mentally active. However, they can be seen as offering primarily private benefits for those taking them and there can be little government appetite for subsidizing them.

There seems to be a difference in the learning objectives preferred by governments, providers and older adults themselves. The Canadian government runs an advertising series encouraging learning on important topics for which it provides information. These topics include avoiding on-line scams, public financial support and the importance of the annual flu shot for seniors. Course providers advertize information on their existing courses which could also be of interest to older adults. Providers work in a "push economy" when the clients would prefer a "pull economy". Examples are language learning and photography. Older adults are a very diverse group, with tremendous variation in their life experiences gathered over decades of life. Some older adults do not like the idea of attending specific courses only for them and prefer self-interest courses for mixed age groups. Others only take the courses specifically designed for them, when there is a serious need, such as being caught in a financial scam that targeted vulnerable seniors. This suggests that a variety of learning options should be available.

It is also questionable whether many current ideas would work for the learning of older adults who are not working. Market competition for the demand of older learners, for instance, is not likely to be an incentive for more or better provision. Nor can a determination of need be similar to those used for workers. Labour shortages, skill deficits and similar concepts for measuring the amount of investment and the extent of potential demand are not applicable to older adults.

On the other hand, some popular concepts could be reconfigured for the learning of older adults. Critical thinking, strategic analysis and long-term benefit calculations are skills that apply through all phases of lifelong learning though they may be applied in different contexts and at different levels of expertise. Older adults have to make major life decisions in the last phase of life affecting themselves, members of the family or society at large. Decisions informed by up to date knowledge would result in better outcomes for such issues such as organ donations, charitable giving, environmentally sensitive disposal of assets and life choices in long term care.

Conclusions

Due to longevity, post retirement years can last for twenty-five years and learning can appreciably improve the individual standard of life as well as national outcomes of health and economic development. However, since this is a recent and evolving demographic, western countries have not yet developed customized national policies or transferable best practices. International exchanges during policy experimentation and development will be helpful.

The combination of national data analysis and a preliminary study using the test case of Ottawa provides ideas for further discussions for future national research and policy. There are indications that older Canadians do not participate in learning at an optimal level in the present ad hoc and fragmented system of learning for adults. A cohesive and effective system of learning for older adults would result in both private and public benefits. The current thinking is to make existing learning options inclusive and extend them to older adults. Compared to the potential size of the population of older adults, only a small number of them are attracted or accommodated. This currently undervalues the human capital of 17 per cent of the population and would not result in maximizing the national economic and social contributions from them.

A policy choice would be to establish whether to invest in the learning of older adults to further enhance their human capital to maximize private and public benefits or to leave it unused or underused. In a neoliberal climate, it is possible to make a clear case for public investment in the learning of older adults by making evident the economic value of their social contributions. Where governments are receptive, social inclusion and equity arguments related to lifelong learning can also be added. It would also be important to consider the risks and costs of policy failure which could result in slower national development and higher public costs associated with older adults.

There is at present no customized cohesive system for the learning of older adults in Canada, based on a preliminary review of the test case in the capital city of Ottawa. The results are likely to be similar in other Canadian urban areas. Such a system would be integrated with the learning infrastructure for earlier phases of life. Its capacity would be in proportion to the population of older adults and have learning customized for them. The best strategy would be to build from the learning options for general personal interest that exists but to make available other learning opportunities that are specific for their stage of life. The flow of benefits of education that is fundamental to learning in old age will also filter into the formal system for other ages, widening its goals to more than just preparation for work. The Nobel Prize winning economist Amartya Sen in his book "Development as freedom" presents development as including both economic prosperity and personal growth, which should be the ultimate national goal for quality of life in an aging population. Learning by older adults may be for their own personal development but also for involvement and engagement in a world that is much larger than an older individual.

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POLICY AND PEDAGOGY: PUSHING BACK AGAINST NEOLIBERAL IDEOLOGIES IN FAMILY LITERACY PROGRAMMES

Abstract

This chapter shows how, through the power of limiting discourses, neoliberal education policies impact on pedagogy. Using examples from Scottish adult literacy programmes, it also demonstrates how practitioners and learners have resisted the narrow outcome measures that these policies impose. It argues that policies that focus only on the economic limit the curriculum at the national and local level because they emphasise learners' limitations and ignore the impact of broader social and economic inequalities on access to educational opportunities. Despite the stress on performativity and the emphasis on 'results' the professional culture of literacy practitioners, which is open and responsive to learners, has come into play. This shared understanding of good practice, and clear views of the underpinning value system, has enabled staff to support literacy that is based in rich and meaningful practices using an epistemology based on knowledge that is developed socially. However, going against the grain of policy is difficult for practitioners so it is important that researchers demonstrate the importance of a learner-centred curriculum in terms of its effectiveness in developing learning and its contribution to promoting a more socially just form of education.

Keywords: human capital; discourses; enacting policy

Introduction

This chapter has two aims. The first is to show how the dominant neoliberal discourse is translated into adult education policy and how these policies impact on pedagogy. The second is to analyse how practitioners have resisted the limiting effects of this discourse. It is based on research in Scotland that explored the experiences of practitioners, and the parents that they worked with, in family literacy projects.

In this paper neoliberalism is conceptualised as a cultural, political and economic phenomenon characterised by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade that involves deregulation, privatisation and the withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision (Harvey, 2005). Under neoliberalism education systems have been mandated to develop efficient, creative and problem-solving learners and workers for a globally competitive economy leading to the neglect of education's social and developmental responsibilities (Olssen, 2009; Tett & Hamilton, 2019). These institutionalised practices have been partially accomplished by persuading each individual teacher and learner to treat the effects of neoliberalism as personal rather than structural and so the discourse can become accepted as normal rather than as in need of critique and transformation. A key way that this occurs is through the use of a wealth of metrics such as the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (OECD, 2016) to measure performativity. Because these assessments are centred on what is important for market considerations and what is accessible to measure they do not reflect the core values of education, that is, the quality of the teaching, inclusion and relationships (Lynch, 2006).

Human capital theory (hereafter referred to as HCT) is the dominant theory that underpins the claims of neoliberalism that there are direct and causal links between education systems and the economy and these are reflected in policy documents related to adult literacy (e.g. OECD, 2013; 2016). There have been many criticisms of HCT especially of its underpinning assumption that labour markets work rationally and efficiently because this ignores the 'complex relationships between institutions, structures and individual agents that history, sociology, psychology, political economy and other disciplines explore' (Allais, 2012, p. 261). In addition the individualistic focus of HCT opens up the possibility of blaming individuals for failing to invest in their own development rather than considering the economic and social circumstances in which they are living (Miller & Rose, 2008).

The power of discourses

The underlying premise behind 'discourse' is that ideas structure the social spaces we inhabit and this means that dominant discourses can exclude, marginalise and oppress other realities. Discourse is intimately bound up with socially embedded networks of power because it organises knowledge through a collective understanding of what constitutes 'truth' and so its discursive logic structures social and global relations. Foucault (1972) has argued that knowledge is not something that exists independently of language because all knowledge is organised through the structures, interconnections, and associations that are built into language. He also pointed out that discourses play a key role in the social construction of reality because, as ways of constituting knowledge, they generate forms of subjectivity and the power relations that are inherent in such knowledge (Foucault 1990, 1991).

Using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyse policy documents enables an understanding of how language in text and talk functions in 'constituting and transmitting knowledge, in organizing social institutions or in exercising power' (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 7). Language is both determined by social structure and simultaneously contributes to stabilising and changing that structure (Wodak & Meyer, 2016, p. 7). Because discourses are based on social practices different discourses will include and exclude different things and so discursive practices will have major ideological effects in reproducing unequal power relations and in influencing how such structures are interpreted and explained by different actors. For example, our knowledge of what a literacy learner *is*, is modelled on their social practices (van Leeuwen, 2016, p. 138) so the discourses surrounding these learners are ultimately based on what such learners are able to *do*. Negative discourses about literacy can change these *doings* by only emphasising what learners *cannot* do or by representing them as needy, childlike people that lack agency (see Maclachlan & Tett, 2006).

Understanding how dominant discourses are taken up is important because negative discourses can be internalised by learners, resulting in their loss of self-esteem. However, when the literacies that people actually use are examined, it is possible to shift the discourse away from viewing low literacy levels as a deficit in individuals. Instead, the variety of literacy practices that are used by people can be viewed as arising from a range of different contexts that make them locally meaningful. This means that by challenging deficit discourses, and instead prioritising learners' expertise, alternative understandings of policies can be presented meaning that change is possible.

International and national policies

Using CDA to analyse policy documents reveals the influence of HCT and the consequential links between individual literacy skills and economic returns. For example, the OECD 2001 policy document argues that:

> For individuals, investment in human capital provides an economic return, increasing both employment rates and earnings. This can be demonstrated either by looking at education levels, or at more direct measures of human capital such as numeracy and literacy scores (OECD, 2001, p. 3).

In addition, the claim is made that skills development is fundamental to global economic competitiveness. For example: 'OECD countries receive measurable and substantial positive economic returns as a result of strong literacy skills' (OECD, 1997, p. 4). Moreover, these skills, it is claimed, are driven by individual endeavour and are a form of investment – 'skills have become the global currency of 21st– century economies' (OECD, 2012, p. 10).

This model of education asserts that large sections of the adult population need to be 'up-skilled' (OECD 2000, xiii) and leads to an assumption of the importance of skills-focused education. For example: 'without proper investment in skills, people languish on the margins of society, technological progress does not translate into economic growth, and countries can no longer compete in an increasingly knowledge-based global society' (OECD, 2012, p. 3). The human capital perspective also gets translated into narrow, measurable indicators such as those used in the Programme for the International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) that aims to 'measure the key cognitive and workplace skills needed ... for economies to prosper' (OECD, 2016, p. 1). This type of assessment has been criticised on the grounds that the test reflects adults' socio-demographic characteristics rather than their abilities to use literacy in a variety of contexts (Desjardins & Ederer, 2015; Hamilton, 2012).

Despite a rhetorical commitment to 'fairness' (Mackie & Tett, 2013) the Scottish policies show a similar focus on international competitiveness. A key policy document, *Life through learning; learning through life*, emphasised the personal effects for those that miss out on learning, as well as the impact on the economy, and suggested that:

> In Scotland, we cannot accept: the opportunity gap between people who achieve their full potential and those that do not; the skills gap between people in work and those who are not...; the productivity gap between Scotland and the leading economies of the world (Scottish Executive, 2003, p. 1).

In contrast to this broad view of lifelong learning, however, the six indicators that measured the success of the strategy focused either on young people with low qualifications or on increasing the level of qualifications in the workforce. In addition, the perceived associations between exclusion and anti-social behaviour and the emphasis on a 'flexible and adaptable workforce' (ibid) made it easy to justify the compulsory requirement to participate in vocational training for those that were unemployed.

The stress on economic development was even higher in the policy *Skills for Scotland: a lifelong skills strategy* (Scottish Government, 2007), where benefits 'such as social justice, stronger communities and more engaged citizens' (ibid, p. 10) were expected to flow from economic development rather than the other way around. Throughout this, and subsequent policy documents, reference is made to the requirement to keep Scotland competitive. For example:

> A skilled and educated workforce is essential to productivity and sustainable economic growth...[because] the skill level of the workforce is likely to impact significantly on the effectiveness of capital investment and the ability of employers to adopt innovative work practices (Scottish Government, 2007, p. 13).
>
> Both innovation and commercialisation are key drivers of productivity and competitiveness, particularly in an increasingly interconnected global economy (Scottish Government, 2011, p. 47).

Moreover, work is posited as the remedy and the catalyst for increasing 'equity', 'solidarity' and 'cohesion'. For example:

> We will set out plans ... for improved employability and skills services to Scotland's black and minority ethnic communities. (Scottish Government, 2008, p. 12)
>
> ... placing a renewed focus and flexibility around the skills required to accelerate economic recovery and to sustain a growing, successful country with opportunities for all (Scottish Government, 2010, p. 9)
>
> Increased equity – through improving opportunities and outcomes – across Scotland has the potential to engage large numbers of people and communities who face disadvantages into the mainstream economy (Scottish Government, 2011, p. 89).

Policy documents also lay the blame for the lack of skills on the individual because: 'if an individual has a weakness in [literacy] skills, they are less likely to make an effective contribution to Scotland's economy' (Scottish Government, 2012, p. 1).

Such rhetoric, Fairclough (2009) suggests, is part of 'the neoliberal discourse of economic change ... which demands "adjustments" and "reforms" to enhance "efficiency and adaptability" in order to compete' (p. 100). Moreover, it is clear that if economic development is concentrated on the already highly skilled workforce, then inequality is likely to be exacerbated as changes in employment patterns will lead to differentials in income (Rubenson, 2015). It also means that people are under pressure to constantly update their skills in order to take their place in a competitive workforce that is 'focussed on the individual fitting into the culture of educational systems, rather than developing different environments to meet individual needs' (Mosen-Lowe, Vidovich & Chapman, 2009, p. 473).

Pedagogy

This emphasis in policy has an impact on pedagogy, which can be broadly defined as the theory and practice of education and their combined impact on learning. Pedagogies are not neutral because they emerge from different economic, social, political and cultural contexts and are thus strongly influenced by policy (Freire, 1972). There are a number of ways of thinking about pedagogical approaches. Zepke and Leach distinguish between pedagogies designed to ensure integration and assimilation into society on the one hand and those that 'adapt to the challenges posed by learner diversity' (2006, p. 509) on the other. Burke (2015) takes this argument further by pointing out how 'pedagogies are formed through intersecting and embodied classed, gendered and racialised subjectivities ... [that conceal] the ways that educational encounters form subjectivities, ways of being and doing' (2015, p. 391). One form of subjectivity relates to how minorities are constructed as a problem and are positioned as lacking aspiration, motivation, confidence and so on rather than as people that have important knowledge and experience to offer. This deficit approach also underpins the focus on the economic worth of the individual because it ignores an individual's knowledge and so emphasises their limitations rather than their expertise (Tett, Hamilton, & Crowther 2012). This can lead to a narrow conceptualisation of the purpose of literacy education as the provider of 'employment ready' workers (Allatt & Tett, 2019) and leads to a curriculum that is focused on delivering the information-processing skills claimed to be necessary for employment. It also means that the outcomes that are prioritised are about: gaining employment; taking part in other forms of work-related experience; or obtaining qualifications and do not take account of the social and emotional aspects of learning.

The pedagogical approaches that are more effective are those based on the view that people have important 'funds of knowledge' (González, Moll & Amanti, 2005) to contribute to education. This approach is successful because it focuses on the resources and practices that learners bring and so builds on, rather than denigrating, their expertise. When an 'inquiry method of teaching' (González et al., 2005, p. 19) is used, where participants are actively involved in developing their lived experiences, these become validated as legitimate sources of knowledge both inside and outside of programmes. Moreover, when participants can influence the curriculum to make it relevant to their lived experiences this can provide valuable resources for their emotional and social development (Baquedano-López, Alexander & Hernandez, 2013). This funds of knowledge approach shifts more agency to learners as meaning-makers rather than receivers of expert instruction and programmes that build on learners own knowledge, lead to increasing skills, confidence and self-respect (Tett, 2019). It also has a positive impact on learners not only cognitively and socially but also in the neglected affective domain, so that all aspects of their learning are brought together (Illeris, 2004).

If a narrow pedagogy is imposed by policies that favour a skills-based curriculum is it possible for practitioners to resist and instead create a learner-centred approach that prioritises participants' expertise? As Ball notes, 'policies are always incomplete in so far as they relate to or map onto the "wild profusion of local practice"' (1994, p. 10) and so the rest of this paper illustrates the practices that were enacted in the FL programmes that I researched.

Enacting policy

In this section interviews with family literacy practitioners about their pedagogic approaches and autobiographical interviews with learners about the impact of participation on their lives are drawn on. The practitioners and learners were from three projects in communities with high levels of unemployment. The six practitioners were all experienced (at least 10 years in post) and the twenty-seven learners were mothers of children who attended local primary schools.

The interviews with the parents and practitioners were recorded, transcribed and anonymised. Thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was used to identify both the themes from the literature as well as new themes that arose, in order to provide a holistic picture. Referential accuracy (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) was ensured by repeatedly returning to the raw data to check the emerging conclusions in an iterative process. All names are pseudonyms.

Using these data, how policies are enacted through the dual processes of policy interpretation and translation (Ball, Maguire & Braun, 2012) by both practitioners and learners are investigated in order to see how the limiting effects of the discourse of neoliberalism on pedagogy have been resisted.

Practitioners

The practitioners' main aim across all three programmes was to involve parents and to support them to become more engaged in both their own and their children's learning through 'breaking down the barriers between the home and the school' (Jane). Family literacy (FL) was seen as an important way of promoting inclusion 'so we can widen educational participation and help to close the attainment gap' (Liz). Overall, the purpose of the family-literacy worker (FLW) role was summarised by Kate as promoting the value of the everyday learning opportunities 'that parents engage with on a daily basis' while Fiona underlined that, 'parents' needs and interests are central to the learning process'. Sue said she worked 'from the parents' strengths ...from what they know and we ask them to share their knowledge with each other'. She considered that FL 'is about changing attitudes... parents learning how to see themselves positively again'. From her perspective participants growing self-confidence was as important as their gaining literacy skills.

At the heart of these practitioners' resistance to a narrow interpretation of family literacy was being clear about their professional values so good practice meant 'ensuring that the learners' goals are at the centre of our provision' (Ann). Practitioners were helped to stick to their value base because of the 'passion for the job that gives you the courage to work in this way because all your experience tells you that this is the right kind of approach that is going to help people to learn' (Liz). The practitioners also had the support of colleagues that they considered 'shared their values' (Jane) and so they were trusted 'to make good judgements' (Sue). A key value was 'being focused on the assets that learners' bring rather than their deficits' (Jo) and many practitioners showed how they operationalised these values. For example, Kate said: 'we start off by asking them about how they have dealt with any difficulties they have had so that we can use their experience and start from their knowledge rather than telling them what to do'. Ann was aware that it 'always takes longer to negotiate the curriculum' but taking this approach resulted in a programme that was owned by the participants. This method created 'a very different atmosphere because the parents' know that they have had their say' (Sue). By finding out what skills the parents had to offer the practitioners were able to 'show parents that there are lots of ways in which they support their children and that what happens in the home is important' (Jane).

The programmes studied tried to use authentic assessment situated in real life contexts, which is done *with,* not *to,* participants and is based on the extent to which participants had been able to change their literacy practices from their own baselines – the distance that they had travelled. In one project this process-oriented focus involved learners developing a 'portfolio' of examples of their literacy work as evidence of what they had learnt. Portfolios included the titles of books that participants had read with their children; stories that they had created about their own family life; texts and emails written to friends and families; examples of reading and writing from a variety of contexts including church, neighbourhood meetings, work; as well as photographs of writing that had interested them. This type of assessment helped the parents to reflect both on what they had learned and also how they learned and gave them opportunities to test out their newly acquired skills, knowledge and understanding. Reflection was enhanced when the portfolio was brought along to the group and formed part of a 'show and tell' session that could also be shared with the children. This approach was empowering to both learners and tutors. For learners it enabled them to take responsibility for their own learning and have an equal say in the direction it should take based on their own goals. For tutors it provided feedback on the programme design, content and delivery and the strengths and weaknesses of their approaches.

As I have shown practitioners have strong views about the pedagogical approaches they should use and have been able to create more open, learner-centred programmes despite the policy emphasis on narrow economistic outcomes. Their pedagogy is based on a 'funds of knowledge' perspective (González et al., 2005) that shifts more agency on to the learners as meaning makers rather than receivers of expert instruction. In the next section I discuss the impact this had on the participants in the programmes.

Learners

As a result of these approaches many participants talked about the way they thought about themselves: 'here they build you up and help you to think positively'; 'the staff treat you like a person'. Working together was important because: 'being part of the group has helped me to keep going even when things were really difficult at home' and 'the others knew I didn't like writing on the flip-chart because my spelling isn't good but with their encouragement I did it and after that I felt really proud of myself'. In addition, because participants felt their knowledge of their children was valued, they considered that 'education was probably something that I could go back to as an adult. It just made me see things in a different light. Everything wasn't awful'.

Others spoke about being respected: 'in this programme you're respected as a person that has a lot of knowledge that others can learn from'. 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 on what you can't do. Instead the tutors help you to find what you can do'. Another said that she 'used to just go to the shops and back to the house but now I'm out doing lots of things and I'm not isolated any more'. Learners found that their progress made them feel differently about what they could achieve: 'I felt more confident. It made me a more confident parent with the girls... [and] in what I could achieve myself'.

Using a 'funds of knowledge' pedagogy that focused on what learners *could* do increased confidence: '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'. It also involved participants valuing their own skills. For example, one found that her ability to tell stories from her 'Traveller' culture meant that she had a much better oral memory than other people but this skill had been unacknowledged before she joined the group. For many being part of a group helped with learning: 'you're in with the group so you get involved... we've worked together on making books for the children and it's very satisfying'. A number of learners suggested that it was the tutors that made an impact: 'she [tutor] brings stuff out of me and stretches my mind' and 'it motivates me to really try because the tutors are working so hard'.

An atmosphere had been created where learners were treated with respect within relationships of trust (Feeley, 2014). Having a caring ethos not only enabled participants' strengths to be recognised but also helped to create supportive social networks (Prins, Tosso & Schafft, 2009, p. 336). Participants in these programmes said that they had changed their dispositions to learning and altered their practices partly because of these positive caring relationships. For example: 'the staff are always available to listen to your questions and because of this you feel able to ask even if you think it might be a silly question'. So, most of the learners had worked through previous negative learning identities and were much more engaged in learning so that, as one put it: 'now I feel that what I know is of value then I'm much more willing to try anything whereas before I just used to say to myself "you can't do it"'.

The curriculum was based on the learners' concerns and aspirations about their own and their children's learning and relationships to their teachers so that education was seen as a co-operative activity involving respect and trust. As a result the participants were able to add new and different knowledge and become the subjects of learning rather than the objects of educational interventions that were supposed to be good for them. Learning then became a shared endeavour between tutors and learners, a two-way, rather than a one-way, process. This approach provided a real incentive for learning because it concentrated on what really mattered to the participants. As a result, learners commented that they now saw some of their earlier assumptions differently. For example: 'I see how my school teachers tried to put me down and now I feel that I can help other parents to be a bit more challenging'. It also helped learners to value their strengths: 'learning can open your eyes to what you are good at and means that you are willing to take risks in trying to make changes both for your children but also in the community'. Some participants had also become more confident about challenging the social injustices they had experienced: for example, 'I speak out more at home if I think things are not fair' and 'I'm more confident in challenging the teachers' negative views about my child'.

Good relationships between and amongst tutors and learners created an atmosphere of trust where support, encouragement and constructive feedback helped people to take risks. For example, 'being part of the group has helped me to keep going even when things were really difficult at home' and 'I was afraid that the others might be racist so I kept Khurshid in but now I've learned to trust them and she has made friends with the other children'. Being in a positive environment also gave people the 'scaffolding' to stretch their understanding beyond what they currently knew, to see learning as valuable and develop the ability to use their own judgement regarding the quality of their work. For example, 'the first version of my letter to the council about the graffiti was all muddled up so I rewrote it four times before I was satisfied it said what I wanted' and 'I was asked to do a reading by my Church so I got the other parents to listen to me and tell me how it sounded and gradually learned that I had to say it really slowly if people were going to understand me'. Gaining confidence in their ability to learn also enabled some of the parents to move on to more formal provision and the project tutors developed relationships with other providers so that individuals could easily go to the local Further Education College and take courses that led to accreditation if they wished.

Engaging in participatory processes in implementing and evaluating programmes, being in a safe and open space to discuss, dissent and agree on the best courses of action, and integrating different views, can foster dialogue and enables the recognition of difference and diversity (Baquedano-López, et al., 2013). This form of education meant that participants were enabled to take these experiences of equality of decision-making and participation into their families and communities.

Conclusion

Overall this paper has shown not only how neoliberal policy discourses impact on pedagogy and practices in family literacy programmes but also how practitioners and learners have resisted narrow outcome measures. If policies focus only on the economic they limit the curriculum at the national and local level because they emphasise learners' limitations rather than their expertise (Allatt & Tett, 2019). Because the focus of the neoliberal discourse is on the individual taking responsibility for improving their economic worth, it means that people are required 'to be skilled, mobile, self-reliant, economic agents and notions of their "potential" and "fulfilment" are centred on their economic value' (Gillies and Mifsud 2016, p. 829). Consequently the impact of broader social and economic inequalities on access to educational opportunities is ignored (Connell, 2012) and this can lead to a family literacy curriculum that is focused on delivering the skills that schools claim to be necessary in order to raise children's attainment (Macleod & Tett, 2019)

Yet, as Raaper (2017, p. 436) has pointed out, 'there is no linear flow from the global influence to the local, but national and local contexts can challenge and alter the global patterns of influence' and this led to my exploration of the links between transnational and national policies and their enactment at the local level. The findings show how professional cultures of more holistic approaches to teaching and learning, expressed as a commitment to putting learners at the centre of the curriculum, have interacted with wider neoliberal policy forces. Despite the stress on performativity and the emphasis on 'results' the professional culture of literacy practitioners that is open and responsive to learners has come into play. This shared understanding of good practice, and clear views of the underpinning value system, has enabled staff to support literacy that is based in rich and meaningful practices. The curriculum they have offered has been based on a 'funds of knowledge' approach (González et al., 2005), which other research has suggested (e.g. Tett, 2019), can help learners to develop the effective strategies and skills they already use rather than being seen as having individual deficits that need to be corrected.

As I have shown, the value that drove the practitioners' pedagogical practices was a focus on the learners' goals and so the learning arose out of 'the inherently socially negotiated character of meaning ... in, with, and arising from the socially and culturally structured world' (Lave & Wenger, 1991, p. 51). The practitioners' approach was based on an epistemology that acknowledges that knowledge is developed socially and this approach also enabled the 'development of criteria for deciding which knowledge is most worthwhile' (Allais, 2012, p. 266). However, going against the grain of policy is difficult and comes at a cost to practitioners so it is important that as researchers we continue to point out the importance of a learner-centred curriculum both in terms of its effectiveness in developing learning and in terms of its contribution to promoting a more socially just form of education.

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'EXIT, LOYALTY AND VOICE': THE EXPERIENCES OF ADULT LEARNERS IN THE CONTEXT OF DEINDUSTRIALISATION IN COUNTY DURHAM, NORTH EAST ENGLAND

Abstract

This paper examines how people living in the former coalfield and steel making communities of County Durham have experienced de-industrialisation and what role adult education plays in such contexts. Through life history stories, the paper provides an understanding of the impoverished and devalued lives of those studied. It explores the marginalisation of community education provision which could have enabled people to respond proactively to the effects of deindustrialisation at both individual and community level. It explains that as community education declined this was replaced by learning for the economy through *employability* programmes. These have been inadequate in addressing the real needs and interests of such communities. The article argues that learning for the economy that increasingly positions itself as the solution for the working classes to become employable and socially included in civic life is not working. It argues for the continued importance of community education, that was maligned and ignored in policy in favour of learning for the economy.

Keywords: de-industrialisation, class, employability, community education, horizontal violence

Background

Deindustrialisation: The neoliberal turn

De-industrialisation is the systematic reduction in industrial capacity in formerly industrially developed areas that resulted in the loss of jobs in traditional industries (Bluestone & Harrison, 1982). North East England was the first industrial region in the first industrial nation, and it was the first region to experience massive de-industrialisation. It experienced the social trauma of that change from the late 1970s (Robinson, 2002). The impact of de-industrialisation in County Durham resulted in an economic crisis with tens of thousands of jobs being lost in the coal industry (Beynon, Hudson, & Sadler 1991) and steel industry (Kearney, 1990). This study explains that the effects of this crisis are still evident today. Deindustrialisation "has a half– life as people continue to struggle long after the event with its social and economic consequences" (Linkon, 2013, p. 39). An understanding of this process has to be set against the backdrop of neoliberalism as an economic and political project of reshaping the social relations of class.

Harvey (2005) points out that the neoliberal state in the U.K. has multiple facets that can be seen through the policies that have undermined labour and created greater socio-economic inequality within society. An increasingly precarious flexible labour market, with flexible working practices in the service industries, replaced the traditional industries. This power imbalance gave capitalists the upper hand in creating an insecure economy that offered short-term work, thus increasing job insecurity, and paying lower wages with no union protection that increased anxiety amongst the working age population.

Friedman (1980), the neoliberal economist on developments in the UK in the 1980s, challenged the *social democratic consensus* that offered a safety net to workers in times of hardship by emphasising "market solutions to social problems in place of a government Welfare State" (Stedman-Jones, 2012, p. 122). Neoliberalism reformed the welfare state in favour of a workfare state by redefining the responsibility of citizens to look after themselves whilst, at the same time, deindustrialisation and an insecure economy made this task more difficult to achieve.

Having restructured the economy and the state in this way neoliberalism also restructured social class relations and experiences in County Durham.

Class and gender in the context of economic decline

The approach in this study relates to a relational perspective on social class, which focuses on the struggles that occur between opposing social classes (Savage, 2015).

Class raises issues of the relative worth of individuals, and about differences between how people are "valued economically, and how they are valued ethically" (Sayer, 2002, p. 2) People as "inherently social beings can both harm and be harmed, flourish and suffer, and can live together in ways that have regard for their well-being or not" (Sayer, 2010, p. 166). Class matters as it is how individuals of different social classes, with different levels of capital, behave towards each other in the *social field* that can create "unequal possibilities for flourishing and suffering" (Sayer, 2005a, p. 218).

One of the most important features of class inequalities is that they present people with unequal bases for respect, not just by being objects of unwarranted respect or disdain, but as having unequal access to the practices and goods that allow them due respect or conditional recognition (Skeggs, 1997). Being able to participate in practices and such relationships and gain their internal goods (development of skills and achievement) if one so wishes is crucial for well-being, however, "access to them differs radically across the key social divisions of gender, class, and race" (Sayer, 2005b, p. 955).

In County Durham structured patterns of kinship and work provided a sense of security to local people. Kinship provided a lifeline of emotional support and work provided "ontological security", which was "the rhythm and patterns of everyday life, both materially and emotionally, that provided the community with a sense of safety" (Walkerdine, 2009, p. 63). Deindustrialisation of the traditional industries ruptured the "containing skin" that had held these communities together like glue (Walkerdine, 2010, p. 91). This skin had affectively contained anxieties and feelings of insecurity through the routine of work, kinship practices, and affective work and social relationships. Once ruptured, it shifted the mental state of the population from one of "ontological security" to "ontological insecurity" (Walkerdine, 2010, p. 91). This shift was to change the way of life for both men and women and their future generations.

The traditional industrial order had depended upon a stable, gendered division of labour, but the restructuring of the economy to low-paid, non-unionised, precarious, feminised jobs shifted the balance of power within home life in the latter part of 20th century. Women took up jobs out of financial necessity, leaving men at home. Family life fragmented as redundant men became (self)excluded from a feminised workplace that did not offer masculine jobs. What followed was often poor mental health, alcohol abuse and patriarchal oppression as limitless 'leisure and freedom from work' (Seabrook, 1982, p. 6) was not healthy for family life. 'Violence...breakdown of relationships ... mental illness [were part of] such human wreckage as we now see' (Seabrook, 1982, p. 224). This shattering of working –class family life remains prevalent in future generations of redundant workers.

These changes in behaviour became visible in family life through conflict in women's lives. Women bore the brunt of deindustrialisation as violence against women in County Durham continues to increase. The "ready reckoner produced by the Home Office to estimate violence against women and girls in County Durham, based on the population size and the regional prevalence rate from the British Crime Survey, estimated 17,285 women and girls aged 16–59 have been victims of domestic abuse in the last year; 7,223 have been victims of sexual assault and 20,553 have been victims of stalking" (County Durham Domestic Abuse and Sexual Violence Strategy, 2015–2018, p. 17–18). Poor mental health has now extended into future generations who live in these communities with "more than 50,000 residents having a common mental disorder, for example, anxiety and depression" (County Durham Joint Strategic Needs Assessment, Key Messages, 2015, p. 5–6).

The consequences of deindustrialisation for mining communities in County Durham resulted in "depression and loss of self worth and confidence at an individual and collective level" (Wray and Stephenson, 2012, p. 330)

How was adult education able to respond to these developments?

From lifelong education to lifelong learning to lifelong employability

Policies developed at a European and UK level have re-configured adult education in favour of lifelong learning for the economy. However, such policies came at a loss of lifelong education with its democratic and personal and social development strands (Aspin and Chapman, 2000).This loss transformed the landscape of adult education provision from traditional liberal models of community education whereby learners could collectively generate knowledge on matters of concern to them in their everyday lives to bring about social change, to one of government programmes. Delimiting (fixing) adult education in this way was to have devastating consequences in working class communities experiencing the effects of de-industrialisation and increasing inequalities.

The scale of the shift in resourcing to a more instrumental version of provision in England and Wales is evident in the following figures. The Skills Funding Agency in 2013 to 2014 was allocated £3.6 billion to support three million adult learners, of which only £210 million per annum remained protected for Community Learning until 2016. After 2016, "Community Learning would no longer have a ring-fenced budget" (Foster, 2017, p. 16). The goal had increasingly become focused on more training for economic success. Austerity measures taken by the Conservative—Liberal Coalition Government (2010) announced "public sector cuts of an estimated £210 billion" (Trade Union Council, 2014, p. 13). As austerity unfolded, a picture emerged of drastically scaled-back services of local voluntary organisations (Voluntary Organisation Network North East Report, 2014). This significantly cut back spaces for community education provision within voluntary organisations.

Instrumental to justifying the above pattern of resourcing has been a discourse of "learning to be productive" (Biesta, 2006, p. 171) that has been reiterated by, national, European, and international organisations. A significant shift was created by referring to lifelong learning as the *development of human capital,* so that one participates in learning in order to constantly update one's skills due to the changing nature of the global economy (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development Report, Lifelong Learning for All, 1997).

Likewise, the European Union expected lifelong learning through vocational training to contribute towards solving the problems of economic competitiveness and an unemployment crisis that was leading to social exclusion and marginalisation within populations. The E.U. saw this as a threat to political and social stability and expected lifelong learning "to solve the problems of the competitiveness of business, the employment crisis and the tragedy of social exclusion and marginality...[and] the threat of a dual society" (Commission of the European Communities CEC, 1993, p. 117–118, cited in Brine, 2006, p. 649). The focus of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development labour market policy was to target "low-paid and unskilled job seekers" (OECD 1998, p 4, cited in McQuaid and Lindsay, 2005, p. 197–9). However, the Luxembourg Strategy (1997) set out a new policy direction of *employability* to address this crisis. According to Brine (2006, p. 649) "the Luxembourg Strategy shifted the discourse of *'disadvantage'* to the individual ...the second discursive shift was from the aim of *employment* to a new one of *employability*: the ability to become employed, rather than, necessarily, the state of employment itself. Thus, individualisation became linked with the concept of employability: a state of constant becoming, of readiness for employment".

Employability was a significant shift from vocational learning. *Employability* was now the responsibility of an individual to become employed, rather than the state of employment itself. This is a state of constantly becoming ready for the labour market through repetitive training to obtain the characteristics to constantly create a new economic identity despite deficient labour market conditions. *Employability* is turned into a "private trouble of constant training" (Coffield, 2006, p. 8).

The concept of *employability* has become closely tied to the stricter Welfare Reform Acts (2012, 2013) that emphasised mandatory work activity schemes for welfare claimants. Since 2012, *employability* welfare to work policies have focused on mandatory, *client-centred* training programmes. The neoliberal state seeks to promote the freedom of individuals to "determine their own fate" (Barratt cited in Danson, McKay, and Sullivan, 2015, p. 286). Unfortunately, for the unemployed in *employability* programmes, this freedom is restricted and disciplinary. These programmes have an increasingly stringent job-seeking regime in an attempt to force unemployed people to enter low-paid, precarious work (if available). This process of *"churning"* learners through *employability* programmes to "move in and out of low-paid, short–term jobs, and on and off benefits" (Shildrick, 2015, p. 7) is a form of social control and discipline, with the underlying political aim of changing attitudes towards precarious work. Lifelong learning has become part of this *'churning'* process. Learners are subjected to coercive methods through psychological interventions that will bring about attitudinal behavioural changes, as they must develop work-appropriate attitudes to achieve *'employability'*. Compulsory coercive methods of *"positive affect"* are implemented through "psychological interventions that aim to modify cognitive function or emotional disposition" (Friedli & Stearn, 2015, p. 42). It is believed that such interventions will change behaviours and so enable learners to obtain work, which is a paradox given the market failure in deindustrialised areas.

The findings in this study explain that lifelong learning social inclusion policies for learning for work are not working and the "the UK economy is not working" (The Institute fo Public Policy and Research, Commission on Economic Justice Report, 2018, p. 4). The outcome of neoliberal economic and social policies has inflicted *injustice and inequalities* by dividing the nation into a north south divide with most investment being in the south. Regions such as North East England are "diverging further as people feel economically disenfranchised, the political consequences are being felt" (IPPR, Commission on Economic Justice Report, 2018, p. 5).

Adult education in communities

The economic model of learning dominates in communities in County Durham, where once alternative traditions of adult education were delivered. These alternative traditions of adult education emphasised very different rationales and practices: the liberal, personal development, radical, and social purpose traditions (Bowl, 2014).

Traditions, such as personal development provides a starting point from which to begin to learn. It is an educational process whereby learners become aware of the social world, class, race and gender; it increases self –esteem and hope within the learner to collaborate for human betterment (Willis, 1991). The social purpose model offers those experiencing socio-economic inequalities an education related to the social reality of their lives, and enable them, at times, to challenge and change oppressive structures (Taylor, 1986). Social purpose education is where "really useful knowledge is developed to help learners understand their social reality and the social inequalities they are experiencing" (Johnson, 1988, p. 12). These traditions and democratic process have come under attack and are contested through neoliberal policies that have produced a dominant discourse of learning for the economy that is not working. It is precisely these traditions of adult education that have suffered a demise that offer an alternative experience to the limitations of employability programmes.

Delimiting (fixing) lifelong education into lifelong learning has transformed the landscape of adult education to one where community education now exists on the very edge of education, working with those who live on the edge of society. It is found in approaches to self-help provision or some other mutation of what was previously understood as community education. Unlike learning for work through *employability* programmes that is not working, community education strengthens subjectivity and is also a force for community cohesion. This claim is clearly substantiated in the following data.

Theoretical framework

The conceptual framework of Hirschman's (1970) model of *Exit, Loyalty and Voice* sought to explain how people react to economic crisis when employed and threatened with potential job loss. In Hirschman's terms, *exit* involves proactive employees moving ahead and taking control of their circumstances through individual acts of foresight. *Loyalty* is a reaction that reaffirms an individual sense of disempowerment, of not speaking out, and not taking the *exit* route in the hope that the company will favour them. This framework was applied to explore a cross comparison of the ways in which learners involved in *employability* programmes and community education have found how their experience has contributed to rebuilding their lives (if at all). I identify if *exit* for work is working through *employability* programmes, and if community education has produced learners who are rebuilding their communities through *loyalty and voice.* Of course, the meaning and significance and reaction at the level of a company are likely to be different to that at the level of a community.

Methodology

Deindustrialisation was not willed or initiated by the individuals in this study. In order to make sense of these experiences, the most fruitful way to gain an insight into the effects of deindustrialisation was through adopting a life history approach to data collection through 14 semi-structured interviews based on the following questions:

- What have been the major effects of de-industrialisation on the lives of the learners in the sample from these communities?
- How has adult education shaped the position, disposition, and identity of the learners studied?

Life history belongs to the "family of biographical methods" (Denzin, 1989, p. 28). Central to this research is the importance of a humanistic approach to qualitative research through biographical methods that called for studies of individual subjectivities that valued what people had to say especially those marginalised in society (Chamberlayne, Rustin, Bornat and Wengraf, 2000). This life history study is underpinned by a socialist feminist research approach that views gender and class as being constructed through the "symbolic power of a capitalist system" (Merrill and West, 2009, p. 65).

Sample

The two life stories illustrated in this paper are taken from a wider study of data collected from a sample of fourteen male and female learners aged thirty years plus. Those learners attending *employability* programmes had been mandated to attend through Welfare to Work procedures, whereas the community education learners had engaged voluntarily with learning due to life changing experiences. Most had no, or low level, qualifications, and some had moderate literacy difficulties.

Case studies

Two abbreviated accounts of life stories are outlined, and they show how the subjectivity of each learner was weakened by the effects of de-industrialisation and in the first case study, also by the *employability* programme. Kevin's story was selected as it represented the experiences of other learners in the *employability* programme sample. A poor working class education, churning and horizontal violence were common themes in these stories. Theresa's story was selected as it represented the gendered dimension of deindustrialization commonly experienced by other women in the community education sample whose lives were *restored*. A common theme in these stories were ontological insecurity, subjectification, loss of kinship and devalued working class lives. I am not claiming that these two cases are representative of all learners in either *employability* programmes or community education courses. They are, nonetheless, examples which contain important insights into experiences which go beyond their individual accounts.

Case study 1

Kevin had a negative experience of education and left school at 16 with no qualifications. He did not continue his education by participating in education and training through a local college but began his working life in a bar as a glass collector.

Since then he has been employed in numerous, short-term, low paid, unskilled jobs through agencies. Kevin explains, "it's all agency work and so there is no steady full time job". His last job was in 2011 and with no further opportunity of work on offer he has been treated for depression.

For the last four years Kevin has had to adhere to the strict conditional requirements of welfare to work schemes that have required mandatory attendance on *employability* programmes, otherwise his welfare benefits are sanctioned. On engaging with learning he was nervous and not confident due to his poor experience of formal education, lack of qualifications and literacy difficulties.

Continual participation in government initiatives has not provided Kevin with low level qualifications nor sustainable work. It has, however, provided him with a lifeline of having somewhere to go locally to focus on work related learning and become less socially isolated.

The former mining village that Kevin was born into just before the Miners' Strike (1985) has, in recent years, suffered social and physical decay. The relocation of impoverished families into the village has created a drink and drugs culture that is destroying the social fabric of village life. Kevin explains:

> *It's like they are forcing all of the worst people down into the village...it like a hole. It is just festering from the inside out, drugs, drinking... its lifestyle down here... most kids around here don't have a chance unless things are sorted out because that is where everybody ends up when they don't go into a job when they finish school ...that is why I wanted my kids out of it.*

Kevin has moved his family to another location without council support. He explains, "it is more difficult to get a house now, you have to go private rented now"

Kevin joined a racist protest that was organised by local people. He explains:

> *I protested against the building of a mosque at the village the reason being that I am concerned about the negative influence of the Islamic religion on my children.*

Through mandatory workfare arrangements he has complied with taking a short-term, seven-week contract, otherwise he will be sanctioned. This is not a solution to his problems as he will eventually be recycled back onto welfare benefits.

Case study 2

As a young child, Theresa witnessed the closure of the colliery in her village.

She explains that this disintegrated the life of this mining village:

> *When the mine went the community went and a loss of social structure of the community . . . people were demoralised.*

Theresa found the lack of economic opportunities for men meant she became the main 'breadwinner' within the family. She recalls, "my husband just picked up jobs when he could".

A major life changing event brought significant change into her life. She recalls:

> *I had a breakdown . . . I had really lost all confidence . . . I had no self-esteem . . . I was on anti-depressants.*

Theresa freed herself from her marriage as part of this life changing experience and took control of her life with support from the women's education centre. The centre provided a safe space where she could begin to reflect on her life and share her personal problems collectively with others. She explains the main barrier to her participation "was my educational background". At the age of 11, she was segregated from her primary school classmates by the 11 plus that defined children's ability at a very young age. Theresa explains, "that was something that scarred me for life".

With the support of committed tutors, Theresa began to engage in community-based informal learning and personal and social development courses. This pathway enabled Theresa to manage problems arising from her own set of personal circumstances, including poor education, before engaging in second chance education to achieve long awaited qualifications.

She recalls her learning journey:

> *When I first started I did nothing academic I did all interest courses [then] therapeutic courses for a couple of years...when I got my confidence back I did Maths and English at 'O' level...a Counselling level 2 qualification... my Certificate in Education [at college] so I could be a tutor at the centre.*

Theresa has shown loyalty to her learning community by offering the following services to women with poor mental health. She explains,

> *It was such a community (the centre) that had given me so much and so I wanted to support it. I did the drop in service through offering one to one mentoring support and listening service as it had enhanced my life. Now I have a job which is satisfying to me as I support other women who have difficulties. I am a tutor and I teach Counselling and Personal Development and I have undertaken volunteer work in the Mental Health Sector.*

Theresa's story has been one of loss, but also of redemption. It has resulted in a new found freedom that has allowed her to become a loyal and confident learning champion and a role model to women who have also suffered from mental health difficulties.

Analysis

Exit

How are we to 'read' Kevin's experiences and resultant attitudes and expectations? Taken at face value they suggest little in the way of critical analysis and a nativist and racist outlook to *'the other'*. Seidman (2013, p. 3) points out that "*otherness* is fundamentally about cultural denigration and exclusion whereas difference speaks to patterns of social disadvantage". Kevin's identity is very different to the *other* who is culturally different to himself. Kevin belongs to the white working class who have been economically disadvantaged, exploited and impoverished by a capitalist economic order and its elite. How has Kevin's experiences resulted in a racist attitude?

The narrative reveals that since leaving full time education Kevin has been "*churned*" (Shildrick, 2015, p. 7). Kevin as a welfare claimant attending *employability* programmes supplies a precarious labour market that offers poor quality work that is low waged, non-unionised and insecure. He is part of a pool of cheap labour, to be called upon to supply the market when it dictates, and to be disposed of when no longer required. In doing so he is socially controlled and crushed between the state and capitalism.

Kevin and other learners in this study have actively been seeking work for between one and eight years since their last insecure job was terminated. All learners expressed concern that through the employability programme no matter how hard they try they are going nowhere. The learners have moved from being exploited in supplying the market through insecure work to being discarded – excluded from the market altogether. Kevin and two other learners are now experiencing poor mental health. Kevin and others have withdrawn in a social sense as the relative poverty within which they live excludes them from engagement with the civic life of their communities.

Bauman (2004, p. 40–41) describes such loss as:

> *The production of human waste or 'wasted humans' – humans who are no longer necessary for the completion of the economic cycle and thus impossible to accommodate within a social framework resonant with the capitalist economy.*

A contributing factor as to why Kevin and others are churning since leaving school and into middle age may be due to receiving a poor education when attending comprehensive schools that left them with no qualifications and little confidence.

The educational system, in seeking to raise the achievement of all children, "has continued to become preoccupied with *testing and assessment* and this continues to position working class children with no academic success and in an insecure predicament on leaving comprehensive school" (Reay, 2006, p. 303) Kevin's life story and that of others in this study give testimony to this as they left with literacy difficulties and nothing of value in the way of qualifications. Comprehensive education had fixed these working class boys by the time they left school as having no value.

The negative experiences of their comprehensive education where they were treated as outsiders by a middle class educational system, has in adulthood, shifted position to becoming *fixed* as "outcasts on the inside" through a privatised system of lifelong learning (Bourdieu and Champagne cited in Reay, 2006, p. 298). Kevin and other learners in the study are resigned and do not oppose the conditional requirements of the welfare to work programme but conform to its requirements. They are not in control of this situation but must bend to it, which leads to feelings of inner discontent at their oppressive situation. They expressed feelings of *frustration* and struggle at repeatedly having their time controlled and yet not becoming employable. Because of these opposing contradictions of bending to state power (the oppressor) and having feelings of not being in control of their situation, this has apparently resulted in some cases of the oppressed (the learners) adopting attitudes and behaviour more akin to that of an oppressor. In these cases of racial discrimination these learners take on the role of the oppressor and treat *others* of an immigrant identity differently. In becoming the oppressor in this way these learners' it could be argued have brought about *"horizontal violence"* (Freire, 1972, p. 38) at neighbourhood level.

Kevin was so deeply concerned that the arrival of outsiders with an Islamic faith could have an adverse effect on his family that he demonstrated against a small mosque being opened in a nearby village. This racist protest was reported in the *Northern Echo* (Morris, 2013, November 9) and explained that this was not the building of a mosque but an Islamic learning centre. In this case Kevin as a learner is racially discriminating against those of a different race who wish to learn:

> *About 200 English Defence League supporters took to the streets of Shotton Colliery in a protest against plans to build an Islamic learning centre in the former mining village, of Shotton in east Durham.*

Horizontal violence is being produced by the forces of vertical violence, as poor people oppress one another when an opportunity to oppress arises.

Vertical oppression is described as the top-to-bottom use of state power to control people through economic and social policies and practices that also control the way people think, and thus behave (Freire, 1972). The fear and anxiety generated through the strict and conditional requirements of the *'employability'* programme creates an ideology of individualism and individualisation, of looking after oneself to ensure one creates an identity to become employable. If obtaining work is curtailed in anyway then the oppressed learner oppresses the *'other'* who is culturally different from them rather than deepening the analysis.

Populist identities emerge in situations where multiple demands addressed to particular institutional actors go unmet (Laclau, 2005). In Kevin's case and others since leaving school their employment needs had never been met through meaningful work and a living wage. Kevin had witnessed for many years the physical and social demise of his former colliery village where socio-economic needs remained unmet. His efforts to relocate his family to better housing and a safer community was achieved without council support. If "democratic demands" such as employment, housing, decline of communities, continue to be unmet by the state this, "marks the beginning of the conversion of democratic demands into populist demands...that oppose a common adversary" (Laclau, 2005, p. 73).

The overall result is those remaining fixed as '*outsiders on the inside* through the *employability* programme which is a model of social control is in these cases not working. Instead it is leading to social and economic exclusion and the intensification of horizontal violence.

Loyalty and voice

In this study, loyalty to the community can be seen as a form of support and nurturing as a resource for finding a voice. But this does not simply happen. It was purposeful intervention – by different forms of adult education – that enabled loyalty and voice to be developed. In this case community education reinvigorated Theresa's life and gave her a sense of purpose.

The ontological insecurity affecting Theresa had affected her sense of self and her capacity to act. Ontological insecurity had become a form of social control in her life as fear of the past still resonated in the present. Theresa's story requires our understanding of the effects of de– industrialisation and ontological insecurity on women's mental health and the need for a welfare state, not austerity measures, when women are in crisis. Theresa's story discloses that kinship was an effective survival strategy for families in the face of economic difficulties for mutual aid and emotional support. A key effect of the loss of kinship is social isolation and a culture of individualism. Theresa's story points out that she found a new form of kinship through the voluntary and community sector that provided a different community education model whereby women could begin to reclaim back their lives and their respectability.

Theresa's story reveals that she challenged not only a dominant working class patriarchal culture of oppression that has caused psychic damage but also poor education which is part of her cultural capital that restricted her life opportunities and left her feeling inferior and demoralised from the age of 11. Little consideration was given in schools to working class pupils such as Theresa. They were expected to perform with the same degree of confidence as middle class children and aspire to middle class aspirations. When they did not they were cast aside as having no value. For Theresa this experience marginalized her educationally and economically until she reached the women's centre in her late forties. Community education has liberated Theresa from her feelings of low self –esteem.

According to Reay (2009, p. 24–26):

> *this lack of confidence and feelings of inferiority were the consequence of over a 100 years of state schooling that did not value the working class and so today the inferior other resonates in the present.*

Class has been produced in these communities by a powerful political elite, who have devalued working class lives through de-industrialisation and neoliberal policies of welfare reform, and employment policies that support capitalists rather than workers. Fixed in these de-industrialised areas Theresa's story explains that deindustrialisation had not only disorientated her life and devalued her, but also demoralised her through a poor working class education. Through a process of subjectification the political elite and media circulates derogatory opinions in order to shame welfare claimants and de-industrialised communities.

For Theresa subjectification began in primary school and left her with little confidence and feelings of failure that she carried in her psyche into adulthood. Through subjectification, the ruling elite have created differences within the working class between those who are respectable and those who are non-respectable. The respectable working class are the ones who comply with a neoliberal labour market and have exchange value. Shame is imposed on those who do not achieve employment – the non-respectable working class. Theresa has refuted this ideology and has found a different way to becoming respectable. Once educated through community adult education she has resisted being "devalued" (Skeggs, 2009, p. 38) and as her story reveals she has "use-value" (Skeggs, 2013, p. 2) by rebuilding the social fabric of her community.

Kinship had been replaced by a new community model found at a voluntary sector, women's learning and support centre, that provided women-only safe places where Theresa and others acted as a lifeline to each other and shared their past destructive experiences with each other and participated in counselling and listening support services and community education. Here Theresa was a citizen who had something to contribute to others and her community. She challenged the traditional assumptions about women's roles in a de-industrialised culture. In doing so she used the opportunity to turn her life around from being a victim to being a survivor, by reclaiming her independence and respectability and, ultimately, her voice.

According to Hill Collins (2000, p. 101):

> *Safe places are prime locations for women to resist the dominant culture's definition of them ... and provide the opportunity for self-definition which is the power to name one's own reality.*

Once educated, Theresa began to show her loyalty to this women's learning community by rebuilding the lives of others. Through loyalty, Theresa has come to see some degree of control over a situation that she once thought was beyond her control.

Conclusion

This study has applied Hirschman's (1970) theory of *Exit, Loyalty, and Voice* to a community setting. In doing so, the study reveals how the distinctions between '*exit, loyalty and voice*' can be conceived quite differently from its original context.

The *employability* programme and the liberating models of community education create very different subjectivities as a consequence of a very different curriculum and pedagogy. *Employability* programmes are not working as they do not provide *exit t*o work. Instead they weaken a learner's subjectivity as they *exit* in a social sense having become economically and socially excluded from the labour market and community. In Kevin's case this has led to the intensification of horizontal violence through racism. This is in contrast to the experience of learners in community education. Through its liberating models, community education produces a new subjectivity of one who is empowered to take control and bring about change in their life and that of others through loyalty and voice. In doing so, loyalty is not only linked to reclaiming one's respectability but also having more control over one's life; that is to say, finding a voice. Community education has, through loyalty and voice, diminished *exit* thus strengthening communities and mobilising them for social action thus "preventing deterioration from becoming cumulative" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 79). Alternatively, the *employability* programme diminished loyalty and voice, as its learners exited in a social sense which "prevents recuperation of communities" (Hirschman, 1970, p. 120).

By delimiting (fixing) adult education in favour of the economic model, an adult education which only analyses people's experiences in terms of their surface experiences, is inadequate. It requires a deeper level of understanding that factors in history, the experiences of communities and the wider social, political and economic context in which they are situated. However, just deepening the analysis without confronting its surface appearances is also inadequate. The mutation of historical and structural changes on how people articulate their experiences in ways that promote horizontal violence is the challenge of our times.

Given these findings community education needs to be brought back from the edge into mainstream education.

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RECOGNITION OF PRIOR LEARNING: BETWEEN SOCIAL JUSTICE AND PRIVATISATION OF EDUCATION

Abstract

In the lifelong and lifewide learning perspective, recognition of prior learning (RPL) is an important option for adults who have learned in non-structured contexts or in out-of-school programs. RPL has the potential to give access to a secondary or a postsecondary degree, but also to give normative value to family, community, work-based knowledge and competencies gained in informal or non-formal settings. Twenty years ago, adults' educators or some researchers insisted on RPL contribution to the emancipation of adults who did not have full opportunities to obtain a diploma, especially a postsecondary one (Spencer & Kelly, 2005). Some of them still argue that RPL can contribute to empowerment and social justice (Singh, 2015). Our conceptual framework about educational access is inspired by Sen capabilities approach (e.g. Sen, 1999). The aim of this paper is to explore RPL services at the secondary level (general and vocational) as emblematic practices to understand the actual transformation of the adult learning field. It is based on a systematic review about the role of RPL in increasing schooling access, retention and success of adults with no qualifying diploma (Bélisle & Fernandez, 2018). The final sample consists of 120 documents, in French and in English, which describes the RPL process at secondary, college or undergraduate university programs and adults' participation. Half of those documents include information about RPL at the secondary level and they are the focus of this chapter.

Keywords: recognition of prior learning (RPL), social justice, lifelong learning, cohabitation of rationales

Public policy in adult education in Québec

Although Québec is part of the Canadian federation, it has a strong Francophone identity –French is the official language–, and schooling, work-based training and employment are under Québec jurisdiction. Their modes of organization are significantly different in the other nine Canadian provinces and three territories. The same applies to legislation, policies and practices in adult education and in recognition of prior learning (RPL). Among the population of 8.4 million, about 80% are 18 years old and over (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2019). In 2015, 13% of adults between the ages of 25 and 64 have no diploma, down from 24% in 2002 (Institut de la statistique du Québec, 2015).

In 2002, the Québec government adopted the Government Policy on Adult Education and Continuing Education and Training (Gouvernement du Québec, 2002), inspired by the Declaration of the Fifth UNESCO International Conference on Adult Education, the CONFINTEA 5 in Hamburg, in order to promote the development of a culture of lifelong learning/education in Quebec. The policy asserts that

> people's access to knowledge and learning throughout their lives is one of the conditions for cultural, social and economic development. The actions undertaken by the government to combat poverty and social exclusion can have lasting effects only if people enhance and update their competencies, especially when their basic education is lacking. (p. 1)

With that policy, the government had committed to "taking aggressive action toward the official recognition of adults' prior learning and competencies" (p. 25). Official RPL at secondary school level, embedded in the law since 1988 (Education Act, 2019), is intended to promote access to a first diploma or a first qualification and is seen as a "major lever in the dynamics of lifelong learning" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2002, p. 21).

But fifteen years later, RPL has not been shown to be the hoped-for means of social inclusion. For example, in 2015–2016 in general adult education only 15.4% of adult learners obtained some credits without having to follow a course. In vocational education only 5.3% of all registered students accessed RPL services (MEES, 2017). The few Department of Education statistics showed that only 27% of people involved in RPL in vocational education did not already hold a first diploma or certificate (MEES, 2015). The remainder of people in RPL either hold a Secondary School Diploma (12 years of schooling); a first Diploma of Vocational Studies; a secondary or a postsecondary diploma from an another country in the same field; or, in the case of reorientation or rehabilitation a postsecondary diploma in an another field.

Returning to a systematic review (Bélisle & Fernandez, 2018), our aim in this paper is to explore RPL services at the secondary school level (general and vocational) as emblematic practices to understand the current transformation in the adult education field in OECD countries. Twenty years ago, adult educators and some researchers insisted on the importance of RPL to the emancipation of those adults lacking access to the full range of opportunities needed to obtain a diploma (Spencer & Kelly, 2005). Some still argue that RPL can contribute to empowerment and social justice (Singh, 2015). Taking the same posture, inspired by Sen's capability approach (e.g. 2004; 2005), this paper will summarize the findings of empirical studies, published since 2001. We will report what they say about RPL at the secondary school level as an opportunity for adults to pursue what they would like to do and to live and as a contribution to their empowerment in the current social context marked by neoliberal economies.

Welfare state, neoliberalism and capability

Welfare and neoliberal states

For the purpose of discussion, we will support the idea that the welfare state plays a central role in ensuring the well-being and the security of the population and that its public policies and programmes are based on an ideal of social justice for all, taking into account peoples' needs in all domains of life. Its ideal is to provide everyone opportunities to learn in public settings with financial help from the state.

> The universal objectives of welfare states are to prevent extreme poverty and hunger, guarantee social security when there is no market income (unemployment, sickness, old age, accident) by providing substantial welfare support, and also preventing social exclusion, mainly by free access to schools and by eliminating educational disparities; further, the aims are to promote gender equality and empower women, and to reduce the gap between rich and poor people as well as wealthier and poorer regions, and also to ensure fair taxation. (Eißel, Leaman, & Rokicka, 2014, p. 2).

Welfare state policies also aim to contribute to a more skilled workforce and to increase productivity (Eißel et al. 2014). Facing multiple demographic, social, economic and cultural challenges, welfare states went through crisis and, in many regions of the world, neoliberal views now tend to dominate the political agenda. Those neoliberal views are based on the idea that state should have a limited regulatory role and that services to the population would cost less and be more efficient if offered by the private sector. Individual responsibility for security and well-being is central to this view and when applied to adult education research, it can be associated by some authors to a lifelong learning paradigm where "learning is seen as an individual entity.

Capability approach

One of the main ideas of Sen's capability approach is that even if states have laws, regulations and social programmes, and introduce new resources to support social and individual changes, access to those resources is not the same for all. Embedded in a quest for social justice, this approach pays specific attention to the issue of access to resources. Access is based on freedom of choice, of both the process and the opportunity aspects, and conversion factors that contribute, with a range of variability, to the transformation by the people of those resources into functionings (Sen, 2004; 2005). Capability is "the opportunity to achieve valuable combinations of human functioning – what a person is able to do or be" (Sen, 2005, p. 153). Conversion factors are *personal,* that which refers to the characteristics of a person (e.g. sex, physical conditions, reading skills), *social* that which refers to relations with others, social infrastructures and societal cohesion (e.g. family, social services, practitioners, helpfulness of community) and *environmental* that which refers to the environment in which the person evolves (e.g. geographical location, climatic conditions, varying threats as high level of crime, disease outbreak) (Sen 2005). In our data, Lecourt (2011) is the only researcher who has analyzed RPL's empirical data with Sen's capability approach. We will not be able to go as far as she has because many of the articles in our sample do not touch on those aspects, but this general frame can help to structure our thinking on the current situation of RPL in OECD countries, between a social justice ideal and the privatization of education.

Methodology

In our initial literature review, the main inclusion criteria were: 1) studies about RPL in OECD countries and South Africa; 2) studies focussed on adults participation in a RPL process at one or more of these phases: information, identification, evaluation, further training and accreditation, in the credential RPL[1]; 3) studies which include adults without a qualifying diploma. We have worked in English and French on 10 major databases, edited books about RPL and on international organization websites collecting empirical publications since 2001. The final sample is based on 96 empirical studies (appearing in 120 documents). We used the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 2011 (UNESCO Institut for Statistics, 2012) to establish the schooling level of adults participating in an RPL process and the level of the diploma that they seek to obtain. Given that only three studies refer to ISCED (López, Cía, & Ariznabarretta, 2006; Fernandes, 2009; Recotillet & Werquin, 2009), we had to make the correspondences. Moreover, because many studies do not indicate the exact name of the diploma adults want to obtain, we had to estimate the ISCED level based on the available information in the article, and make links with the national ISCED mappings (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2019). ISCED was also used for classification of initial schooling of adults going through RPL process. Our final re-

1 We included RPL methods from what Butterworth called the "credit exchange model" and the "developmental model" (1992). RPL methods are diverse: exemptions, tests or exams, questionnaires, portfolios, petition-for-credit, descriptive booklets or leaflets, observations, interviews.

port is clear about the fact that RPL research is young and that results from one region cannot easily be compared to results from another (Bélisle & Fernandez, 2018). However, we argue that this portrait can help the Québec government to identify priorities in addition to helping researchers from different countries gradually develop common frameworks and language.

For this paper, we have selected 58 documents including information about RPL at the secondary school level and presenting results from 42 studies. Among them, 31 focus on vocational education, 8 on general secondary, one (1) deals with both general and vocational, and two (2) are large studies which include lower and upper secondary levels among others. The vast majority of the studies are qualitative (n=25), 9 are based on mixed methods and only 8 are quantitative with a very few having a big sample from administrative data. Studies in 11 countries are included: Australia, Canada, Denmark, Spain, France, Portugal, South Africa, Sweden, Switzerland, United Kingdom and United States. Portugal has the highest representation of studies in general adult education, whereas regarding vocational education France and Sweden have the highest representation.

Results

Resources

In some countries or territories, RPL at the secondary school level is an actual right, set down in a specific law on RPL (e.g. France) or within education legislation (e.g. Québec). More frequently, national policies or programmes support the establishment of RPL practices pursuing various goals, many of them labour market oriented but sometimes with larger aims. Those goals can be: supporting employee qualification with a view to preventing workforce shortages where the population is ageing (Andersson & Fejes, 2012); promoting social justice, equality in the workplace and the knowledge society (López et al., 2006); fostering lifelong learning (Bélisle, Michaud, Bourdon, & Rioux, 2014); promoting a flexible labor market and access to education and training for disadvantaged groups (Diedrich, 2012; Naidu, 2004); promoting social and professional integration (Havet, 2015). A complete description of RPL services, as resources for adults at the secondary school level, both general and vocational, would be too long for this paper. However, even if each state has its own process, we can identify common phases (Bélisle & Fernandez, 2018): 1) the information phase; 2) the identification of prior learning and competencies with linkage to an education programme and the appreciation of the RPL record by the institution to see if the adult can do the process (a first interview can happen to establish admissibility); 3) the evaluation/assessment phase; 4) if necessary, the further training phase to complete learning and the educational programme; 5) the accreditation phase. In some RPL processes, accompaniment, financial planning and help are transversal to some of those phases.

All those RPL services can be seen as possible resources for adults who have, in a non-formal or an informal context, acquired knowledge and developed competencies included in a school programme. The two next sections give an overview of the main personal and social conversion factors in our corpus, factors which can potentially contribute to transforming resources into functionings. As environmental factors do not often appear in our sample, because of our inclusion criteria focusing on adults' participation, this paper will not try to describe them.

Personal conversion factors

The general characteristics of the adults engaged in RPL are not detailed in many studies, severely hampering our ability to distinguish people who are accessing RPL and therefore to make comparisons. However, characteristics about sex, age, occupation and number of years on the job market are more frequent. Belonging to a specific group, for example being a migrant, a refugee, a member of racial/ethnic group is mentioned in many studies (e.g. Andersson & Osman, 2008; Astier, 2008; Diedrich, 2012; 2013), but in a general way and we cannot document the effective participation in RPL process from that information. Other characteristics such as marital status, number of children at home, income levels, learning difficulties are rare. A small number of studies provide information on initial educational level or qualification from the labor market (e.g. sanitary certificate). Some only note when people do not have formal vocational education without specifying their educational background (e.g. Nilsson, Andrén, & Engström, 2014). Miguel, Ornelas and Maroco (2016) have stressed the importance of documenting RPL participants' initial educational levels, motivation and type of relationship with staff, as important predictors of RPL positive results.

But even if all these population characteristics are not systematically documented, it appears that adults are not equal within the RPL process and that not many states take action to reach specific underprivileged groups, adults without a first diploma, for example. If in general education, all adults going through the RPL process are without a first diploma (Bélisle et al., 2014; Cavaco, 2009; Fernandes & Santos, 2012a; Lima & Guimarães, 2016; Miguel et al., 2016), it should be noted that those who have been to school for a longer period and who do not have learning difficulties seem to be the first ones who benefit from RPL and they get through the process faster and with greater confidence. In vocational education, situations are more diverse. Many seem to have a general secondary diploma or a first qualifying diploma but not in the field where they did the RPL process. Moreover, some studies indicate that people with a first diploma have better chance of completing the process (Presse, 2004) and obtaining a professional diploma through RPL compared to those adults who dropped out of school very early in their educational pathways (Recotillet & Werquin, 2008). Clearly, having a first qualification contributes positively to the RPL process (Lecourt, 2011).

In some studies, and particularly in France, more women than men participate in RPL. For example, in a sample of 18941 RPL candidates (all levels), 75% are women (Havet, 2015), in another, 88% of the 5000 people are women (Lecourt, 2011). However, more research has concentrated on sectors where women are very well represented (e.g. childcare, elderly care, health care, domestic work, etc.), especially in France and in Sweden (e.g. Astier, 2008; Sandberg, 2012), but some studies comprise a majority of men (e.g. Héon & Goyer, 2011). One study indicates that men's RPL record have a better chance of being positively evaluated than women's (Havet, 2014).

RPL participants range in age from 17 to 60. In vocational education, being older positively influences the final decision: older adults fare better than their younger counterparts (Havet, 2014; 2015), but the number of years' experience in a field seems to be more important than age (Lecourt, 2011). Andersson and Osman (2008) show that among immigrants, RPL practices can have an inclusive or exclusive effect, especially during the assessment/evaluation phase. Naidu (2004) notes that when the process is not in their native language, RPL participants experience a barrier.

Regarding the socio-economic background of RPL participants, studies show that even though working pathways are varied, the majority, in a large range of studies, are employees at the moment they undertake the RPL process. Some come from precarious employment, have experienced periods of unemployment (e.g. Morand-Aymon, 2004), and are in a precarious situation (Astier, 2008; Bélisle & Rioux, 2016; Pinte, Le Squère, & Fischer-Lokou, 2012). Compared to unemployed adults, those who are employed while in the RPL process have a better chance of being considered by the institution, of finding easier the assessment process and of achieving better results (e.g. Havet, 2015). Still and all, participating in a RPL process, and earning a diploma or a certificate, might nevertheless help unemployed people find a job under certain conditions (Recotillet & Werquin, 2008; 2009). A participant's number of years of experience in the field of the diploma can also be a conversion factor, but Lecourt (2011) observe that after 10 years, the chance of success in the RPL process decrease.

Reading and writing during the RPL process is the object of two studies (Astier, 2008; Bélisle & Rioux, 2016) and mentioned in a few others (e.g. Diedrich, 2013; Fernandes & Santos, 2012b). Furthermore, Bernaud, Ardouin, Leroux and Declercq (2009) show that those adults who complete the process generally have greater feelings of self-efficacy than those who quit the process before reaching the assessment phase. A participant's capacity to manage emotions seems to be critical in some RPL processes. For example, studies note that during the process, some adults feel anxious, doubt themselves (e.g. Bélisle et al., 2014; Hamer, 2013), experience fear of failure and feelings of low self-esteem (Bureau & Tuchszirer, 2010). Hence, emotional self-regulation can contribute positively to achieving peoples' goals. Accompaniment practices are also crucial (see next section) to success.

Personal rationales for committing to the RPL process are also important. The most frequently documented is the hope of career advancement (e.g. internal mobility within an organization or their field, new responsibilities or a new function, obtaining a salary increase or improved working conditions). Other rationales are protection and stabilization of one's professional situation, and re-orientation (Kogut-Kubiak, Morin, Personnaz, Quintero, & Séchaud, 2006) and, finally, enhanced self-recognition or social recognition and valorisation of one's personal and professional journey (e.g. Hamer, 2013; Pinte et al., 2012). For example, some adults seek social recognition for their contribution to collective well-being over many years of professional practice, without a diploma (e.g. Astier, 2008).

Of course, personal conversion factors vary widely among RPL participants and the collective knowledge needs to be improved in order to ascertain with a degree of certainty, which are significant. However, we can infer that adults (those confident in their competencies, who studied longer at the secondary or postsecondary levels, who are familiar with school procedures and staff, who continue to read and write after schooling) are able to transform RPL resources into functionings and obtain partial or complete recognition for their prior learning. Moreover, it seems that some adults, for example those with low literacy skills, are not in the most favorable position to transform RPL resources into functionings. However, various social conversion factors can counterbalance this disadvantage, which is the subject of the next section.

Social conversion factors

Our results show that several actors contribute (directly or indirectly) to the achievement of the RPL process, but not all studies in our corpus examine this aspect. Lecourt (2011), the only researcher whose analysis included conversion factors, found that informal moral support is an important factor in the success of the RPL process. In her sample, 60% benefitted kind of support. If gender and prior participation in some professional training have been identified as personal conversion factors, moral support plays an even more significant role, as do financial help and employer involvement, all of which are social conversion factors. This relates to other findings. For example, employer support of the RPL process whether by facilitating the organization of a collective RPL and allowing several employees to participate at their own pace (e.g. Bureau et al., 2010) or by covering some of the cost of the process (Andersson, 2006) has a positive impact in the functionings. In fact, employer participation reduces the risk of participants' withdrawal (Lecourt, 2011). However, sometimes adults pursue the process without telling their employer, for example when they want to leave in favour of better conditions somewhere. Support from peers, family members or friends' can help the person identify their prior learning and competencies or encourage them to complete the process (Bélisle & Rioux, 2016; Miguel et al., 2016). Based on Honneth's work on recognition, Sandberg and Kubiak (2013) also highlight that, along with official RPL, adults can experience recognition from family members or friends "who voiced belief in the participants' abilities, offered moral support and were prepared to accommodate financial hardship" (p. 361). This informal moral support during the process improves the likelihood of success (Bernaud et al., 2009) and of certification/qualification (Lecourt, 2011).

Depending on the country and the jurisdiction, different organizations and different professionals (e.g. counsellor, teacher, and assessor) will be involved in the RPL processes. Though sources of information are multiple, there is nevertheless a lack of public awareness of RPL (Andersen & Laugesen, 2012). Knowing someone who completed the process and has attained a personal goal is a positive factor. However, if that person had a bad RPL experience, that can be a decisive factor in dropping out (Mayen & Pin, 2013). During the first interview between a potential candidate and a professional, the professional seeks to know whether or not the candidate has the right the profile to undertake the process (Cavaco, 2009). This can enable mutual understanding, but the contrary can also happen. The path to RPL services is not an easy one (Pinte et al., 2012; Salini, 2013). The information itself can be complex and sometimes the procedure is confused with other training practices or modes of evaluation (Salini, 2013). The institutional vocabulary and words such as skills, competencies and experience (Mayen & Tourmen, 2009) and the different phases of the process seem to be very complex for some adults (Mazade, 2008; Presse, 2004). Adults who have accessed the necessary information at the beginning of the process have better chances of completing it (Havet, 2014). Studies show that many potential candidates give up at this initial stage (e.g. Kogut-Kubiak et al., 2006; Lecourt, 2011; Presse, 2004).

Accompaniment by a professional may or may not be included in RPL services, it might be optional, free of charge or come with fees, it might be offered by a public service or privately. Despite the fact that accompaniment contributes to the success of the process, big differences in the offer are observed among institutions and regions (Havet, 2014; Recotillet & Werquin, 2008). Participants have expressed a need for personalized accompaniment in order to prepare for the assessment (Bernaud et al., 2009) and a lack of accompaniment contributes to their dropping out. The counselor[2] plays a key role in helping adults put their competencies into words and to strengthen their critical thinking about the development of their competencies (Bélisle et al., 2014; Bureau & Tuchszirer, 2010; Fernandes & Santos, 2012a). On the contrary, a lack of support and delays

2 In some studies, counsellors are teachers or named as mentors.

in getting answers can lead to dropping the process (Bernaud et al., 2009; Kogut-Kubiak et al., 2006). This kind of support is particularly crucial for people without a diploma (Presse, 2004).

The role of the professional and the assessment tools being used are also crucial. Many problems occurred at the assessment phase of the process. Here a few examples. Sometimes the expected levels of knowledge or of competencies do not correspond to the programme which gives access to a diploma, sometimes juries expect more from RPL candidates than from regular students in the programme and sometimes the methods used are simply not appropriate (e.g. Andersson, 2006). The elaboration of assessment's tools are very challenging, as well as the collaboration across institutions (Andersen & Laugesen, 2012). Some assessors find it difficult to evaluate and identify which competencies have been mobilized over an adult' lifecourse (Fernandes & Santos, 2012a). Some jury members make candidates uncomfortable by asking questions not related to the desired diploma or certification (Doniol-Shaw, 2011). In some situations, an interpreter is needed in order to validate meaning (Diedrich, 2012). Members of juries are concerned by the accuracy of the documented experience and by the equitable treatment of all candidates (Mayen & Tourmen, 2009). Different jury members draw on different reference systems, which either favor or disadvantage different RPL candidates. Hamer (2013) observed that the adults describe their assessors as warm or friendly which implies that the assessment process was none threatening. Assessors' attitudes towards participants can contribute to positive experiences (e.g. Hamer, 2013) or, on the contrary, to negatives ones (e.g. Pinte et al., 2012).

Financial capacity, delays between the phases and planning further individual training in order to obtain full accreditation, in addition to overall organization and evaluation (Andersson, 2006; Bélisle & Rioux, 2016; Lecourt, 2011) are all important social conversion factors.

Discussion

Our research results allow us to assert that RPL at the secondary school level can be an opportunity for adults to pursue their personal or professional goals, but our data are not sufficient to conclude that the process contributes to their empowerment. Our analysis may need to be taken with caution, given that both the RPL systems and the methodologies of the different studies in our sample are themselves quite different and that we applied Sen's approach in a general manner. However, we do observe that adults in different OECD countries do not enjoy the same freedom of choice during the course of the RPL process. Our corpus is not sufficient to identify which RPL measures provide the best opportunities but we can at least see that social factors, such as accompaniment, can positively counterbalance certain personal factors that are known to reduce the chances of success (e.g. not having a first diploma in RPL in vocational education programmes).

The implementation of RPL at the secondary school level is a good example of the cohabitation of different rationales for action on the part of stakeholders, practitioners and RPL candidates. For instance, the argument that RPL can shorten time in the classroom is central in many of the RPL practices documented in our corpus. This argument can be interpreted as a neoliberal cost-saving rationale, but when accompaniment is offered by a public institution it can also be viewed as an emergent practice, one where adults learn in more concrete ways, consolidate their knowledge and competencies, therefore contributing to their empowerment. In a way, some RPL practices can be associated to the andragogic dream (Bélisle & Mottais, 2018), where counselors and teachers take into account what each adult already knows in order to support their continuing education and learning.

In this discussion, it seems important to distinguish what is going on in RPL secondary school general education from what is happening in RPL in vocational education programmes. The few empirical studies about RPL in adult general education indicate that there are concrete actions being taken to help adults earn a first diploma. But for now, tests in regular school subjects seem to be more popular than a process which has the potential to attribute normative value to family, community, work-based knowledge and competencies gained in informal or non-formal settings or to consolidate adults' basic learning. For example, in Québec (Bélisle et al., 2014) not many counselors present the RPL process to candidates in a developmental perspective. Most place the emphasis on obtaining credits, even if both perspectives cohabitate. If it has been shown that community organizations can help adults improve basic competencies, such as reading and writing (Bélisle, Roy, & Mottais, 2019), it is not clear that links have been established yet between those organizations and official RPL's institutions in general education at the secondary school level.

In vocational education, in many countries, particularly the United States, the focus seems also to be on the fact that RPL helps to obtain a diploma or some certification, with fast-track exams for learning from non-formal and informal contexts as the private sector. In Europe, the idea that the RPL process can help consolidate knowledge acquired in non-formal and informal contexts as well as contribute to qualification seems to be more present. However, if the formative or developmental dimension of the RPL process is present in some studies at the secondary school level, for example in Portugal, it is less often mentioned there than it is in RPL at postsecondary levels (Bélisle & Fernandez, 2018).

As we point out elsewhere (e.g. Bélisle, 2004; Bélisle et al., 2014), the general discourse on lifelong learning is not a homogenous one. The same is true of the discourse on RPL. Lifelong learning is frequently associated with human capital theory (Barros, 2012) which promotes human adaptation to globalization, competition and productivity. However, we find some discourse on lifelong learning coherent with the goals of a strong human development perspective. In 1996, Delors' report illustrated the quest for a compromise, making such a cohabitation acceptable. Talking about "learning throughout life" in the English version and about "éducation tout au long de la vie" in the French one, it was seen by some commentators as "a counterbalance to the discourse that affirms that education systems must first of all be at the service of the economic growth of countries" (Canadian Commission for UNESCO, 1997, p. 5).

Yet, if RPL's contribution to social justice is to be fully realized, it appears critical to find ways to document adults' initial schooling and other personal, social and environmental factors and thus to better understand which of these factors contribute to the effective transformation of resources and to empowerment. This is crucial to transforming intuitions or beliefs about the potential of RPL to improve education at collective and individual levels into documented fact. This knowledge is necessary if we are not to leave RPL to the prophets of economic globalization. If RPL is not to be yet another rationale for reducing public investment in education, for opening the door wide to the merchandising of education and training and for reducing the role of public institutions to the testing and recognition of prior knowledge and competencies developed elsewhere.

Conclusion

This paper explores RPL services at the secondary school level (general and vocational) as emblematic practices in order to understand the current cohabitation of social justice goals with trends towards privatization of adult education. RPL is a young field of practice and research, its development happening in the context of that cohabitation. We hope this paper stimulates dialogue with critical RPL researchers from other countries. RPL research needs to be improved to know more about the impact of RPL, in general and vocational education, in all domains of life, family, school, work, leisure, political engagement and others. We must read scholars from other countries and refer to prior work on RPL, even if adult education systems vary enormously from one country to another. Without that common knowledge base, how can we pretend that adults can transform RPL resources into functionings for their greater empowerment?

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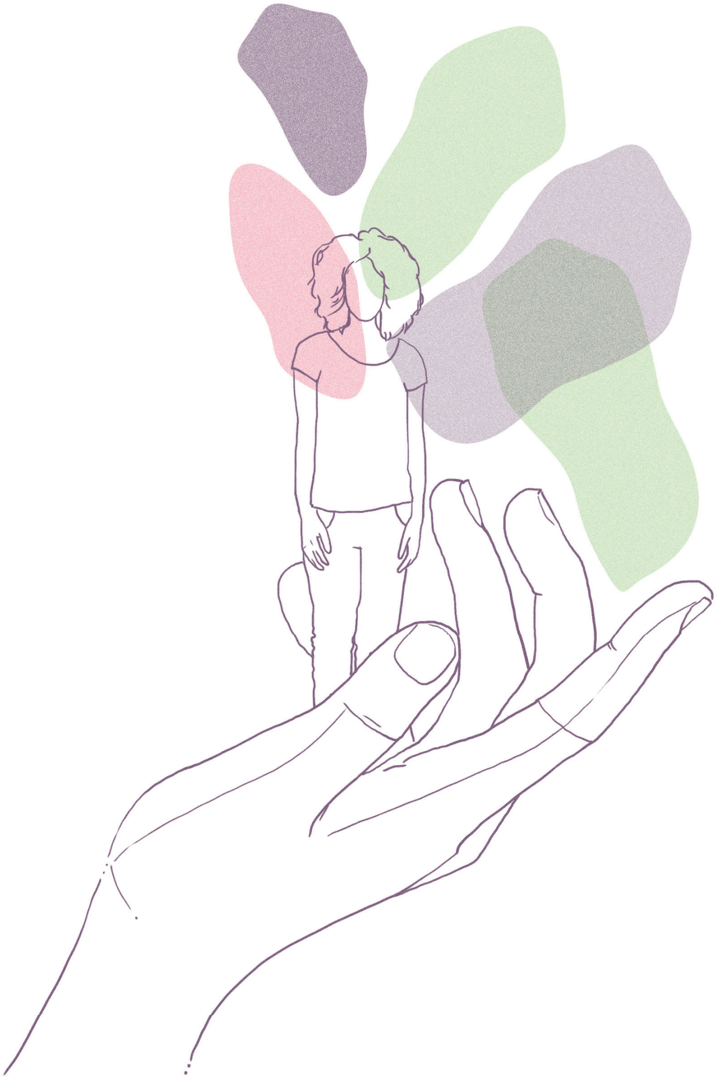

EMBRACING INCLUSION AND VULNERABLE GROUPS WITH ADULT EDUCATION — SEEKING NEW HORIZONS

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REVERSING THE NEOLIBERAL AGENDA IN TIMES OF CRISES: UNIVERSITIES EDUCATING SOCIALLY VULNERABLE ADULTS

Abstract

During the last decades, a peculiar dialectic between Higher Education and the educational prevalence of lifelong learning has been developed.The development of lifelong learning structures in Higher Education comprises a constitutive part of the modern conception of the constant need to increase and bring up to date knowledge and study credentials and qualifications as a way to acquire professional and economic gains. On this basis, Higher Education programs emerge as the necessary scientific and research background for the promotion of lifelong learning goals.The paper aims to challenge the extent to which Higher Education manages to respond successfully to the call of the neoliberal *Zeitgeist* to serve the demands of lifelong learning, whether it has succumbed to the sheer need of its survival and, hence, offers analogous programs, activities, and studies. The agenda of Higher Education for lifelong learning programs addressed to the socially vulnerable should take account of an inter-disciplinary approach to respond to the needs and interests of the vulnerable adults. By responding to the major educational and social challenges in a manner that pays justice to the empowering and liberating *telos* of education and by encouraging and the constant education of the educators, it finally serves the interests of the philosophy of social inclusion.

Keywords: vulnerable adult, lifelong learning, neoliberalism, higher education

Introduction

Lifelong learning is considered as a process that activates an innate element of human organisms. It describes, explains and justifies all of our theoretical and practical activities on both subjective and inter-subjective levels. Nevertheless, the transition bears the marks of an undeniable shrinking of the scope of its original meaning. What is particularly disturbing and pernicious for human learning and education is the instrumental use, abuse and management of human's rational capabilities in an attempt to serve the needs of strict economic professionalism and a marketing ethos. This has been rendered possible by the withdrawal of the formative and edifying effect of the educational, the political, and the institutional.

The last three decades, Higher Education has been seen as a boundless world, a kind of womb that gives birth to attractive intellectual possibilities. The Humboldtian vision (Daston, 2010; Krull, 2005) of the University is perhaps the best expression of an educational institution responsible for endowing modern individuals with ethos and honesty, modesty and a certain awareness of themselves and the world. Today, "Education is defined more than ever by its manic embrace of change, by hyperactivity and acceleration. Characteristically, as students and as educators, we remain unclear about what we are accelerating into." (Allen & Goddard, 2017, p. 203). The dialectic exercises an informative influence on the design and materialization of various educational programs. Amid this neoliberal agenda, the education of vulnerable adult groups is, surprisingly or not, an area with ever-increasing educational, social, and institutional significance for Higher Education. The literature suggests that adult participation in lifelong learning programs is influenced by factors such as age, the already existing educational background, and the socio-economic status. In addition, people who belong to socially vulnerable groups, such as homeless, refugees, immigrants, released from prisons and generally people struggling to be re-positioned in societies, are not identified as the typical public that is attracted by adult education programs, particularly in those cases in which vulnerable people are not bearers of positive past educational experiences (McGivney, 1993, p. 14–16).

Our main question to be answered is whether Higher Education grants those who are underprivileged and, perhaps, alienated by the most significant objective dimensions of the modern world. We attempt to find out which are the basic tenets of an agenda of Higher Education for lifelong learning programs addressed to the socially vulnerable in order to be effective for all its participants. Lastly, we stress the fact that Higher Education goals should be inspired by the broader educational philosophy of educational inclusion and social cohesion in order to make an attempt to reverse the neoliberal trend.

The neoliberal agenda and its impact on Higher Education

Our first aim is to highlight the characteristics of the neoliberal agenda and their impact on higher education. Exposing the ideology and the practices of neoliberalism are certainly not new. As Finlayson (2012) notes that the 1985 Jarratt Report for British tertiary education recommended that universities adopt an 'internal' market together with associated management structures of cost centers and centralized management decision-making. Even the World Bank, in its 1998 report, stresses the realization of the neoliberal ideal. Specifically, Johnstone (1998) suggested that underlying the market orientation of higher education is the ascendance, almost worldwide, of market capitalism and the principles of neo-liberal economics. Despite the impact of the recent economic crisis on European Union countries and the imposition of economic monetary easing policies on IMF member states such as Greece, Ireland and, Portugal, the debate has returned to a level of both reviewing and critically analyzing the current situation. This tendency has shown that the neoliberal strategy formula has been, frequently, hidden behind other political ideologies.

As neoliberalism emerged and prevailed, it became clear that its goal was not to eliminate governments' powers, but rather to harness them into tools for the interests of unfettered markets. One has to admit that the idea of a minimal state or the state as a night watchman of which Nozick spoke in his *Anarchy, State and Utopia* is nowadays a myth or an option which is hardly actually pursued. Central to the concept of the skills agenda pursued by (cryptic) neoliberal governments is human capital and its universal exploitation. Neoliberal strategies have now also set the stage for higher education. Kopecký (2011) explains how neoliberalism emphasizes the economization of education and uses education to separate individuals in what is commonly viewed as a competitive meritocracy with fair opportunities for all. The debate is also transferred to education and educational policy, on both national and European levels. This approach goes against everything that embodies the basic axiom of the Humboldtian vision of the university. As modern individuals become consumptive subjectivities, modern students also become consumers of information to enter the workforce and miss what could foster their self-cultivation in terms of democratic citizenship. Higher Education is now distanced from the ideals of intellectual development and critical citizenship and represents the needs of the state and the moves of capital in the modern markets. Universities simply adapt the skills of professional workers to the labor market. Abendroth (2014), describes this as an illusion that neoliberalism builds for modern democracies. The continuous, deliberate reduction of teaching and research resources, the unilateral research methodology, and lending to educational policies of other countries without any evaluation of the educational research conducted in the state, institutes a problem of ineffectiveness of education in general and leads to a miserable standardization of university curricula. At the same time, the emphasis shifts from the quality of a system of higher education serving diverse needs to the placing of individual institutions within a global rank order of universities. Merriam and Grace (2011) plausibly wrote that, within neoliberal economies, knowledge is reduced to mere information, which renders it transferrable, replaceable, and disposable. These developments concern the entire span of teaching and research and constitute, therefore, a neoliberal knowledge regime that is organized to contribute to rendering higher education congruent with a global market-based knowledge economy. The latter is characterized by the widening of economic inequalities, whilst universities contribute to them substantially instead of opposing them.

A thorny issue concerns, of course, the stance of academics themselves who seem to have allowed (or being silently tolerant of) the unethical imposition of the neoliberal agenda. Classical 19th-century liberalism idealized and naturalized 'the market' as a realm of freedom. In this way, neoliberal policies have been hidden in other ideological formats and managed to pass into the field of higher education as well. Slaughter and Leslie (1997), pose the problem of academic capitalism. As the university staff is still largely state-funded, they are increasingly driven into entrepreneurial competition for external funds that are even defined as marked targets by some institutions in Europe. Michael Useem (1984) developed the concept of institutional capitalism to appraise these changes and argued that welfare state retrenchment was largely the deliberate product of an organizational network linking together most large corporations, a trend that constituted a new stage of neoliberal development. The neoliberal marketization strategies should be understood as both ideological and material. The sophisticated quantitative measurements of educational efficiency, accountability, and quality as progress in economic terms are characterized as the institutional elements of neoliberal policy for higher education. The presentation of educational reforms as a universal need for reasons that enhance efficiency, broaden access, and minimize inequalities through the contradictory and paradoxical exploitation of the welfare state creates the veil of purity for this policy. Currently, the debate asks whether higher education itself can reverse the phenomenon of neoliberalism from within. The main purpose of this effort must be to promote the protection of the welfare state in a purely neoliberal environment. Kopecký's (2011) promotion of lifelong learning is a sound basis for combating neoliberalism and, at the same time, for defending the welfare state and the vulnerable members of society.

Lifelong learning schemes for the socially vulnerable: Challenging the needs and terms

No matter how much this is a rather unpleasant acknowledgement, it still remains an undeniable fact that social and educational research feeds on the existence of the socially vulnerable groups in versatile ways, whilst the latter experience a life of immense physical and ethical degradation. Of course, this does encourage research opportunities conducted in social sciences. To be fair, it is not research that should be terminated but decisive action, on the level of educational and social policy that could and should be taken in order to give an end to the aforementioned state and forms of degradation. The institutional existence of educational programs for the socially vulnerable amounts to the undeniable recognition on behalf of states to decrease the instances of social discrimination against particular groups. Although this predicament betrays many inadequacies on the level of policy, it may also be an indication of the fundamental weakness of educational and social sciences to continue to work in a creative and inventive spirit. In the era of postmodern lifelong learning (Usher, 2007), typical of the robust expansion of knowledge, the social sciences often exhaust their vision and methodologies to being simply reactive to unpleasant social facts or unpleasant political decisions and social developments, whereas they could and should move in a rather proactive orbit.

The education of the socially vulnerable nowadays is precisely such a domain. Europe, in many of its corners, has been experiencing over the last decade or so a prolonged crisis. Although the term "crisis" suffers from conceptual elasticity or multiplicity and has, therefore witnessed "an enormous quantitative expansion" (Koselleck, 2006) that has dominated bibliography, there is no disagreement that it has been upgraded to a prominent, almost defining, feature of modern social and political reality. One of its central features is that it is "an inherently reflexive concept, native to modernity", which presupposes not only the urgent need for an effective response but also "a capacity for crisis consciousness" (Milstein, 2015, p. 147). It is also useful to notice that many local or global changes came about as a result of the experience of crisis; changes in conceptions and perspectives, practices and institutions, values and behaviors and, of course, in the economic domain. Seen either as a danger or an opportunity, a crisis is inextricably linked to change and transformation. In other words, the concept of crisis depends on crisis conscious actors capable of making judgments about their relationship to the world. As it has been suggested, "this amounts to expect that human subjects still retain their relationships to the world and they have escaped the danger of being alienated from any of the significant objective dimensions of the world by various kinds of divides and boundaries; that crisis conscious subjects play a constitutive role in what a certain crisis or a crisis experience is, what it implies and how it should be overcome" (Antoniou & Karavakou, 2017).

The response to these people's needs and their relief often becomes an increasingly difficult or politically burdensome task. Nevertheless, as it is fair to remind ourselves, true is the contention that the modern institutionalization of lifelong learning has ensued from the need to comply, or be consonant, with European Union educational directives to perceive lifelong learning educational schemes as a means to curtail and fight all forms of social exclusion and injustice. It is perhaps this element that endows Higher Education, on both a national and the European levels, with the hope and the impetus that it can express a different kind of concern for the educational needs of modern individuals and, in particular, for the socially vulnerable. Not only is this anthropocentric and sociocentric type of concern consonant with the internal teleology to which modern Higher Education should express its firm allegiance but also, and most profoundly, it contributes to the achievement of social inclusion and social justice. Lifelong learning, as both a paideutic process and an institutional framework, should be primarily concerned with the educational, social and professional empowerment of all people so that, whenever their vulnerability becomes a serious issue, it will not necessarily amount to a thorough and unsurpassable handicap. Specifically, education should be concerned with the task of enabling these people to recapture their lost sense of self-identity and personal autonomy. In other words, in dealing with human vulnerability, education should opt for actions, programs, interventions and policies that empower modern individuals and do not sustain vulnerability as such.

Of course, in this longstanding and difficult process, it is important to notice some crucial broad changes on the educational front across Europe. We refer, here to the departure of public educational policy from the domain of adult education to the implementation of lifelong learning strategies. Such a departure signifies an essential change in the dominant conception about adult education and the opportunities it can create or offer. The design of a strategy in the domain of lifelong learning on national and European levels defines the means for the accomplishment of goals, but remains also detached from the outcome, which is understood to fall in the jurisdiction of the exclusive responsibility and engagement of the adult as a distinct individuality (Griffin, 2000, p. 12). The transition from adult education to lifelong learning on both the conceptual/theoretical and the practical/institutional levels is not innocent, although it has emerged as proper or, at least, plausible.

Lifelong learning schemes for the socially vulnerable: The role of Higher Education

For the founders of adult education, although it never comprised a unified field of practice, it emerged and remained as an ideal of exercising criticism against the domineering forces of economic globalization. In fact, from very early on, strong views had been expressed about the need to design and organize university level educational programs that could be offered to people that deserved a second opportunity in life. Higher Education responded initially with great reservation. Typical is the British term “extra-mural studies” for which the traditional academic establishment showed meager respect and recognition. As time passed, almost four decades earlier, the ideals of adult education found no longer expression in and through the modern narratives of the welfare state and its provision for the educationally and socially underprivileged (Jarvis, 2001). So, it is fair to notice in retrospect, the initial lack of recognition of such programs was not due to the existence of those programs as such but to the reluctance Higher Education explicitly expressed to accommodate within its realm the implementation of educational measures and policies that fell under the jurisdiction of the state, which behaved in turn still in the mentality of the welfare state. Adult education was granted with recognition the very moment it lost its traditional foundations, i.e. when it was transplanted from the public sphere of education into the sphere of individual initiative and responsibility. That was the moment when it was initially renamed as "continuing education" and "lifelong learning" more recently.

That was the moment when the modern world enters the new era of post-modernity, as this has been eloquently described by thinkers such as Michel Foucault (1972) and Francois Lyotard (1984), in which new identities, directions and prospects of power emerge in a new transnational and international logic and orbit (Beck 2000). In consequence, the relationship of lifelong learning to Higher Education has been dramatically changed. It is nowadays a relationship sealed by an ever increasing traffic of communication in various modes and for various reasons. Looking at the background of this process, it is useful to notice that thinkers, such as Michel Foucault (1972) and Zygmunt Baumann (1987), understood that the rejection of absolutism in the fields of knowledge and axiology and the emergence of a relativization of the legitimacy of any existing grand narratives was necessary in order to move from a "culture of knowledge" to a "culture of learning". Knowledge has been dethroned from the status of an unshakeable truth to a mere construction or narrative that should constantly undergo the effects of re-conceptualization, modernization and re-affirmation. By saying this, one does not wish to contend that Foucault, Baumann and many other thinkers, who exposed the dangers of the grand educational and political narratives, are responsible for our modern landing on the utilitarian and instrumentalist space of lifelong learning. After all, what is wrong with the idea of learning in the first place? Isn't it, after all, the purpose of education that all individuals should learn? How perspicacious Biesta (2013, pp. 437–438) was when he made the following point:

> *... for me the point of education is not that students learn but that they learn something, that they learn this for particular purposes, and that they learn this from someone. A main problem with the language of learning is that it is a language of process but not a language of content and purpose.... In addition, education is always about learning from someone. Whereas the language of learning is an individualistic language .... The problem with the rise of the language of learning in education is therefore threefold.*

We observe the implementation of this multi-layered language in the following instances. Firstly, Higher Education abandoned gradually its initial reluctance to deal with the aims of lifelong learning and adheres to serving its tenets in and through the design of programs that offer specialization and professional development and training. Soon enough, Higher Education complied with the need to standardize its programs and offer the desired competences and documents for accreditation. Secondly, beyond the need for standardized and accredited knowledge, the new tendency was also expressed in and through the formation of new, highly specialized undergraduate and postgraduate courses. Again, these were designed as a response to the new challenges of a society that pivoted around the axis of information, communication and the market so that modern learners would be adequately equipped with practical knowledge in their new employment posts. Thirdly, another framework that offered new possibilities was opened up by the new technological advances that were and still are reclaimed for educational and social purposes. Distance education and e-learning (Spector, 2008) assume and reclaim the existence of what has been eloquently styled as an "invisible learner" (Beaudoin, 2008), who learns and educates oneself in his/her own space, tone and schedule. And finally, modern lifelong learners are the candidate students of all these programs as they are constantly pressed by the need to acquire new credentials. It is, of course, not accidental that particularly attractive and successful have been (and still are) programs with content from fields such as management, marketing and accounting. Very rarely this response is internally motivated, i.e. by an inner need to fulfill oneself in self-ascribed terms or for self-ascribed reasons.

As a result, although from a perspective of anthropological significance, this learning process and the achievement of knowledge constitute for us avenues for the expression of individual autonomy and creativity, they comprise, in reality, fields of transitions that suffer from the exercise of an asphyxiating external control that weakens the self-expressive powers of modern individuals. It is not an exaggeration to remind ourselves that adult education was thought of {for example, by Freire (2017) and Brookfield (2005, 2009, 2012)} as a movement that empowers modern individuality. Nevertheless, as lifelong learning, it amounts, nowadays, to the educational predicament that transforms individualities into powerless consumptive subjectivities. The new lifelong learning programs (offered, for example by Greek Universities) are modeled on the basis of the new educational philosophy about the responsible modern individual who takes care of its educational and professional needs in universally standardized and accredited fashion. It is more than obvious that Higher Education pursuits the aims of lifelong learning by remaining vigilant of the needs of the modern economic world. In the following passage, echoing the critique by Max Horkheimer's *Eclipse of Reason* (2013), a highly perspicacious description of the predicament of a modern institution (such as education) offered by Allen and Goddard (2017, p. 123). We will occasionally return to the implications of this passage on several occasions later in the text:

> *An institution is now considered rational if it has been designed according to a logic governed by the necessity of achieving an end that takes little or no account of wider considerations. The wider goals of the Enlightenment – the bringing about of a more moral, humane and just social being– can be "parked". In any case, they will be realized (so it is assumed) as economic efficiency is achieved. Oddly, we*

> *arrive at a situation where institutions, and individuals, can be rational even in an irrational context – one devoid of overall reason except the instrumental one of ensuring that the means for getting the job done are effective in their application – if they still manage to pursue immediate goals in a logical manner. Reason is considered to be operative, and can be pursued individually....*

Since the beginning of the bibliographical interest in lifelong learning during the last decades of the 20th century, it is evident that its horizon embraces many faces: personal development and fulfillment, social cohesion and democratic ideals, professional investment and development. There is also an undeniable shift from the first two modes to the last one that has dominant professional and economic features. This has been a shift visible not only on the level of policy but also on the level of the learning opportunities offered to adults either via a re-determination of what counts as legitimate and useful learning or via the drastic decrease of those objects/contents of learning that are thought of as non significant (or second rate) by the current instrumentally defined economic criteria. Lifelong learning has been shaped and reshaped in the mode of an economy of learning. This should not be, naively, interpreted as a mere shrinking of the content of lifelong learning; unfortunately, this amounts to a thorough redefinition of what lifelong learning is in terms that oppose the nature and the capabilities of the concerned organisms.

In the light of these developments lifelong learning becomes a new necessary ingredient of every agenda of social change and educational policy and it seems that Higher Education has to accept the challenge of educating socially vulnerable adults by supporting programs adapted to their needs and interests. There are many examples worldwide showing that the education of socially vulnerable adults is not anymore a matter for the NGOs, or for companies and business, associations and private training centers; it is a matter that concerns public (or the state's national) education. Canada is the first country that established, a few decades ago, lifelong learning programs for socially vulnerable adults, offered by state educational centers in a response to the needs of each community's residents. The main subjects taught are: language acquisition, vocational training or counseling, techniques and practices for agricultural and rural development. In Europe, Portugal has focused, during the last decade, on the education of two specific vulnerable groups: the unemployed and the immigrants. Based on the funding by the Human Capital Operational Program, a financial program of the European social fund which aims to achieve the Europe 2020 targets, educational and vocational programs are offered by special public organizations in order to enhance equal educational opportunities, their quality and the employability of the active population living in Portugal. Likewise, Slovenia established in 1991 the Slovenian Institute for Adult Education (SIAE) and, since then, it has developed a network of 14 centers for adult education and guidance. SIAE pays special attention to vulnerable groups and uses different approaches and tools to increase access to guidance and education for different groups of adults, especially the low-educated and low-skilled adults, the elderly, the unemployed, the immigrants, the prisoners and others. It is more than obvious that adult education attempts a reverse from pure neoliberalism to a more vulnerability-sensitive policy so Higher Education has to stand up for it.

Lifelong learning schemes for the socially vulnerable: Meeting the challenges

Moreover, crucial and burning is the question about the appeal to think of a new culture of learning in the context of the withdrawal of education and the subsequent underestimation of man's cognitive and practical abilities. What is the contribution of Higher Education in the formation of this new conception? We may distinguish our reflections and remarks on three different levels on the basis of those to whom each level refers or is concerned with.First of all, in regard with the constant need to educate the socially vulnerable groups. GRALE II (collecting information from one hundred countries) reported that many adults, in particular those living in poverty and remote rural areas, members of ethnic minorities, women, refugees and migrants, were still excluded from educational opportunities. GRALE II found that these people generally lacked access to programs, and that even when access was available, the quality of educational provision was often questionable. In 2016 GRALE III reported that the overall participation rate has increased since 2009 (CONFINTEA VI / GRALE I), whereas 13% reported it as unchanged. Although the international reports issued by Unesco highlight the lack of access and the questionable quality of various programs, academic research comes to highlight another, equally important area: how to activate internal motivation in all vulnerable learners. Of course, as it has already been found, internal motivation is conditioned on the stability and the duration of the educational programs, which secures the forming of a long-standing relationship amongst vulnerable individuals, their pursuit of learning and educators. In addition, we should not gloss over the finding that offers an important positive correlation between adult learners and their state of general welfare and mental health (Field, 2012). An important factor for encouraging or strengthening internal motivation is the attitudes of educators and the people who have planned and organized an intervention or a program towards their students (Green & Kelso, 2006; Hippel & Tippelt, 2010).

The emergence of challenges in the educational process that is addressed to the vulnerable groups bears considerable affinities with their expectations, their personal goals and needs. As early as back in 1981 Patricia Cross plausibly pointed out that the educational programs that are addressed to these groups are rarely responsive to these people's needs and interests. To a great extent, this explains the low percentage of their participation in these programs. Things have not changed considerably since then. There is still the pressing need for these programs to have at their centre the real needs and interests of the socially vulnerable people, so that the latter will acknowledge the significance of the programs and will secure their active participation in them. On this front the research that is being conducted in the social sciences may be of immense help; on the condition, of course, that their results and findings will inform the content and the broader design of the educational programs. Modern research has focused on the kind of subjects that will attract the interest of the socially vulnerable people (Dorman, 2014; Kanu, 2008). These are subjects that do not necessarily coincide with the demands of the modern economic world: apart from computing and foreign languages, subjects belonging to the area of Humanities (e.g. art and literature, politics and citizenship issues) come always high on the list of preference. These are elements that Higher Education should take seriously into consideration in the design and organization of its programs. It has been pointed out (Karavakou & Kefala, 2018) that other kinds of research lay emphasis on the expectations these groups have from the educational process itself (Arsene & Tarase, 2011; Braithwait, Waldron, & Finn, 2009; Meyer, 2013). The findings show that irrespective of any differences among the groups, there are considerably plenty of common expectations: their need for being accepted by society, the desire for belongingness, the acquisition of a positive self-conception, their need to respond to mental and existential issues effectively, intense and disturbing anxieties over self-loss. Moreover, a plethora of researches (Henriksen & Bloms, 2016; Kurbegovic, 2016, Vervliet, Vanobbergen, Broekaert, & Derluyin, 2016; UNHCR, 2018) show that these groups identify the importance of education as the first step in the process of social integration, whatever that means depending on each group's different kind of vulnerability, and admit that, through educational processes, they could redefine their identities. These common elements should form the necessary background of which every educational program should never lose sight. If the vulnerable Other is to be assisted by the major educational institutions of modern political societies, they should focus on an investigation of the real needs of these people and not simply or exclusively on the demands of the economy.

Secondly, we should concern the need to educate the educators. It is always useful to remind ourselves that the World Congress for Adult Education, in its first international Report CONFINTEA VI / GRALE I (2009), that was embraced by 141 countries, highlighted not only the low overall participation in adult education in most countries, but also inequities in access and participation both within and between countries. In regard with the educators, GRALE I (UIL, Ch.5.4 Adult Education personnel as the key to ensuring quality, 2010, p. 87) pointed out that:

> *As in other education sectors, teachers, facilitators and trainers constitute the most important quality input factor in adult education. However, in too many cases, adult educators have been inappropriately trained, hold minimal qualifications, are under-paid and work in educationally unfavourable conditions. In 50 National Reports, the quality of adult education personnel is cited as a key challenge.*

On this basis, we could plausibly claim that paying the necessary attention to the education of educators, one strengthens even more the social character of the programs on offer: the philosophy of those programs requires from us to treat educational and social exclusion and vulnerability as issues with which the broader society should be concerned and not as issues that concern, strictly or exclusively, the socially underprivileged. Nevertheless, unfortunately, there are not many opportunities for such educational programs, whilst a considerable number of adult educators think that any existing programs do not necessarily or/and satisfactorily respond to their needs and the kind of challenges they are faced with. This becomes much more pressing in the case of the education of vulnerable groups. Their education and training should be highly focused on the needs of the vulnerable and not simply on the needs of the educators. This is a concern and a duty that Higher Education should address without further delay.

We have referred (Karavakou & Kefala, 2018) extensively to the need for all programs to stand with great attentiveness on the education of the educators in two particular ways: firstly, the educator of vulnerable adults should be appropriately equipped in terms of paideia and edification and not in mere terms of vocational training; secondly, the educator should deal with the vulnerable Other only when he/she has acquired the necessary experience and self-consciousness about the mission of education and his/her own role. The educator of the vulnerable Other should never be thought of on an ephemeral basis, superficially and for the benefit of personal gain. Apparently, one should mention a totality of internal challenges with which the educator is confronted. Many theories of adult learning pay their respects to this crucial issue: critical theory (Freire, 1998, 2017; ·Shor & Freire, 1987), radical constructivism (von Glasersfeld, 2002), transformational learning (Mezirow, 2000; 2009). As we have recently argued (Karavakou & Kefala, 2018) a brief encounter with traditional and modern learning theories verifies our insistence upon the need to come to terms with the educators' internal challenges. The aforementioned thinkers insist on the cultivation of virtues such as critical reflection, active engagement with the needs and the interests of the vulnerable Other, a good grasp of the mission of education, epistemological modesty, a culture of reciprocal respect and dialogue, avoidance of a pernicious ethos of educational and political neutrality, an empowering feeling about the vulnerable person's confidence in his/her abilities for thinking and problem-solving.

Lastly, we should concern the institutional role of Higher Education in the implementation of lifelong learning schemes for the socially vulnerable. The realization of educational goals and visions should go beyond the limited scope of a managerial and experimental minimalism, of what we called earlier "an exhausting and exhausted realism". Higher Education programs should be assessed and evaluated on their own terms, not in comparison with other programs, engaging quite often external reviewers and experts, and surely not by applying the "learning outcomes" criterion for the sake of employability (Gougoulakis, 2015; Harvey & Williams, 2010). In this spirit, Higher Education should embrace a robust vision that pays justice to the main aims of education itself, i.e. empowering modern individuals to fulfill themselves in self-ascribed forms and for self-ascribed reasons. In this spirit and to this end, Higher Education should reclaim that all its research activities, interventions and programs become instances of educational and social inclusion, justice and welfare. It is a duty of Higher Education, primarily to itself, to be something more than a pale and heteronomous reflection or response to the needs of economy, consumption and market orientated professionalism. Undeniably, Higher Education should operate within the modern horizon of learning; however, this must mean nothing less than a) a new culture for which lifelong learning transforms itself into a space of an all-embracing completion in all possible senses that a life may be complete for human beings; and b) a new understanding of the University as a *topos* to which education in the true sense belongs, in Michael Oakeshott's words "... not a road but a boundless sea ... enough to stretch one's sails to the wind" (2003, p. 29). Any intellectual and educational complacency that these have already been achieved constitutes a substantial impediment against the conditions for a new enlightened kind of lifelong learning within Higher Education for the 21st century.

Concluding remarks

On the basis of our analysis which exposed the dangers and the occasional poverty of lifelong learning, one might plausibly suggest that we should perhaps deviate from this course and return to something more traditional and secure. Such a regress might indeed be plausible, but it would be equally incredibly naive and ignorant of the way human beings develop themselves via learning. In this sense, we should point out that lifelong learning is not simply a single dimension of the educational horizon, but the unique and anthropologically universal base for the postmodern culture of learning. It is on this base that we should entertain every theoretical, practical and institutional measure or program for human education. Having said this, we have every right to be critical of what Gert Biesta (2013, p. 435) so plausibly has styled as the *learnification of education;* however, this should be done in a fashion that is not destructive of the horizon of human learning.

In a concluding tone, the agenda of Higher Education for lifelong learning programs addressed to the socially vulnerable should rest its plans on an inter-disciplinary approach to respond the needs and the interests of the people involved holistically. It should, also, resolve all morally and deontologically demanding situations at no cost for human dignity and social justice and welfare and strike the best as possible balance between scientific research and technological advance, between policy and respect for the pedagogical imperatives inherent in the process. Moreover, it should encourage and care for the constant education of the educators that assume such difficult tasks, so as to place upon its shoulders the task of responding to the major educational and social challenges in a manner that pays justice to the empowering and liberating *telos* of education. In the same spirit, it should inform all people involved in its programs and interventions about their rights and benefits in order to serve the interests of the philosophy of social inclusion as the defining feature of education.Finally, it should theoretically, practically, and administratively put forward its own vision about lifelong learning and human education. It should do so by offering a vision for a better world; this should be a rich paideutic vision that escapes the imperatives of neoliberalism.

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"I CAME FROM A LIFETIME OF TEACHERS GIVING UP ON ME": FINDING MOTIVATION IN A CANADIAN SUPPORTED EDUCATION PROGRAM DURING NEOLIBERAL TIMES

Abstract

Mental illness is now recognized by the Mental Health Commission of Canada as affecting one in five Canadians. Although not all will face the debilitating psychiatric illnesses our case study population does, almost half of Canadian adults will experience a mental health crisis that affects their education and job access. For any adult student, motivation plays an important role in starting and persisting in education programs. For adults living with mental illness, finding and sustaining the intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivations to attend classes and study is even more challenging. In our larger study we interviewed adults participating in four different Supported Education (SEd) programs run in psychiatric hospitals. These programs provide one-on-one supports for adults with psychiatric disabilities/mental health issues and low literacy to help them meet individualized educational goals. The data and program from one of our hospital programs is analyzed and discussed in this chapter. We interviewed a total of 15 adults living with mental illness who were currently participating or had previously participated in a hospital-based SEd program located in Selkirk, Manitoba which is in the western Prairie region of Canada. In this chapter, the patient educator describes the program but we also highlight the voices of interviewed students to explore the role of motivation in educational goal achievement. We use a theoretical framework of motivation theory informed by the neoliberal concept of sacrificial citizenship and the supported education model. Our findings illustrate the importance of providing educational programming for any adult students who do not easily fit into the neoliberal model of work. These programs empower them to increase their literacy levels to improve their access to the labour market and necessary services and to improve their ability to interact with their family and community. The social justice imperative of adult education is closely linked to the goals of SEd. We argue that SEd programs are vital for all adult learners with mental illness to allow them to survive and thrive in neoliberal times.

Keywords: supported education; motivation; neoliberalism

Introduction: Support for supported education

Traditionally adult education has offered opportunities for continued learning as a method of transformation and empowerment (Freire, 1985). Adult education researchers argue that in order to deal with the austerity policy pressures that are a result of neoliberalism there is a need for learning throughout one's life (Finnegan, 2016; Tett & Hamilton, 2019). This need and, indeed, these pressures are felt more keenly by those whose limited childhood education created feelings of isolation and difficulties in integrating into their communities and the labour market throughout most of their lives. Among the reasons for this lack of childhood education are psychiatric disabilities not diagnosed or supported while in the mainstream education system. In the course of our research, we have found weakening support for adult supported education (SEd) programs providing one-on-one supports for people with psychiatric disabilities/mental health issues and low literacy to help them meet individualized educational goals. The reasons for this are numerous but certainly include government austerity cuts to public services including education and health care.

Our research sites are psychiatric hospitals where overall hospital funding cuts have translated into the staffing and resource reductions in programs like SEd, which is considered a "frill" or added extra that is unnecessary to psychiatric treatment and recovery. Those adult learners who are in– or out-patients of psychiatric hospitals and were aided in their recovery by such programs would disagree. Supported employment, programs to support in– and out-patients to gain access to the labour market, is more clearly defined and seen by hospitals as preferable to SEd. In terms of funding, a clear economic case can be made for integrating more people into the labour market; as a result, a number of Canadian psychiatric hospitals now have only a supported employment program rather than both.While supported employment can also be important, it works best when it exists alongside an SEd program because most adults in psychiatric hospitals need further education in order to access the labour market (Fernando, King & Eamer, 2017; Leonard & Bruer, 2007). Indeed, of the 15 interviews included in this paper, only one student had completed the final year of Canadian secondary school grade 12 (see Table 1).

Table 1.
Highest grade completed by student interviewees prior to enrolment in SEd program

Grade	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**
Frequency	1	3	3	4	3	1

In the first part of this paper, we outline some of the history and concepts behind supported education and the neoliberal context within which adult education operates. We also provide our motivational theory framework that connects to educational goals and our SEd case study. In the second section, a SEd teacher at Selkirk Mental Health Centre in Manitoba, Canada, will describe her program and andragogical approach to student motivation. The voices of students are also highlighted to explore the role of motivation in educational goal achievement. While some students focus on building skills for employment or further schooling, others aim to improve their quality of life more generally. Education can be transformational and it is important for individuals, no matter their backgrounds or challenges, to have access to education, especially literacy, as "a resource for people acting back against the forces that limit their lives" (Hamilton, Tett & Crowther, 2012, p. 5). When systemic roadblocks, lack of support from family or teachers, and mental illness have limited the literacy opportunities of adult learners, many find SEd programs can help them change their trajectory and advocate for their learning. It transforms their lives. We argue that SEd programs are vital for adult learners with mental illness to survive and thrive in neoliberal times.

Situating the Selkirk Mental Health Centre Supported Education Program

Supported education

Adults whose education was interrupted by mental illness often find it difficult to continue their education in traditional classroom settings. The growing awareness of mental illness comes with a greater understanding of the ways in which students' educational journeys are affected by their illness. SEd can help restart the educational journey because it includes one-on-one instruction alongside mental health supports and maybe adult education programs in community or hospital settings. In Europe, the community setting is more usual while, in the United States, the Boston University model, developed by Anthony, Cohen and Farkas (1990) among others, is popular. In this model, the

> approach to rehabilitation emphasizes person centered goals; a client-environment match; prescriptive assessment, planning, and intervention; and the development of the unique set of skills and personal supports that an individual needs to be satisfied and successful in selected community settings.(Sullivan, Nicolellis, Danley, & MacDonald-Wilson, 1993, p. 57).

SEd can be adapted for use in a variety of settings, but what all these programs have in common is a design that follows a psychosocial rehabilitation model that values normalization, self-determination, support and relationships, hope and recovery, and systemic change. It draws on the Choose-Get-Keep (CGK) model to empower participants to choose their own goals, to work within the program to accomplish them, and to keep their student status until their goals are achieved (Mowbray, 2004; Soydan, 2004; Sullivan et al., 1993). Unlike the United States, Canada has been slower to adopt SEd programs in post-secondary and community settings. Instead, SEd programs have emerged in a few Canadian hospitals, sometimes with commensurate community hubs (Fernando, King, & Eamer, 2017; Leonard & Bruer, 2007). In higher education, SEd involves helping students get a university degree, college diploma, or trade. In adult education, it often means completing high school as an end point or as a means to get into university or college, but can also be for personal enjoyment, greater literacy and community connection. The value of these hospital programs is to help in– and out-patients with the recovery process by involving them in the structure of an educational program and by giving them hope and purpose by doing so (Fernando, King, & Eamer, 2017; Mowbray, 2004; Steed, 2014; Unger, Pfaltzgraf & Nikkel, 2010).

The neoliberal context

We approach our research with a critical pedagogical lens based on the understanding that education is linked to democracy, while democratic precariousness is linked to neoliberalism. As Wendy Brown (2015) articulates, neoliberalism asks for *sacrificial citizenship* that accepts the sacrifice of "necessary" cuts in social programs, services and education as part of an austerity agenda that ostensibly helps maintain our social and economic systems. All of these elements also marginalize adult learners (Finnegan, 2016; McLean, 2015). In Canada, although the turn towards neoliberalism has been gradual, it has steadily eroded support for any adult education program not considered explicitly connected to employment outcomes. The "knowledge-based economy" is touted as the path to prosperity, but how to gain such knowledge is not problematized, even when it seems that there are more losers than winners in this new economic iteration (Fernando & King, 2013). The market is not the equalizer, as neoliberal proponents try to characterize it, but rather it creates unequal benefits causing the victims or "losers" of the market to be further marginalized in the social and educational systems (Finnegan, 2016; Lalonde, Gyarmati, Foltin, & Howard, 2019). When people reach adulthood without the requisite education to participate in the economy there is little systemic support for them and, indeed, little sympathy (Tett & Hamilton, 2019). Our research illustrates the importance of providing educational programming for adults who do not easily fit into the neoliberal model of work in order to empower them as advocates for their own services. Prevailing neoliberal economic models in Canada conceive of economic outcomes very narrowly and do not acknowledge the necessity of adult education for employment, the subsequent links to community development, or the wider benefits of adult learning (Lalonde et al., 2019; Ruhose, Thomsen, & Weilage, 2018). A central element of neoliberalism is *responsibilization*, which is based on the premise that we are all individually responsible for taking care of ourselves by meeting our own basic needs. If we are unable to do so, the prevailing narrative problematizes us and characterizes us as not self-sufficient, an economic liability, and a systemic drain (Davies & Bansel, 2007; De Lissovoy, 2018; Smythe, 2016; Brown, 2015). Those who are dependent on state supports, such as adult psychiatric in-patients or out-patients, are the most likely to be problematized this way. For adult SEd learners, this makes SEd programs and relevant motivation strategies more important, but, indeed, more challenging for adult educators who are fighting against the neoliberal tide and championing collectivism and outcomes deemed to be non-economic in nature (Davies & Bansel, 2007; Fernando, King, & Eamer, 2017). As McLean (2015) argues, adult educators can provide "ideological contestation of neoliberal discourses, and practical resistance to institutional demands for forms of educational practice that rely too much on individual autonomy, and offer too little opportunity for social engagement" (p. 211). Because Freire (1985) saw adult education as potentially empowering or transformative and as intrinsically political, he argued that when educators try to be neutral they support the dominant ideology and teach students to assimilate rather than question (p. 148).

Motivation theory

For any adult student, motivation plays an important role in starting and persisting in education programs. Knowles (1980) articulates the six andragogy assumptions about the way adults learn, describing the crucial motivation for adults to learn as coming from within themselves in terms of their self-esteem and quality of life. For adults living with mental illness, finding and sustaining intrinsic and/or extrinsic motivations to attend classes and study is even more challenging. In our interviews with adults participating in SEd programs run by psychiatric hospitals, the role of motivation was a theme both as a factor in terms of recovery and self-defined goal achievement. The SEd program framework can provide a motivational structure for students. This motivation becomes necessary not just for education, but for life outside of the classroom. Because the systemic challenges can be overwhelming, the program also provides motivation to deal with those challenges and engage with democratic institutions.

Motivation is central to most educational experiences and certainly adult education requires different strategies depending on the individual. SEd makes motivation its central focus. For most adult students, at the heart of motivation is having a structure and space that allows them to make their own decisions; this is even more important for SEd students on the path to recovery. Wright's (2016) version of Baumeister's theory of motivation, which describes elements of 'wanting' as being ephemeral or short-lived and affectively sourced, is appropriate for students with psychiatric disabilities who have ups and downs in their motivation because of illness, as well as other factors. Wanting something is central to how motivated you are to achieve it and that "want" can change daily. The idea of converting motivation into the pursuit of a goal is central for students, especially adult students (Wright, 2016). Other motivation theorists talk about the importance of relevance to students (Albrecht & Karabenick, 2018). Those experiencing mental health issues and low literacy have particular difficulty seeing education as relevant to their lives. Rothes, Lemos, and Gonçalves' (2017) study of adult learner motivation tested self-determination theory (SDT) among adult learners and found that while autonomous reasons for learning were important, external or controlled motivation could also have a positive effect. Canadian research on supported education programs and motivation is not plentiful; however, American research (Mowbray, 2004; Rogers, Kash-MacDonald, Bruker, & Maru, 2010; Steed, 2014) and our own studies (Fernando, King, & Eamer 2017), including the following case study, echo that finding, and illustrate the importance of structural motivation for SEd students.

Case study: Selkirk Mental Health Centre Supported Education Program

At the Selkirk Mental Health Centre (SMHC),formal records of the Patient Education Program (PEP) date from January 1982. The program ran for 23 years until the teacher's retirement in June 2005. SMHC is the provincial residential hospital serving the populations of both the province of Manitoba and the northern territory of Nunavut. It is located in the small city of Selkirk, 35 kilometres north of Winnipeg, the largest urban centre in the province and the provincial capital city. In 1982, one certified teacher facilitated the program, providing individualized instruction to patients interested in obtaining a Mature Student High School Diploma or a GED (General Education Development or high school equivalency), upgrading their literacy and/or numeracy skills, or learning computer skills. Patients met two to three times per week in a classroom located in one of the residential rehabilitation buildings and was accessible to all patients except those in the forensic ward (i.e., those who have faced charges in the legal system and were designated not criminally responsible because of psychiatric disabilities). The teacher met with forensic patients on the ward. Between 2005 and 2007, no educational services were available for patients at the Centre due to the loss of funding for a teacher.

Program description and current structure

Recognizing the importance of SEd to the Psychosocial Rehabilitation services, SMHC lobbied for renewed funding and the SEd program resumed in December 2007under the direction of the current Patient Education Coordinator

(PEC). The PEC is a certified teacher and adult educator with experience as a college instructor and provincial adult learning centre teacher. The program's mandate is to teach, or facilitate learning for, patients identifying academic learning as one of their recovery goals; this might include getting a high school diploma, improving English and Math skills, learning English (ESL), learning computer skills, preparing for post-secondary studies, taking a university or college course, or attending an adult learning program in the community. As participants prepare for a transition to community and further education, the program helps to developing behaviours and habits expected in community adult learning centres (ALC), such as maintaining regular attendance, being on time, completing homework, and interacting respectfully with other learners. These practices fit with the Psychosocial Rehabilitation and Adult Learning principles that help learners in their recovery and reintegration into community life, empowerment and self-direction, strengths and experiences, sense of achievement, and progress towards learning goals. Often these learners have one or more challenges: low income, adolescent schooling interrupted by mental illness and/or addictions, learning or cognitive disabilities, side affects from medications, or personal trauma.

Andragogical approach: Motivation and recovery

Patients at SMHC are both intrinsically and extrinsically motivated to attend the Patient Education Program. The PEC works to maintain student motivation from initial referral to discharge by building relationships, providing a learning environment that feels more like a community-based learning centre, facilitating self-directed learning, reinforcing the behaviours and habits expected by teachers and classmates at their future learning centre, and instilling a sense of hope that they can achieve academic success. Students who have had a positive experience with their learning while at SMHC are more likely to maintain their motivation to continue classes in community and achieve their educational goals.

Patients can join the program at various points during their hospital stay. Some know during their intake orientation that school is one thing they want to do; others are encouraged to attend by their primary nurse or other staff; and, some hear from other patients about their school experience and self-refer. Initial educational goals are set by the patient as the first step in creating a student's individual education plan (IEP). This is followed by an initial interview with the PEC, gathering of school transcripts, and creation of realistic short– and long-term learning goals. Assessments in basic skills are necessary in this process, but can cause anxiety. Anxiety is reduced by framing these assessments as tools to determine starting points.

The adult learner's IEP is an agreed upon plan based on information from the initial interview: the last grade completed, the last time school was attended and where, favourite and most difficult subjects, first language, and educational goal. The PEC also finds out how involved the potential student is in other recovery programming at SMHC (e.g., meeting with a psychologist; peer groups on managing anxiety, medications, and addictions; or groups for art therapy or music appreciation). The level of involvement speaks to a patient's internal motivation to their overall recovery plan, but the addition of school can lead to scheduling difficulties and added anxiety for the learner. The PEC discusses how the program works with the patient and the level of effort expected regarding attendance, completing homework, readiness to commit to coming to class two to three times per week at regularly scheduled times, and the possibility of having to use personal funds to pay an ALC's registration fee. These are the same types of expectations involved in attending an ALC in the community.

By building a relationship with the student, the PEC helps in creating the patient's intrinsic motivation to commit to the time and effort needed to accomplish their goal. This student-teacher relationship has a different feel than that between a mental health patient and psychiatric nursing staff. For example, area staff are directly involved in the activities of daily life, from when patients get up and go to bed to consequences for breaches in behaviour, and the like. The overall goal of patient recovery, "living a satisfying, hopeful and contributing life even with the limitations caused by illness" (Government of Manitoba SMHC Website),is at the core of staff psychiatric rehabilitation training; however, the teacher role is one that is familiar from childhood so interactions may be more relaxed and less officious. The physical space enhances this feeling. With one to three students in the classroom at a time, one-to-one instruction occurs while the other students are working on different courses or are in different places within a course. The room is bright, with large windows and lots of natural light. The paint colour, chosen by students, is a very unhospital-like periwinkle blue. The classroom area includes a computer with internet access for students to type papers, conduct online research, take online courses, or just check their Facebook messages. There is a pot of coffee available and water to boil for tea. When first attending, patients will ask permission to have a cup of coffee; very quickly, they learn that they can grab a cup anytime. This relaxed environment, mixed with everyday-life conversations, humour, and give and take flexibility, provides impetus to, at the very least, attend class even without having homework completed.

With the majority of patients aiming to complete high school, having a certified teacheras the PEC is important. To graduate with a Mature Student Diploma, the adult learner must complete eight high school credits, four of which must be at the Grade 12 (Senior Year) level including a Math and an English credit. Planning, and seeing the plan on paper, is motivating since many of the patients have been out of school for many years and had given up hope they would ever be able to completing high school. Although some patients are resident long enough to complete all remaining credits and graduate, others may have completed only one or two credits when the discharge date arrives. The PEC can facilitate transition to a community ALC near the patient's new home. If students are graduating, they will attend the respective ALC's graduation ceremony in the community and wear the cap and gown. All hard work and successes are recognized at an Awards Tea each June.

The PEC uses a variety of methods to motivate the adult learners in the SMHC's hospital setting to achieve their educational goals. Although, as with any student population, attrition occurs for many reasons, recovery from mental illness and a return to community life is facilitated by the structure and hope the PEC works to provide to each learner. The PEC encourages and strives to instill in the learner the idea that their goal is "do-able". Informal conversations with students at every meeting allow each to check in regarding school and illness and help to reduce anxiety about learning, while keeping the patient in charge of the direction of their learning plan, while set class times help to create the habits for successful learning outcomes. Well-earned success will carry participants forward with a strong internal motivation to continue pursuing their educational and career goals even after the external environment changes.

Voices of students: Finding motivation

We interviewed 15 adults, seven of whom were of varied Indigenous background, currently participating or had previously participated in the SEd program at SMHC. The interviews were anonymized and semi-structured, following a standardized list of closed– and open-ended questions that allowed space for participants to elaborate on experiences that were important to them as individuals. Their comments illustrate the personal components to motivation, but also the importance of having a qualified, thoughtful instructor and a well-designed program housed in a welcoming space.

Many of the responses revealed the ways in which adult learners had not felt motivated in traditional classrooms in their past. These are often stories of mental illness that set in during their prime education years either entering high school or entering postsecondary institutions (Fernando, King & Eamer, 2017; Leonard & Bruer, 2007). As one interviewee stated: "when it comes to OCD and PTSD and schizophrenia and personality disorders, some of the smartest people I know have these diagnoses, but they're at such a disadvantage not because necessarily of their own health, but because of how the system's set-up against them" (Interviewee 14). Having an instructor who really understands mental illness beyond simple empathy is essential in helping motivate individuals. Campaigns against stigma are working well, but the existing educational systems are not structured to accommodate those with serious mental illnesses and there are few places for them to go. No matter how high a person's motivation may be, without a supportive place to get started in their educational journey, individuals are set up for failure: "I had a lot of teachers be very unfair to me and still you go to different places and not a lot has changed even now. There's obviously more awareness, but everything needs to be really pushed through" (Interviewee 14). The impact of a well-designed SEd program can be seen in this comment:

> I think that people get silenced and I think people are discouraged from expressing themselves just because it's not in the way that's normal and I think that's bologna programs like this are so important and I know it has changed my entire life. I would never have graduated high school without Kathryn or without this program. Like that I can say for sure. I went from never going to graduate to like graduating with high marks and feeling really good about it so that to me is like that's colossal. (Interviewee 14)

Many of our interviewees mentioned being bullied during their prior schooling or had given up any thoughts about further education and felt hesitant to restart their education. At the same time, they often said they loved to learn. For them, the supportive environment of the SEd program helped them to move beyond any negative feelings and to improve their sense of independence. Some reported that it helped them to recover from their illness, such as Interviewee 10, while others commented that before starting the program they had given up:

> When I first came to the centre, when I was first an in-patient, I was not interested in pursuing high school anymore. Like I had fully given up. I was like, 'There's no point'. I had tried every possible alternative education program, like adult learning centre. I had tried everything. I exhausted every resource essentially. (Interviewee 14)

Similarly, Interviewee 15 had always been bullied in school and was worried about fitting into the program and working with the teacher, even though she was feeling motivated to complete her high school education. Motivate people like her still need a program that is designed to help participants to see early successes and feel that they are making progress in order to maintain the feeling of motivation; sometimes this can be as simple as "getting along with the teacher" (Interviewee 15).

Most of our interviewees commented about the influence of both the instructor and the design of the program on their motivation to keep returning to the classroom and doing their homework. For example, some respondents noted that the flexibility of the program was important; help was there when needed, but there was space for independent work: "I did most of it all on my own actually, I check in with Kathryn and we go over my work, but I mostly did it all on my own, which was nice" (Interviewee 3).Several respondents also commented that the teacher was cheerful and "always in good spirits" (Interview 3). Interviewee 6, a 34-year-old Indigenous man who became ill during grade 12, began the program as a way "to just get focused and get things off my mind. So, I thought this class was really good for that." For him, being with Kathryn was important to his success in the program: "Yeah, because when I first came here, I thought I couldn't achieve anything, I thought I'd never be stable again, stuff like that; those things were running through my head. So, coming here kind of proved it wrong I guess, that you can do anything you want to do" (Interviewee 6). Interviewee 14 similarly commented on the support of the PEC as a key factor in her motivation:

> Definitely the support and the fact that Kathryn just doesn't give up on any student ever. I came from a lifetime of teachers giving up on me. There was always that moment in every class where I could tell the teacher had just resigned to the fact that I was a lost cause, like there was no point trying to teach me anything. I knew other patients here, we were all together, and she's really good at adapting to each student. The amount of patience she has, it's just like seriously, she's like a super girl.

Attending a program with a teacher, rather than doing a correspondence course, was seen as being more motivating for at least one respondent:

> I just liked how I could learn at my own pace, but at the same time have her there to help. And I don't know, also I just find it helpful when you have – like, you're not learning on your own, you have a teacher there to ask questions, because it's so much harder to do, like, teaching yourself by yourself, like, doing a correspondence course. This way, that you could do stuff on your own, but she was always there to answer questions, to help you move forward. (Interviewee 8)

Interviewee 9 similarly commented that his motivation to pursue his carpentry career improved because of the PEC who "gives out a lot of motivation." Because of his success in the SEd program, it also "helped me show the doctors that, you know, I'm doing this for myself."

In addition to systemic racism, Indigenous students in Canada often face particular challenges because their home communities can be far away from high schools and post-secondary institutions, as well as hospitals and mental health programs (Ansloos, 2017; Green, 2014; Raptis et al 2016). However, motivation from family members, especially children, can help in persevering. For one 34-year old Métis man whose schooling had ended at grade 7, past experiences meant that he was "[k]ind of scared to go to school because I thought somebody would make fun of me" (Interviewee 1). Now that he was preparing for his GED and working on his reading, he was beginning to feel more confidence. As evidence of his success so far, he states, "I can read a book to my boy" and comments that he is enjoying learning to read. This success reinforces his motivation to continue working with the PEC,stating that he likes the way in which "she gets me to read and the way she, I guess the way she does it. The way she helps me feel like – I'm going at my own pace."Another Indigenous student, a 38-year-old woman who finished her formal schooling in grade 8, was motivated to attend the SEd program to improve her quality of life, but she learned more than she expected. In particular, she says:

> Well, the reason I came to the, come here to go to school is because I wanted to have help with my thinking and how to express my feelings, how to work and how to manage my skills, how like to learn more what I want to learn. Because I was a drop-out student in grade eight, so I dropped out in grade nine first, the beginning of the month of September while I was 16, I was 16 when I dropped out of school. The reason why I came here today is to go to school is because I wanted to learn more and practice more of what I have in my thoughts and. But Kathryntaught me how to, she helped me most of the time, like learning numbers, fractions, spelling, arts, noun, pronouns, how to read, write a story or poem. (Interviewee 2)

Like Interviewee 1, she is partially motivated by wanting to improve life for her son by completing high school and going on to college. Interviewee 3 similarly commented not only about his daughter being proud of him, but also about the unexpected success he was having: "I never would've thought I'd graduate and I'd be looking into college and things like that, and here I am doing it at 30 years old."

Attending the SEd program helps to provide structure to the days of participants and give them something interesting to do. As one 30-year-old white man stated, "I just needed something to occupy my time and I had one credit left that I needed to get" (Interviewee 3). Along with the program giving some respondents something to do, they were motivated to keep on with it, as one put it:

> so I don't have to be alone in that hospital, so with doing nothing. And I just want to come here and go to school here, so I can just express myself with how far I am with my thoughts and my memories and my emotions and who I am and who, what kind of person I am (Interviewee 2).

The idea of improving their future was motivating for some participants: "If you want to improve your future and like make right now even better by doing things to improve your future, then you should join this program" (Interview 5). For example, preparing for further education was a strong motivating factor for some participants, such as Interviewees 5 and 8, both of whom aspire to attend university. In particular, Interviewee 8 stated: "I was, like, really motivated to want to finish my high school diploma, because it's something I'd wanted for a long time, but I'd kind of given up on it, because of everything else. I know it was, like, one big piece of me moving forward" (Interviewee 8).

For many adults living with mental illness, their sense of motivation can be impacted by both their illness and their medications. One participant told us, "I don't have the same motivation that I used to have with the medication, but I still am motivated to do something" (Interviewee 3). Even when a respondent had a goal, such as Interviewee 3's goal of improving her self-esteem and confidence, lack of motivation could be a barrier: "My anxiety, my depression gets a hold of me and motivation, my illness, there's lots of barriers that I'm trying to work through." Nonetheless, she felt that attending the program was helpful in dealing with those barriers:

> I'm not struggling like I did when I was like growing up and high school and stuff. And Kathryn makes it so easy, like she's always there, you have any questions, she's right there, she's friendly, she's easy to talk to, she's willing to help you whenever you need help (Interviewee 4).

For her, being in the SEd program is helping to build self-confidence and "further my education without judgment, without . . . judgments and other distractions really" (Interviewee 4). Interviewee 8 similarly commented on the importance of building self-confidence through education:

> Not having my high school education, was really, like, it ate at my self-confidence ... it was really something that really made me really feel bad about myself. So actually, being able to graduate high school and say I have a high school education, was a big deal for me. (Interviewee 8)

In this program, support builds confidence, confidence builds motivation, and motivation builds better lives through educational achievement.

Conclusion

Our findings suggest that when participants in SEd programs find personal meaning and increased awareness of their learning goals, they are more likely to be motivated to continue with and advocate for a lifelong approach to learning. For many of the interviewees, their motivation was to achieve a grade 12 or a mature student diploma. Doing so gave them a sense of accomplishment, no matter how old they were or how long it took them. Being "in school" made them feel good and gave them confidence. For some students, the original motivation was simply to have something to do, but having a teacher who was supportive and who, as one interviewee put it, "pushed me really hard" (Interview 6) gave them the confidence to continue their education and build independence. Our findings reflect other research in adult education that shows access to education as being empowering and transformational, while also increasing access and ability to participate in community, family and work settings. For example, some older students were motivated to improve their education and learn basic skills like reading by their children (Interviews 1 and 3). For others, the motivation for taking part was more about improving their quality of life within the hospital by getting off the ward and having fun with learning rather than a vocational goal. This has an impact on adult learners and their engagement in democratic processes and institutions. Supported Education in particular has an important role to play as awareness of mental health issues in adult education increases.

Brown (2015) argues that neoliberalism retreats from the value of a citizenry educated for democracy, from the idea that education offers the prospect of intrinsically richer and more gratifying lives, and from the idea that education fosters an enhanced capacity to participate in public life and contribute to the public good (191). Supported Education offers a counter-narrative in which even economic outcomes can be enhanced by a population that has been given access to development opportunities and support that will ultimately enrich their communities. Social good, like adult education, can be linked to economic and political good. The dark side of neoliberalism is its penchant for discarding members of society who are deemed to be not worth investing time and money in supporting. The ideas of sacrificial citizenship and responsibilization leave many without state support. There is also a moral panic narrative in the way in which supported education is addressed because of the presence of psychiatric hospital patients as students. Mental illness is now recognized by the Mental Health Commission of Canada (2017) as affecting one in five Canadians. Although not all will face the debilitating psychiatric illnesses our case study population does, many adults will experience a mental health crisis that affects their education and job access.

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EDUCATIONAL SITUATION OF MIGRANT FAMILIES IN SERBIA[1]

Abstract

This chapter presents the educational situation of a migrant families in Serbia, as the respondents see it. In addition to the analysis of education legislation related to migrants, at the international, regional and local level, this chapter also includes an overview of the results of educational programs for children, adults and elderly migrants, and for the entire migrant family. The aim of the research is to investigate the educational situation of the migrant families. Due to the very nature of the research, and the attempts of the researcher to transfer the opinions and feelings of the migrants to the scientific world, a qualitative approach was used. The main research approach – what is the educational situation of the migrant families in Serbia – has come up with a number of smaller research questions: what educational programs are being provided to migrants, that they use; what educational programs are provided to migrants, but they do not use them; what educational programs migrants use, but are not provided; what is the function and role of education in their own life and development and the development of other people. The technique is a semi-structured interview. The questions were answered by parents in their own name and on behalf of their children. The results of the research have shown the importance of a formal education system when it comes to children and young people, but also the need to enrich the content of an informal education system for both, young and older migrants. The ruling neoliberal system, due to its instability and dynamism, causes migrations in the underdeveloped and developed countries of the world. Since most migrants are adults, adult education is a very powerful tool that can be used to reduce the consequences of migration to an individual, but also to the whole family, which is the smallest unit of every society.

Keywords: migrant families, family life education, educational program for migrants

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Serbia in migration

Migration, as a social phenomenon, has been known throughout the history of the human species. Migration means the physical movement of people from one area to another, usually over long distances and in large groups. They happen voluntarily or forcibly, and their causes can be different – economic, environmental, national, religious etc. Throughout history, various events have caused and continue to cause larger or smaller scale migrations, and the characteristics of capitalist society and modern times – mobility and rapid flow of information as well as people, have made migration an integral part of life and society. Regardless of the widespread acceptance of migration as a phenomenon, the modern European man has been stunned by recent migrations that continue to occur in Europe, which, unlike much of the world, has spent decades in *peace*. This wave of migration did not bypass Serbia as well, despite its status as a *Third World*.

Crossing the Balkan Route, a large number of people passed through Serbia, but many failed to leave. The result of such a *vacuum* has led to the following: a large number of foreign nationals are on the territory of the Republic of Serbia, cannot leave it, and do not want to become its citizens. According to United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in December 2017, the number of migrants in Serbia was about 4,300, while the population of Serbia was about seven million (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2019). Of the total number of migrants only 497 of them seeked asylum (Danas Online, 2017). Thus, some families (or individuals), because of their inability to leave The Republic of Serbia (first because of problems at border crossings with countries that are part of the European Union), already know that they will spend some time in Serbia. Some of them even up to two years. Such a long period of spending time in Serbia, regardless of plans for the future, needs to be filled with useful amenities, in addition to providing basic needs for home, food, water, shelter and security. A large number of migrants are adults, who often see themselves as a *victim* for the better life of their children. Therefore, more than in any other situation, adult education can support individuals and their families in integrating into a new environment.

The right to education is guaranteed to everyone regardless of gender, race, class, language or religion. The international human rights system, stemming from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), after two world wars, led all members to opt for a world that was to become a more humane place to live. By exercising the right to education, every individual is given the opportunity to develop their own capabilities and to acquire and develop knowledge, skills, attitudes and values. In addition, education is a prerequisite for the enjoyment of many other rights, such as the right to work and the right to participate politically and socially. Thus, education enables an individual to become an independent and active member of the society in which they live, but at the same time create and change it, which is why we consider adult education a good instrument for responding to current migration.

In the continuation of the chapter, we will present legal documents at the international level, and then legal documents of Serbia based on international documents concerning the rights of migrants. Following the presentation of legal legislation, we will present educational programs in the world aimed at children, young people, adults, the elderly, and then the entire migrant family. These programs formed the basis for the research conducted. After presenting the theoretical part of the chapter, we will briefly highlight the most important elements of the methodology used. At the end, we will present the results of the research as well as concluding considerations.

Migrant rights: Legal framework

It is difficult to challenge the efforts of Europe, but also of the world, to jointly tackle global problems, setting out umbrella legislation that should apply to everyone (members of a particular union/group). In the mid-20th century, documents were created about the rights of all people, not only in the regulation of daily life, but for the first time they also covered migration, as a factual problem of the present and then time. An important reminder of the 1950s is that all subsequent individual laws at the national level of most countries were created as an upgrade, modification, or the result of a mere *rewrite* of those first recommendations from the middle of the last century.

The development of laws and legal recommendations of the United Nations, the Council of Europe and the European Union (hereinafter referred to as the UN, COE and EU) has been ongoing for decades and is the basis for writing laws and strategies in the Republic of Serbia. Each of these organizations operates at a different level of *generality*. The UN makes recommendations for member states from all over the world, the COE for all Council members (more than in the EU, including the Republic of Serbia), and the EU is most intensively active in the territory of the member states of the Union itself, though with its legislation and rules of desirable behavior they also affect countries that are in the process of joining the EU, including Serbia (Morača, 2014).

The standards and system of protection of migrants are based on general documents and standards for the protection of human rights. The first of these, of course, is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which lays the foundations for non-discrimination, namely – the enjoyment of the same rights and freedoms of all people regardless of race, language, national origin, status of the country or territory to which a person belongs (whether it is a sovereign state or not) (United Nations, 1948, Art. 2). Also, it is forbidden to hold in slavery and servitude, as well as all forms of slavery and slave trade (Art. 4), freedom of movement is guaranteed (Art. 13), the right of everyone to seek and enjoy refuge from persecution in other countries (Art. 14) (UN, 1948). These provisions represent the first step in defining the rights of migrants.

Three years later, the Convention on the Status of Refugees (1951) was defined. This document is a key point in understanding the contemporary international system for the protection of refugees and migrants, and is based on Article 14 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which guarantees everyone the right to seek refuge from persecution. According to the Convention, the term refugee refers to any person who, due to a justified fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, affiliation with a social group or political opinions, is unable or unwilling to seek protection, ie. to return to the country of nationality or residence (Art. 1). The basic principles underpinning the Convention are: non-discrimination (Art. 3), the impunity of refugees coming from territories where their lives and freedom are in danger, illegally entering or residing in the receiving country, if they immediately report to the authorities and give valid reasons for irregular entry (Art. 31), and prohibition of expulsion or return to the territory where life or liberty would be endangered, unless for serious reasons the person is considered to be dangerous to the security of the country or community where they are located (Art. 33). The Convention sets minimum standards for the treatment of refugees – guarantees the rights and the same procedure applicable to nationals when it comes to access to courts (Art. 16), performance of paid jobs (Art. 17), distribution of social goods (Art. 20), basic education (Art. 22), the right to obtain a personal and travel document (Art. 27 and 28). In order to monitor the implementation of the Convention, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established in 1950. States parties (including Serbia) have an obligation to cooperate with the Commissariat for Refugees, to submit reports, to provide information pertaining to the status of refugees as well as to the implementation of the Convention and national regulations governing the status of refugees (Morača, 2014). The term refugee means individuals or groups of people fleeing war, and the term migrants means individuals or groups of people who voluntarily leave their country. However, as it is difficult to ascertain the real reason for migrating people, and how the treatment for both groups is the same in practice, it is important to know the laws applicable to both migrants and refugees.

In parallel with the work of the UN, the Council of Europe also adopts a series of documents seeking to establish migrant rights within its scope of work. Thus, in 1950, the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms of the Council of Europe was created (Morača, 2014). It upheld the norms of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in order to define the status and rights of migrants more precisely in future documents. Much later, in 2011, the Council of Europe drafted a Recommendation on the Interaction of Migrants and Host Communities, which stipulates that Member States should: take all necessary measures to encourage diverse opportunities for public interaction between migrants and the communities to which they leave; improve interaction skills; encourage broader participation and training for those participating and facilitating interaction, promote recognition of the positive contributions of migrants to the community, strengthen migrant participation, and provide flexible, tailored services; provide an analysis of policies and their effects on interaction and insight and appreciation of complexity when involving migrants in the development of public policies, services and measures, etc. (Morača, 2014).

When it comes to regulating migration and the rights of migrants, the presentation of the legal sphere in Serbia must begin with an analysis of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (2006), the highest legal act of this country. The protection of migrants' rights in Republic of Serbia is guaranteed by the Constitution. This legal act guarantees to foreign nationals all rights guaranteed by the Constitution and law, except those rights which are guaranteed only to Serbian citizens (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2006, Art. 17). In this document, as in the case of international legal regulation, we address the issues of discrimination, trafficking and exploitation of migrants (sexual and economic) (Morača, 2014). Article 71 of the Constitution stipulates that everyone has the right to education, which is free and compulsory in primary school, while secondary education is free only. All citizens have the right of equal access to higher education on equal terms (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2006).

The Republic of Serbia Asylum Act (2018) guarantees that no person shall be expelled or returned against his or her will to the territory where their life or liberty would be endangered due to their race, gender, language, religion, nationality, affiliation or political views (Morača, 2014, p. 22). The Law on Migration Management, adopted in 2012, defines the term migration as "voluntary or involuntary departure from the country of origin or residence for temporary residence or permanent residence in Serbia" (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2012, Art. 2). The second group of articles of the Act includes the principles on which migration management is based, thus emphasizing the principle of respect for family unity (Art. 3), the principle of prohibition of artificial change of the national composition of the population (Art. 4), the principle of balanced and planned economic development of migration management (Art. 5), the principle of protection of rights, which implies the protection of all rights of persons in the process of migration, taking into account all the differences and needs of the individual, in accordance with the capabilities of the Republic of Serbia (Art. 7) (Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnoloskog razvoja RS, 2017).

The latest version of the Serbian *Law on Education* is passed in 2017. Article 3 of this Law states that every person has the right to education. Citizens of the Republic of Serbia are equal in the exercise of their right to education and upbringing, but also "foreign nationals, stateless persons and persons seeking citizenship are entitled to education and upbringing under the same conditions and in the manner prescribed for citizens of the Republic of Serbia" (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2018). In the same Law, Article 23 defines the enrolment of a foreign national, a stateless person and asylum seeker in an educational institution. Given that they have the same rights and are enrolled in schools under the same conditions, it is defined in the same article (Art. 23) that "students who do not speak the language of instruction educational work or certain program contents relevant for the continuation of education, the institution organizes language learning, preparation for teaching and supplementary teaching, according to a special instruction issued by the ministry" (Vlada Republike Srbije, 2017, Art. 23). The Law on Primary Education (2017), Article 4, states that every person has the right to free and quality primary education in public school, while Article 5 obliges every person to attend primary school, as well as pre-school education. The binding character of this Act has led to the inclusion of not so many migrant students in Serbian schools, whether or not they wish to remain in Serbia. Table 1. shows the number of migrant students in primary schools in Serbia for the period September/October 2017/2018.

Table 1.
The number of migrant students in primary school in Serbia
(*September/ October2017/2018*)

School administration territory:	Number of migrant students enrolled in primary school in Serbia:	Number of primary schools involving migrant students:
Beograd	137	16
Valjevo	26	2
Novi Pazar	21	1
Kraljevo	13	3
Niš	59	6
Leskovac	96	5
Novi Sad	95	4
In total	447	37

(Source: Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnoloskog razvoja RS, 2017)

As we can see from the above, since the 1950s there has been a clear effort to regulate the rights of migrants. Many of these laws, recommendations, declarations, formed the basis for laws creation in the Republic of Serbia. Although there are no individual laws at the international level or at the level of the Republic of Serbia alone dealing with education, the right on education is defined by some of the higher legal acts. Thanks to the Constitution, migrants are guaranteed a available and free education in primary school, which is why a large number of migrant children are included in the formal education system.

Educational programs for migrants: an international overview

There is a great deal of research in education sciences that addresses educational programs for migrant families. These programs are designed to adapt migrants to the new environment. The contents covered within the aforementioned programs are related to the learning of the local language, lifestyle, culture or eventual revision of an existing diploma of professional qualification.

Educational programs for children and young people: Cases in Europe and USA

In the modern era of civilization, almost all countries in the world have a law on compulsory primary education, which certainly implies on the large number of young people involved in the (formal) education system. As education is an important agent of socialization, and many young people skip some of the educational levels due to leaving their homes, we will consider all young people between the ages of 3 and 21 in this chapter. In 2016, Crul conducted a comparative study in 9 European countries (Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland), analysing the performance of formal primary education involving migrant children (Crul, 2016). Research has shown that early education (before primary school) can make a big difference later, leading to success, or failure. Early education sets the stage for later education, and as a final result we get the inclusion of one in ten children in the academic level of education. Particular emphasis is placed on support coming from the family (Crul, 2016). Towards the end of the last century, 1995, a comprehensive study was presented at a national conference on the education of migrants in Boston, which explored preschool, primary and secondary education, as well as the education of parents and teachers/professors, called the Migrant Education Program (MEP). Young migrants have been shown to be the group of children and young people who are most at risk of not getting as much out of school as possible, failing, or leaving school early. Based on these results, regular education programs have been created – involving about 6300 students and summer schools – involving about 4400 children (Nava et al., 1995). The educational programs included 4 major sections: English language improvement, mathematical literacy development, dropout prevention and dropout reenrolment (for students between the ages of 18 and 21 who have not earned a high school diploma) (Nava et al., 1995). Within the same project, besides the mentioned high school program, there were also developed *second chances* programs that enable young people to acquire knowledge in the following fields in 5 semesters: English, social sciences, mathematics, driver education, health and art. For all courses the state provided a certificate based on the acquired qualifications (Nava et al., 1995). For the youngest students, MEP provides educational activities that will allow toddlers to get involved in learning English as soon as possible, learning the basics from various other sciences that are taught in elementary school, but also preparation for further (formal) education. Also, a program for parents was created because the greatest importance of support coming from the family for school success was recognized (Nava et al., 1995). When it comes to higher education, one can notice the least opportunities offered to migrants. However, in a study by Nava et al. (Nava et al., 1995), we came across a very encouraging program aimed at increasing the number of students from vulnerable social groups, which in most cases are migrants. The three main components of this program are: academic teaching, mentor support and motivational activities.

Adult education programs: A case in Sweden

In order to integrate adult migrants into society, become equal members, neighbours, start working, two groups of adult education programs are developed – learning the language of the country where they will remain and gaining professional qualifications to do some work. One of the studies that has helped us to understand the function of programs for adult migrants is research conducted in Sweden. Sweden had 1.3 million migrants in 1989 (foreign nationals and residents only born outside Sweden, as well as the sums of first and second generation migrants), resulting in 90,000 to 30,000 migrants in Sweden each year *entering* the labour market (Coussey, 1994). For these reasons, in the 1990s, the Migrants as a Resource program was created in Sweden, which formed the basis for a more complex and comprehensive Migrants Competences project (Coussey, 1994). "This project contained three key components: 1. Assessment of the qualifications and professional experience gained 'abroad'; 2. Professional and professional testing for migrants; 3. Programs for graduates from various fields whose knowledge needs to be adapted to the conditions of life in Sweden" (Coussey, 1994). The survey results indicate that very few participants were able to find a job. When it comes to programs for already qualified migrants, the results show that differences in knowledge, the social context they come from and the mistrust of the local population reduce job opportunities in Sweden. Of all participants who have completed this Migrants Competences program, 90% of them received a job in a profession that has links with ethnic minorities (social workers and administrators). Professional and vocational testing programs for migrants made it possible for 35% of the 108 trainees to receive adequate employment, 30% received a recommendation for additional training, and the rest did not have enough knowledge of the profession or left the program.

Educational programs for the elderly: A case in USA

"Since 1990, the number of migrants aged 65 or older has increased from 2.7 million to 4.3 million, representing 11% of the total number of migrants in the United States" (Li Zhao, 2015, p. 1). The ancients represent a growing percentage of the total population on Earth, which is accordingly true of the migrant population. The problems and deprivation that the oldest members of society face are *public secrets* and already known problems, and in 2009 the New York Times published research findings showing that the elderly, members of ethnic minorities, are by far the most isolated people in America – the most common reasons that cause them to do this are large commitments around the home because their family members work, babysitting, insufficient financial resources, and more than half of older migrants have insufficient English (Li Zhao, 2015, p. 1). For these reasons, The Macklind International Senior Centre launched The Bilingual International Assistance Service in 2013, which is a great place for non-English speaking adults to overcome social isolation and allow them to meet other older migrants who are in the same situation. Senior groups have been formed from several countries – Albania, Afghanistan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Iraq, Nepal, Somalia and Vietnam, and language classes, educational workshops, as well as transportation and food in accordance with the climate they come from (Li Zhao, 2015, p. 1). Another example of adequate care for elderly migrants comes from the US, from the Centre for Independent Living (CIL), which provides assistance for the independent living of the elderly from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania and Asia. Within the Centre, there are 5 services: legal aid, learning about independent living in the US, information and referral to appropriate institutions, peer consultation and learning about mastering the transition process (Li Zhao, 2015, p. 1). Research shows that by 2050, there will be about 16 million old migrants in the US, which will certainly create the need for more and more centres providing educational programs for diverse content for migrant seniors, for better and easier socialization, both in the US and across of the world (Li Zhao, 2015, p. 1).

Educational programs for migrant families: A case in USA

Educational programs aimed at migrant families are about empowering the whole family to integrate as closely as possible in a new context. Studies have shown that strong support from parents for their children is the most significant incentive for young migrants to achieve school success, and as parents are educated, they will have greater awareness of the importance of education. Educational programs for migrant families most often include: adopting a new language, activities to spend time with children and parents together and content on child development, the importance of their children's education, the importance of reading stories to their children, parenting strategies...

Since 2002, a family literacy program called the Even Start Family Literacy Program (Ward & Franquiz, 2004) has begun to be implemented in the United States. This program covers: 1. Basic adult education and literacy in English; 2. Parenting education (learning about child development, the importance of reading stories to improve vocabulary, various parenting strategies); 3. Education of children in early childhood to promote reading and writing, or to improve elementary literacy in English; 4. Parent-child time together, in which parents have the opportunity to monitor the learning and development of their children and to apply the knowledge they have acquired during the program (Ward & Franquiz, 2004). The results of the program evaluation showed that at least one parent and one child from each family participated in all program areas offered. A large number of parents (77%) enrolled in adult programs, i.e, to attend primary and secondary school if they did not complete it. Research shows that children from migrant families achieve better school outcomes if they are involved in teaching that fosters educational strategies such as: creating bilingual classes (teaching in their mother tongue and language), organizing cultural, social and artistic programs on weekends, as well as creating curricula to learn about the cultures, interests, experiences and concerns of migrant families. Parents are seen in the service of children, that is, as the main support for children in achieving better results in further education and, consequently, in further life functioning (Martinez & Velazquez, 2000).

Methodological framework

Most migrant families located in Serbia want to move on to Europe, making their stay in Serbia transit. This transition often takes up to two years, which raises the question of what kind of education responds to the needs of the *transition*. Therefore, the subject of this research is to understand the educational situation of the migrant families in Serbia, and the aim of the research is to investigate the educational situation of the migrant famileis in Serbia, in the way that it is perceived by the respondents themselves.

The main research question in this chapter is: What is the educational situation of the migrant families in Serbia? Due to the complexity of the main research question, and for as specific answers as possible, we have defined the following research sub-questions:

- What educational programs (formal and non-formal education) are offered to migrants? Which are offered to children, young people, adults, the elderly?
- In which of the offered educational programs are migrants participating (children, young people, adults, the elderly)?
- In which of the offered programs are migrants not participating?
- In which programs would migrants participate if offered?

This research is qualitative in nature. It was conducted in 2018 and lasted three months. We have used a interviews to get migrants' views on the educational situation they are in. The interview contains questions divided into 6 categories: the first 2 categories relate to the personal and family characteristics of the respondents, the questions in the following three categories relate to information related to the assessment of the educational situation, while the last category of questions relates to understanding the role and function of education in one's own and development of others. Although the research plan intended that both children and parents would answer the defined answers, parents from their own and on behalf of their children answered the questions in unforeseen circumstances.

The sample included 5 families – all respondents were from the Krnjača detention camp. Krnjača was founded in Belgrade in 2014 and it can optimally take up to 750 persons, up to 1000 at time of urgency. It is the biggest centre for accommodation of migrants and asylum seekers on the territory of Serbia and the only one that accommodated migrant families. The criteria for the selection of the sample were 1. Voluntary presence of the (whole) family in the reception center and 2. Involvement of at least one child from the family in the formal education system in Serbia. The families are originally from Afghanistan (3), Iran (1) and Pakistan (1). Of these, five respondents were women, i.e. mothers and one man, father. By structure, four families are complete nuclear, consisting of parents and children, while one family is extended in its composition. In terms of number of members, one family is four members, three families are five members, and one is a seven-member family.

The data obtained in the interview with the Commissariat psychologist were also taken into account in the analysis of the data obtained from this research. The interview was about number of migrants enrolled in the 2018/2019 school year, about planned educational activities, the news that were introduced, as well as interesting stories from the personal experience of psychologists. The epistemological approach used to interpret the data obtained is phenomenological.

Results

The first two sets of semi-structured interview questions were related to personal and family characteristics of the respondents themselves, who revealed to us the country of origin, the number and structure of the family, how long the respondents were with their families in Serbia and the educational structure of family members. This group of questions allowed us to gain insight into the background of the respondents themselves to help us shed light on answers to future questions. The obtained data are shown in Table 2.

Table 2.
The structure of migrant families, length of stay in the Republic of Serbia and level of education of family members

Country of origin	The number of family members	Time spent in Serbia	Education level of children before coming to Serbia	Parental education level before coming to Serbia
Afghanistan	5	2 years	Without completing primary school (3 children)	M= primary school F= primary school
Afghanistan	5	8 months	Without completing primary school (3 children)	M= faculty F= secondary school
Afghanistan	7	16 months	D= primary school S=secondary school Without completing primary school (2 children)	M= faculty F= faculty FB= secondary school
Iran	5	1 year	Without completing primary school (3 children)	M= faculty F= secondary school
Pakistan	4	2 years	Without completing primary school (3 children)	M= secondary school F=faculty

* Abbreviations used in the Table 2: D – daughter, S – son, M – mother, F – father, FB – father's brother

Table 2 provides basic information on families. Where do they come from, how many members, how long are they in Serbia, the level of education of children and the level of education of parents of all families who participated in the research.

The following are the answers to research questions, chronologically arranged as outlined in the methodological section of the chapter.

Educational programs provided to and used by migrants

All children from 3 to 17 years of age are enrolled in the formal education system, no matter how long they have been in Serbia. In addition to the school, they go to the ADRA organization for preparatory and supplementary classes, where they learn Serbian and English and transfer materials from other classes from the school. ADRA (a global humanitarian organization of the Seventh-day Adventist Church) delivers relief and development assistance to individuals and communities in more than 130 countries, including Serbia. By partnering with communities, organizations and governments, ADRA is able to improve the quality of life of vulnerable groups.

Only one boy attends painting classes next to the school, while all the parents agreed that their children already have a great obligation to be in the Serbian language school every day, which they do not know best, which is why they do not participate in additional activities. Secondary school enrolment is in its infancy, but still to a small extent considering that the target group are migrants in transition. When it comes to adults, they are offered the following educational programs: Makeup, Mathematics, Serbian, English and Farsi, Civic Education, Fitness and Computer Basics. The educational programs are offered by some NGOs, including ADRA, in agreement with the government. Of all the programs mentioned, respondents indicated that they attended language classes, fitness classes, and occasionally computer classes. Due to their obligations to children and family, lack of time and lack of understanding of English/Serbian, they are often not included in non-formal education programs. All respondents expressed satisfaction with both the organization of formal education for their children and the non-formal education programs organized for them.

Educational programs provided but not used by migrants

As we have already seen from the answer to the previous question, migrant children are not offered much of a non-formal education activity in addition to the additional classes that they attend in formal education. Only one interviewee pointed out that her son attended painting classes because she is an exceptional talent. Occasional workshops for children are organized and attended by young migrants, but the workshops are not carried out continuously. Adults pointed out that they did not attend makeup classes and civic education. The main reason for not attending these courses was the lack of time, as well as insufficient knowledge of Serbian or English required to attend classes.

Educational programs in which migrants would participate but are not provided

This is a group of questions that could guide future creators of education programs, getting to know the educational needs of migrants themselves. However, it turns out that in a transition situation, migrants do not know where to go next, and as they themselves stated, "we go wherever they want to receive us". In a situation where migrants do not know where they will be next year, and in which direction their and their families' lives will develop, it is clear that it is difficult to talk about the desired education. What would be important to them at the moment (learning English and Serbian) is already being organized. One respondent emphasized that she would like to organize a sewing course because she would like to do it in the future. All respondents agreed that they would like to have more organized activities for the whole family, such as going on trips, going to the movies, music evenings. Such educational activities would enable, first of all migrant children, and then adult migrants too, to gain the feeling that they are in their own country. This type of agreement can be a good guideline for creating future educational programs for migrant families.

Understanding the role and function of education in one's own and others' development

The last group of questions was intended to better understand the attitude of migrants towards understanding the importance of education for them and their families. As the first conclusion of this group of questions, we received a statement from the respondent that they left the country first and foremost to provide their children with a better education. When asked whether children or adults have priority in inclusion in education, 3 out of 2 respondents agreed that children had priority, while two respondents indicated that education was equally important for children and adults.

Concluding considerations

Migration is a problem whose actuality is not diminishing. The turbulence of the capitalist system has consequences for people's lives, whether they are from developed or less developed countries, and this drives them to change their place of residence. The answer to such a complex situation is not simple, nor one-sided, but one of the instruments by which we can facilitate easier and better socialization into a new society is certainly education. Not only is education important for improving one's position, personal development, sense of satisfaction, better understanding of the world. The importance and strength of education is also reflected in the improvement of the life of the family, or even of the community, created as an impetus to individual change, or even as a *consequence* of it.

But what is the role of education for those migrants in transition? What and to what extent can education be provided to individuals who have accidentally found themselves and stayed in the territory of an unknown country (up to two years) but do not want to stay there?

The results of the survey indicate that our respondents see great value in education. They consider it an important and indispensable part of the personal development and development of their children. However, all respondents agree that they are not prepared to invest heavily in education during the transition period, i.e during their stay in the country where they do not wish to stay.

With regard to children and young people, all respondents agreed that the formal education system is of immeasurable importance. The formal education system teaches their children to become accustomed to functioning in a different cultural context, to acquire work habits, but also to acquire new knowledge regardless of the fact that they do not want to stay in Serbia. In addition to the formal education system, only one respondent pointed out that her son attended painting classes (in addition to the additional and supplementary formal education classes). This attitude towards non-formal education is not because the respondents consider it irrelevant, but they emphasize that their children already have a great effort to go to school in a foreign language, to do their homework.

Adult migrants are provided with non-formal education programs that include language learning (Serbian and English), learning the basics of computers, and fitness. Although all respondents express their gratitude for and participate in the programs offered, they note that because of their family roles, they do not have much time to devote to education. As noted above, parents are seen as a *victim* for the better life of their children.

Given the complexity of the situation in which migrants find themselves in transition, it is important to emphasize once again the respondents' agreement on the need for a larger number of educational programs intended for the whole family. Going to the theatre or cinema, going on a trip or music events can help the family maintain family cohesion during the transition.

As a final conclusion of this research, we would emphasize the importance of working simultaneously with both the migrant population and the local population. Until we sensitize the citizens of Serbia that the modern age involves the movement of the local population and the arrival of the new, and that we must therefore be more open to diversity, and also examine the educational needs of migrants that will allow them better and easier socialization, we do not see that large change.

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EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT TO FAMILIES WITH A MEMBER SUFFERING FROM ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE[1]

Abstract

Alzheimer's disease is one of the most common causes of dementia syndrome, gradually making a person dependent on someone else's care and help. Alzheimer's disease affects the functioning of the entire family of a member living with diagnosis, it puts family in a state of social need and can generate a non-developmental family crisis. Due to the multiple negative effects caused by this crisis, various services and support programs for families with a member with Alzheimer's disease are developing. One type of these support programs is adult education. Considering the global trend of increasing number of people with diagnosis of Alzheimer's disease, we recognize the need to make adult education more accessible to their families. It is necessary that such programs are available to families of people living with Alzheimer's disease, and we decided to investigate what should be the content of such educational programs. Our research question is: what are the educational contents that are useful for families' members of people with Alzheimer's disease? In the search for an answer, we conducted 7 in-depth semi-structured interviews. Given that we are starting from the assumption that the process of creating educational content should be participatory, that all actors involved in the life of a member's living with Alzheimer's disease family should be included in it, research participants were families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease, social care experts and caregivers. We searched for the similarities and differences in their opinions, in order to reach what is common. Our goal was to reach a compromise in the participants' thinking, to reach the *cross-sectional content* of educational programs for the families of a person with Alzheimer's disease. The research results show that the opinions of the research participants are very similar, they have more in common in their opinions than differ-

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ences. Everyone agrees that members of families of people with Alzheimer's disease need both the educational content about the Alzheimer's disease itself, as well as the educational content related to family functioning and community services. This suggests that relatives of a person living with Alzheimer's disease need a comprehensive education that will support them in various aspects of their lives.

Keywords: family life education, Alzheimer's disease, education for families of people living with Alzheimer's disease, educational needs

Introduction

With the development of neoliberal capitalism, all services have been put on the market and became commodified, and the main systemic ideal became the ideal of the greatest possible profit. Such changes influenced adult education, which became market-oriented. The privatization and commodification of services affects social categories that require socially organized help to meet their basic needs. Social services have became less and less accessible to them (Abendroth, 2014; Lynch, 2006; Stark, 2018; Wallace & Pease, 2011). In the neoliberal system, the old are marginalized, and dysfunctional old people are faced with additional restraintments. This is the case with old people who suffer from Alzheimer's disease, which is one of the most common causes of dementia syndrome, gradually making the person dependent on someone else's care and help.

Alzheimer's disease affects the functioning of the entire family of a member living with Alzheimer's disease, it puts family in a state of social need and can generate a family crisis. Therefore, families' members, as *hidden victims* (Zarit, Orr & Zarit, 1985) of Alzheimer's disease, need help and support with coping and managing the given situation. Education can be recognized as one type of such support, and as a research problem in the broadest sense we can ask the question: what role can adult education play in this situation? Can it play the role of social support that the members of a person's living with Alzheimer's disease family need? From the perspective of andragogical assumptions, we accept a positive answer to the question posed, and furthermore, we can ask a number of specific questions relating to different aspects of that education. One of those questions is what should be the content of such education? Are these contents focused solely on the caregiver aspect of a member living with Alzheimer's disease, or they also cover other aspects of family members' lives? We can also ask who should create those educational contents for families' members, ie. who should be involved in the content creation process? In this paper, following a theoretical reflection on the answers to these questions, we will present our research on the assessment of the usefulness of specific educational contents for families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease. The paper is organized into four sections: theoretical considerations, followed by the presentation of research methodological framework, presentation and interpretation of research results, and concluding considerations.

Theoretical considerations: educational programs for families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease

Alzheimer's disease is one of the most common cause of dementia syndrome, due to brain changes. This disease is progressive and interferes with the functioning of higher cognitive functions: memory, thinking, orientation, calculation and insight, learning and language. Deteriorations in these cognitive functions are also accompanied by exacerbations in the sphere of emotional control, social behavior and motivation (WHO, 1994; WHO, 2012). These changes alter a person's overall functioning and gradually, but surely, deprive him/her of his/hers autonomy and make him/her dependent on someone else's care and help, even to satisfy the most basic needs.

Everywhere in the world, family represents the main source of support and care for a people living with Alzheimer's disease and a cornerstone of the social protection system (Amity, 2014; WHO, 2012). The family is a natural, least restrictive environment for the person with diagnosis. However, a person living with Alzheimer's disease is not isolated in the state of social need, but also brings family members with whom they interact and who care for them into this condition. The disease puts the whole families in a state of social need and can generates a crisis. Life with a family member with Alzheimer's disease represents an non-developmental, involuntary family crisis (Goldner-Vukov, 1988), a crisis that does not arise from developmental tasks during the family life cycle. The crisis disrupts the psychosocial balance of families of people living with Alzheimer's disease and paints theirs overall functioning, requiring major changes and adaptation to an unplanned situation. Since Alzheimer's disease is progressive, the intensity of care for a member living with Alzheimer's disease changes over time, as do the roles that families' members need to assume. With the progression of the disease, when the person with diagnosis of dementia becomes completely dependent on someone else's care, more intensive involvement of the family is necessary for every activity of a person living with Alzheimer's disease, in order to meet the most basic needs. The care for a family member becomes more demanding over time and turns into twenty-four hour activity. The family crisis deepens, and families are facing increased demands to change family functioning and adapt to the given circumstances.

Still, in their studies of hysteria, Freud and Breuer wrote about the negative effects of nurturing on the caregiver's personality and behavior – describing and analyzing the Elisabeth's case, they concluded that nurturing leads to sleep disorders, self-neglect, and constant worry (Sorensen, Duberstein, Gill & Pinquart, 2006). Many contemporary studies, which are not solely conducted within the framework of psychoanalysis, came to the same results. There are numerous allegations in the literature to the negative effects of nurturing on members of families of people living with Alzheimer's disease (Amity, 2014; Burgeois, Schulz & Burgio, 1996; Sorensen, Duberstein, Gill & Pinquart, 2006; WHO, 2012). Sorensen, Duberstein, Gill and Pinquart classify these effects into psychosocial and physiological consequences, consequences for health behavior and the general health of families' members (Sorensen, Duberstein, Gill & Pinquart, 2006). The most commonly cited and analyzed psychosocial effects are stress, depression, anxiety, and burnout (Burgeois, Schulz & Burgio, 1996; Sorensen, Duberstein, Gill & Pinquart, 2006; WHO, 2012). Also, perceived quality of life and life satisfaction, as well as self-esteem are also lowered within population of families' members of people living with dementia. With the progression of the disease, social isolation of these families also arises, because of the obligations to take care of the family member living with Alzheimer's disease. They don't have time to maintain social contacts and friendships, the amount of free time available to them is reduced, and the way they spend their time is also changed (Amity, 2014; WHO, 2012). Those caring for a family member living with dementia report poor health, reduced physical activity, sleep deprivation and frequent use of medication, leading to an increased mortality rate for them (Sorensen, Duberstein, Gill & Pinquart, 2006).

By identifying the negative effects of caregiving on families' members described above, the creation of various support programs begins. During the 1980s, various services and support programs for families with a member with Alzheimer's disease began to develop in the West, and education can be recognized as one type of those support programs. Education aimed at families' members of people with Alzheimer's disease has many aspects, and when analyzing the educational programs available, we came to the conclusion that content is an aspect that has not received much attention. Namely, the authors in their papers mostly do not explain how they *come* to the contents of educational programs, how they created it, which contents families' members consider necessary, how was theory the basis for the content creation, who created the content, etc. Most research efforts are focused on examining the effects of different types of interventions, including educational ones. As Bourgeois, Schulz, and Burgio note: "The content of interventions is one of the least understood aspects of the intervention literature. With a few notable exceptions, the specific content and procedural details of interventions are reported in abbreviated fashion making it difficult to fully understand what was done" (Bourgeois, Schulz & Burgio, 1996, p. 82).

The absence of papers addressing the educational needs of families' members themselves is also noticeable. Instead of first detailing the needs for different contents, authors seem to create educational programs based on a deductive analysis of the literature, based on their assumptions and the implications provided by the theories behind it. Of course, this is also a legitimate and correct way to *get* potential content, but we also believe that family members' education should be based on their own educational needs, so that it can serve and help them. If not, education may lose some of its power to attract and support families in this type of crisis. Thus, research by Zarit and Leitsch shows that the lack of service that is based on the needs of families' members is one of the reasons for the poor use of available services among this population (Zarit & Leitsch, 2001). If we accept the dominant deductive approach to creating content of educational interventions for families of people with Alzheimer's disease, then as participants of the created intervention should be chosen the people who need this type of intervention. However, we come across critiques that this is not happening, which is later reflected in the demonstrated effects of the given interventions. As Acton and Kang said: "Perhaps recruitment of participants with problems that might be affected by intervention would result in better outcomes. An examination of the caregiver intervention literature reveals that very few researchers screen participants for characteristics and problems related to the specific intervention being tested or the measured outcomes" (Acton & Kang, 2001, p. 357). This claim is supported by Ducharme and his associates, stating that one of the main reasons for the modest effects of educational interventions is the mismatch of their content with the needs of families' members (Ducharme et al., 2009). Therefore, we agree with Acton & Kang that "tailoring interventions to meet the needs as perceived by caregivers may produce more meaningful outcomes" (Acton & Kang, 2001, p. 358). All of the above leads us to the conclusion that more attention should be paid to the issue of families' needs for different educational contents. This would make education more *attractive* to families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease, having them more prepared and motivated to engage in it, and the produced effects would be more meaningful.

In order to change the noted deficiencies, Ducharme and associates developed an educational content creation model based on the participation of family members of people with Alzheimer's disease and based on their educational needs (Ducharme et al., 2009). This model has 4 stages:

1. Exploring family members' educational needs;
2. Developing and validating a program proposal based on expressed needs;
3. Formalizing program through intervention mapping and;
4. Testing and qualitatively evaluating the program.

Family members are involved in each stage of the model. However, we are of the opinion that this model needs to be expanded and that, in addition to families' members of people with Alzheimer's disease, it is necessary to include other actors who participate in family life. The situation of families with a member with Alzheimer's disease involves many *parties*, informal and formal caregivers and family support. Three *sides* are important to our paper: experts working in the field of social protection; caregivers who help families in meeting the basic needs of people with Alzheimer's disease; and families' members themselves. We are of the opinion that all these *parties* should be involved in creating the content of the educational program, since everyone knows the partial needs of families that arose from a given crisis situation. Specifically, we may ask the question: do social care experts adequately and sufficiently know the prospect of everyday life with a person with Alzheimer's disease diagnosis, what it looks like to care for and nurture them, what are the difficulties and challenges that family members face? Basing the program solely on the opinion of experts, which is the dominant practice, will not provide adequate help to families. But we can also ask the question: would family members be able to fully recognize, perceive and express their needs without the expert's advice? Furthermore, starting with the systematic approach to the family, we can also view the caregivers as part of the family system. They participate in the daily life of families and help them meet the basic needs of people living with Alzheimer's disease. Therefore, formal caregivers are likely to have a good understanding of what aspects of care and functioning families need help with, what their difficulties are, what knowledge and skills may be of use to them. Their insights and opinions can be particularly significant if they work in multiple families, so they can give us a more general picture of what typical difficulties and challenges such families face. Therefore, we start from the assumption that the creation of the educational program's content should be a participatory process for all actors, that this content should be the result of common perceptions of the above mentioned *parties* about what educational contents are needed and useful to families' members of people with Alzheimer's disease. This assumption lies at the basis of a participatory approach to the creation of educational content, which we opted for.

In addition to the question of who (should) create the content of educational programs for families of people living with dementia, we can also ask: what the contents of these programs are? Are these contents focused solely on the caregiving aspect of a member living with Alzheimer's disease, or do they cover other aspects of family members' lives? Reading and analysis of educational programs for families of people living with Alzheimer's disease has led us to conclude that educational programs are diverse in content and of varying degrees of generality. Some programs are narrow and specific in nature, focusing only on one aspect of the family members' lives, mainly on the caregiving aspect. These programs are largely based on the behavioral paradigm and aim at developing skills and gaining knowledge about specific situations. The most frequent contents of these educational programs are the stress reduction skills development and behavioral changes. Other programs, however, are of a more general nature and focus on various aspects of the family members' lives. Such programs provide a comprehensive *package* of knowledge and skills that are presumed to be able to support families in a given crisis.

By analyzing the educational programs available, we also recognized that we can identify the 3 levels to which all contents are directed: a person with Alzheimer's disease/personal, family and community levels. The *personal* level refers to a person with Alzheimer's disease. The goal of the contents we recognize at this level is to make the person's with Alzheimer's disease quality of life as good as possible, to support family members to provide the highest quality care and to be well prepared for the caregiving role. Therefore, all the contents that are targeted at the domain of care of a person living with Alzheimer's disease are classified in this level. The *family* level includes all contents that are focused on the aspect of family functioning. The purpose of these contents is to understand the new role of family members in the context of new functions, tasks, responsibilities. These programs support existing family strengths and develop new ones to make the family as functional as possible in a given crisis. The *community* level includes all those programs whose contents seek to meet family members with the various forms of socially organized support to the family, with the available services and their rights.

All topics that appeared as contents of educational programs can be sorted by the specified levels. In our research, we will look at these levels as areas of a potential educational program, and topics – as contents of those areas. For the sake of systematicity and better transparency, for the purposes of our research we have created the so-called *Information sheet*, which lists all potential topics/contents of the educational programs, and then these potential contents are sorted by area: *personal*, *family* and *community* (Table 1). We foresee the possibility that this list is incomplete and that some other contents may support families of people living with Alzheimer's disease as well.

Table 1.
Content of the Information sheet – potential content of the educational program

Area: PERSON WITH ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE/PERSONAL	Area: FAMILY	Area: COMMUNITY/ ENVIRONMENT
Contents: – About Alzheimer's disease – Early symptoms of Alzheimer's disease – Alzheimer's disease stages and their symptoms – Different treatments for Alzheimer's disease and their significance – Preparation for expected tasks and responsibilities – Biological and physiological (basic) needs of a person with Alzheimer's disease and ways of satisfying them (responsibilities and tasks of family members in that process) – Psychological and socio-cultural (developmentally higher) needs of a person with Alzheimer's disease and ways of satisfying them (responsibilities and tasks of family members in that process) – Emotionality, sensitivity and sensibility of a person with Alzheimer's disease – Sexuality of a person with Alzheimer's disease – The most severe problems and difficulties in the individual stages of Alzheimer's disease – Ways to cope with and overcome problems and difficulties – How to make the environment safer for a person with Alzheimer's disease – Use of assistive technology in the care for a person with Alzheimer's disease	**Contents:** – Understanding the new role in the family – caring for a family member – Redistribution of responsibilities and tasks in the family – Flexibility of the family to the changes required by the member living with Alzheimer's disease – Development of non-violent communication in the family – The importance of developing emotional connection in the family – The importance of open affective response in the family – Stress management skills development and burnout prevention in the care for a person with Alzheimer's disease – Problem solving skills – Spirituality development as a way of overcoming a difficult situation – Home budget management skills	**Contents:** – Rights of people with Alzheimer's disease and their families – Socially organized help for families with a member with Alzheimer's disease – social protection services – The role and services of NGOs in supporting the families – Safe and secure use of the Internet in finding the needed support – Neighborhood as a source of family support – Self-help groups – creation and utilization of a network of people with a similar family situation – Different ways to prepare for a caregiving role in the family

Methodological framework of the research

The described lack of research that explores the opinions and educational needs of families' members motivates our research, so therefore we decide to define the following *research question*: what educational contents would be useful to families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease? In the previous part of the paper, we have already argued that we believe that creating content for these families' educational programs should be a participatory process. Everyone involved in the life of the family is partially aware of its needs, which have emerged from the crisis the family is in. Of all the formal and informal caregivers of the family member living with Alzheimer's disease, three groups are significant to our research: social care professionals; caregivers who help families meet the basic needs of people with Alzheimer's disease; and families' members themselves. We are of the opinion that the content of educational programs for families with a member with Alzheimer's disease should be a compromise between these actors' opinions. Therefore, in order to achieve the *cross-sectional content*, we have separated the research question into 4 more specific sub-questions. Those are:

1. Which educational contents do families' members think might be useful to them?
2. Which educational contents do caregivers (geronto-caregivers, home caregivers) think might be useful to families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease?
3. Which educational contents do experts think might be useful to families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease?
4. What are the similarities and differences in opinions among families' members, caregivers, and experts regarding educational contents that might be useful to families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease?

The answers to these research sub-questions will lead us to differences, and therefore – similarities in opinions of these three categories of research participants, which will allow us to discover *cross-sectional content of* educational support for families of people living with Alzheimer's disease.

Data collection procedure

The qualitative paradigm was the basis for the methodological foundation of our research, and for data collection we used an in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Specifically, there was a set of questions that was used as the basis for interviewing each research participant. But, in accordance with the characteristics of the semi-structured interview, space was given to the research participants that helped new meanings and topics of education, which may have been unpredictable to us at the time, to emerge. During the interview, we had the freedom to ask additional questions if we considered the answers to be significant, but the participants themselves had the opportunity to add something beyond that set of previously prepared questions as well. That is why we have opted for a qualitative research approach, which, due to its epistemological nature, enables openness. Openness is one of the main features of qualitative methods and techniques, which allows participants to express their meanings and question the researcher's assumptions (Vilig, 2016). All interviews were recorded with audio aids and then transcribed, in order for us to be able to analyze and interpret as authentic data as possible. Before the start of each interview, we asked research participants for consent to record the conversation.

The *Information Sheet* (Table 1) was distributed to the research participants prior to the interviews. The list of areas with individual contents is not conclusive, but was open to suggestions and proposals from all research participants. Our aim was to find out the opinion of the research participants on the usefulness of the offered contents.

The data collection and transcription was followed by a phase of their analysis. We used qualitative content analysis (Morgan, 1993) to analyze the given answers and thematic analysis of Braun and Clarke (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2013) to identify new patterns, topics that may represent the contents of educational programs.

Research participants

Interviews were conducted with three categories of research participants: families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease, caregivers and social care professionals. With regard to the first category of participants, any family member (any kinship) involved in the care for a member living with Alzheimer's disease could participate in the study. The focus was solely on families where the member with Alzheimer's disease was not institutionalized. We led interviews with a total of 7 research participants: 2 families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease, 2 participants from the caregiver category, and 3 participants from the expert category.

Presentation, analysis and interpretation of research results

Family members' opinions on the usefulness of educational contents

Families' members perceived all contents related to knowledge about Alzheimer's disease as being extremely useful to them in a crisis situation. This kind of knowledge would be especially useful to them at the very beginning of Alzheimer's disease, when diagnosed, because they felt *the most lost then.* At that time, they generally had neither the knowledge, nor the practical skills they needed to successfully nurture a family member with Alzheimer's disease. Thus, the time/development of the disease variable influenced the usefulness assessment of these contents, with the progression of the disease the usefulness of these contents decreased. As families' members said, they were informed over time and knew *what to expect* from the disease. Also, families' members had an opinion that all contents related to the disease are intertwined and conditioned, and that the usefulness of each of these contents should not be evaluated individually. They suggested to unite all educational contents related to Alzheimer's disease, and to talk about a complete block of contents, that would cover different aspects of the disease (symptoms, stages of development, problems and difficulties...). In the person with Alzheimer's disease/personal area, these research participants evaluated the *Sexuality of a person with Alzheimer's disease* and *Use of assistive technology in the care for a person with Alzheimer's disease* as useless content. Families' members were very uncomfortable discussing the sexuality of their relatives, while pointing out that assistive technology is inaccessible to people with Alzheimer's disease, and because of that inaccessibility they felt that these educational contents would not be useful to them. Topics from family area were also found to be helpful to relatives. Particular emphasis is placed on the topics of *Stress management skills development and burnout prevention in the care for a person with Alzheimer's disease*, as well as the *Redistribution of responsibilities and tasks in the family*, since it is often the case that the entire care for a member living with Alzheimer's disease falls onto one person. Within this area, the *Spirituality development as a way of overcoming a difficult situation* and *the Importance of open affective response in the family* were highlighted as useless contents. Families' members had an opinion that spirituality should not be imposed as a desirable mechanism for dealing with a crisis, and they saw emotional connection as an aspect that the family needs to deal with before the crisis. Community/environment area contents were also assessed by families' members as helpful, notably content on rights, as well as available social protection services. *Neighborhood as a source of family support* and *Different ways to prepare for a caregiving role in the family* were evaluated as useless.

Caregivers' opinions on the usefulness of educational contents

Caregivers evaluated all educational contents related to Alzheimer's disease in the person with Alzheimer's disease/personal area as being useful to families' members. Their caregiving experience showed them that relatives of a person with Alzheimer's disease do not have adequate knowledge about Alzheimer's disease, especially at the very beginning of the disease development. Families, as caregivers said, are mostly lost and confused, not having a clear idea of what to do with members living with Alzheimer's disease, how to care for them, or how to handle certain situations. It is at these moments that caregivers, as they pointed out, play the role of transmitters of the necessary knowledge and skills, so that the family can provide a member living with Alzheimer's disease with the necessary and adequate care. Caregivers stated that families mostly don't know how to care for the basic needs of a person with Alzheimer's disease, which is why they are hired. Therefore, they found all contents from the Alzheimer's disease domain to be very useful to families' members. The educational contents from this area that were assessed as useless are the *Sexuality of a person with Alzheimer's disease* and the *Use of assistive technology in the care for a person with Alzheimer's disease*, for the same reasons why families' members considered them useless. Caregivers also believed that educational contents from the family area are very important and useful for families to cope more effectively with the crisis. The most useful contents in this area are the *Stress management skills development and burnout prevention in the care for a person with Alzheimer's disease* and the *Redistribution of responsibilities and tasks in the family*. Three contents in this area were described as useless; these are: *The importance of open affective response in the family*, *Spirituality development as a way of overcoming a difficult situation*, and the *Home budget management skills*. Although caregivers had varying experiences with the level of family members' familiarity with their rights and the social services available to them, they found the educational content to be very useful in this regard. They found contents about the self-help groups extremely useful, and considered that it would be encouraging for families' members to connect with people who are in a similar family situation. In the community/environment area, the *Neighborhood as a source of family support* and the *Different ways to prepare for a caregiving role in the family* were described as useless.

Experts' opinions on the usefulness of educational contents

Social protection experts also believed that contents related to Alzheimer's disease and care should be combined into one unit, one block of content. They pointed out that such a block of content is necessary and useful to families' members at the beginning of the disease development, but that this usefulness diminishes over time as the competencies of families' members evolve with the development of the disease. As they said, it's not the same whether the disease is at the onset of the development or in the late stage, so the educational needs of families' members are not the same in these cases. *Sexuality of a person with Alzheimer's disease* was assessed as a taboo topic, as a useless content that should not be imposed on families' members. Experts also found the educational contents from the family area helpful. The analysis showed that the *Development of non-violent communication in the family* was especially highlighted, as experience showed them that in such crisis situations communication in families often takes on the characteristics of aggression, especially in the late stages of Alzheimer's disease, when the care for the member becomes most demanding. As useless contents from the family area experts evaluated: *The importance of developing emotional connection in the family, Spirituality development as a way of overcoming a difficult situation* and *Home budget management skills*. Contents from the community/environment area were also considered useful, with a particular emphasis on the contents that seek to inform families' members on their rights and available social services. *The role and services of NGOs in supporting the families, Neighborhood as a source of family support*, and *Different ways to prepare for a caregiving role in the family* were considered useless contents.

The 'cross-sectional content' of the educational program

Based on the conducted analysis we can, also, respond to the last research sub-question and create a new list of potential educational contents. This list represents *cross-sectional contents*, which we sought through guided interviews. By examining the usefulness of all individual educational contents, through interviews with families' members, caregivers and experts, we have enabled the participation of a wide range of actors in determining the content of a potential educational program for families of people living with Alzheimer's disease. Therefore, this approach to creating the educational programs content can be described as participatory, and contents as cross-sectional, because they represent an expression of similarities and differences in opinions of the mentioned categories of research participants about their usefulness.

As we searched for cross-sectional contents that represented a compromise in opinions of all research participants categories, we decided to include only those contents that at least two categories of research participants agreed to be useful to families' members in the following list (Table 2). We removed from the list all those contents that did not meet the stated criterion, as well as those that research participants suggested they are useless and should be eliminated. Also, thematic analysis allowed us to identify new meanings, new topics/contents of educational programs that were not in the *Information sheet*. These topics are *Caregiving skills development* and *Placing a family member with Alzheimer's disease in the nursing home: a psycho-moral dilemma and guilty conscience*. The topic of *Caregiving skills development* refers to training in practical nursing skills, which would be led by a nurse, as research participants recommended. The aim of this training would be to develop practical skills of family members, such as wound dressing, help with nutrition of a member living with Alzheimer's disease, care for the hygiene, etc. Given that it relates to care, we classify this topic in the person with Alzheimer's disease/personal area. In the family area, we classify the content of *Placing a family member with Alzheimer's disease in the nursing home: a psycho-moral dilemma and guilty conscience*. The research participants often referred to the psychological difficulties and moral barriers that family members face when considering placing a person living with Alzheimer's disease in the nursing home as one of the possible options. Placing an old person in a nursing home is often a taboo subject, so education would provide an opportunity for families' members to discuss their dilemmas with others.

Table 2.
Cross-sectional content of the educational program

Area: PERSON WITH ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE/PERSONAL	Area: FAMILY	Area: COMMUNITY/ ENVIRONMENT
Contents: *Alzheimer's disease content block:* – About Alzheimer's disease – Early symptoms of Alzheimer's disease – Alzheimer's disease stages and their symptoms – Preparation for expected tasks and responsibilities – The most severe problems and difficulties in the individual stages of Alzheimer's disease – Ways to cope with and overcome problems and difficulties – Different treatments for Alzheimer's disease and their significance – Biological and physiological (basic) needs of a person with Alzheimer's disease and ways of satisfying them (responsibilities and tasks of family members in that process) – Psychological and socio-cultural (developmentally higher) needs of a person with Alzheimer's disease and ways of satisfying them (responsibilities and tasks of family members in that process) – Emotionality, sensitivity and sensibility of a person with Alzheimer's disease – How to make the environment safer for a person with Alzheimer's disease – *Caregiving skills development*	**Contents:** – Understanding the new role in the family – caring for a family member – Redistribution of responsibilities and tasks in the family – Flexibility of the family to the changes required by the member living with Alzheimer's disease – Development of non-violent communication in the family – Stress management skills development and burnout prevention in the care for a person with Alzheimer's disease – Problem solving skills – *Placing a family member with Alzheimer's disease in the nursing home: a psycho-moral dilemma and guilty conscience*	**Contents:** – Rights of people with Alzheimer's disease and their families – Socially organized help for families with a member with Alzheimer's disease – social protection services – Safe and secure use of the Internet in finding the needed support – Self-help groups – creation and utilization of a network of people with a similar family situation

Concluding considerations

Based on the analysis and interpretation of the research results, the first conclusion we can draw is about the extent of similarities in the opinions of families' members, caregivers and experts. Namely, there are no major discrepancies, contrary, opposing opinions and attitudes in their views. Most of them share the same opinion, both individual research participants within one category of participants, as well as different categories of participants among themselves. The differences between the different categories of participants can be seen mostly in the intensity of the perceived usefulness of educational contents. Another conclusion is that all participants in the study find most of the offered educational contents useful to families' members of a person with Alzheimer's disease. Interestingly, we obtained such data in a research with three categories of research participants. We believe that these results reflect unpreparedness of families for the caregiving role: due to the unpreparedness, which also reflects the lack of systematic support for these families, it is considered that most of the educational contents on the offered list would be useful and important.

By analyzing the statements of research participants, we have noticed that families' members lack many knowledge and skills that would help them go through a given family crisis, in different domains. Families' members not would only benefit from educational contents from the personal area, but they would also benefit from educational contents regarding other aspects of their lives, from the family and community/environment area. This tells us about the need for comprehensive education for family members of a person with Alzheimer's disease, that will not focus on just one aspect of their lives, but that will provide them with comprehensive support. Therefore, we view all those educational programs that are narrow in their orientation, focused only on one aspect of the family members' lives, as insufficient and inadequate. It is necessary to provide families of people living with Alzheimer's disease with a comprehensive education that will allow them to be more functional in a given crisis. Such education, as a form of socially organized support to families of people living with Alzheimer's disease, would bring many benefits: for people living with Alzheimer's disease, families, the social protection system and the whole society. However, in order to enable these benefits to be realized, we need to think more carefully about all elements of educational support and to explore them more. Primarily we are referring to the content aspect of the educational programs and all the questions that we have raised in the paper regarding this aspect.

We also believe that, alongside careful reflection and development of comprehensive educational programs, other forms of support for families of people with Alzheimer's disease should be available. These other forms of support make education possible to families, complement it, support it and enhance its effects, and should therefore be available to families along with education. We are primarily referring to day care, transportation and home care services, which would relieve families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease for a certain period and allow them time they can spend educating themselves. Education alone is not sufficient to truly support families of people with Alzheimer's disease, it is just one piece of intervention and it should be accompanied with others kinds of support that family members need. In one study we come to the following statement: "A problem experienced by this sample of caregivers was finding the time and freedom to come to the caregiver training program. They were uncertain about whether they could find anyone to stay with their loved one while they attended the training program" (Robinson, 1988, p. 70). Therefore, we believe that in addition to education, families should have access to a range of support services, which form the structural preconditions for the realization of education. Families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease need systemic support that will help them in the diverse areas of their lives.

Although a representative sample was not our goal, we believe that in order to make generalizations, it is necessary to conduct the research with a larger number of participants. A small number of research participants limit our research, so we recommend increasing the number of research participants in future. Also, based on our research results, we recommend examination of whether and in what way the usefulness of the educational contents listed in the *Information Paper* varies over time. Does the time variable, i.e. progression of the disease make some educational contents lose their usefulness? Or increase? In the data obtained we can see that the usefulness of educational contents varies with the development of the disease. But we do not precisely know whether this applies to all offered educational contents, nor in what way their usefulness varies. Also, it would be interesting to identify the positive consequences that caregiving can have on the personalities of families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease in some future research. Although this topic does not seem andragogical, understanding the positive consequences caregiving can have on the personalities of families' members would have andragogical implications. Such an understanding would give us an insight into some other potential educational contents that would aim at developing that positive consequences. Thus, entire focus of educational programs would not be exclusively on repairing the negative consequences caregiving has on families' members of people living with Alzheimer's disease. At the end, we believe it would be significant to have people with Alzheimer's disease as research participants in future researches. We are aware that the realization of such participation would be possible only in the early stages of Alzheimer's disease, when the persons' cognitive abilities are still preserved to the necessary extent. But, it would be interesting to see if their opinions would agree with the opinions of their relatives, caregivers and experts, as well as whether they would provide us with some new insights and potential educational contents.

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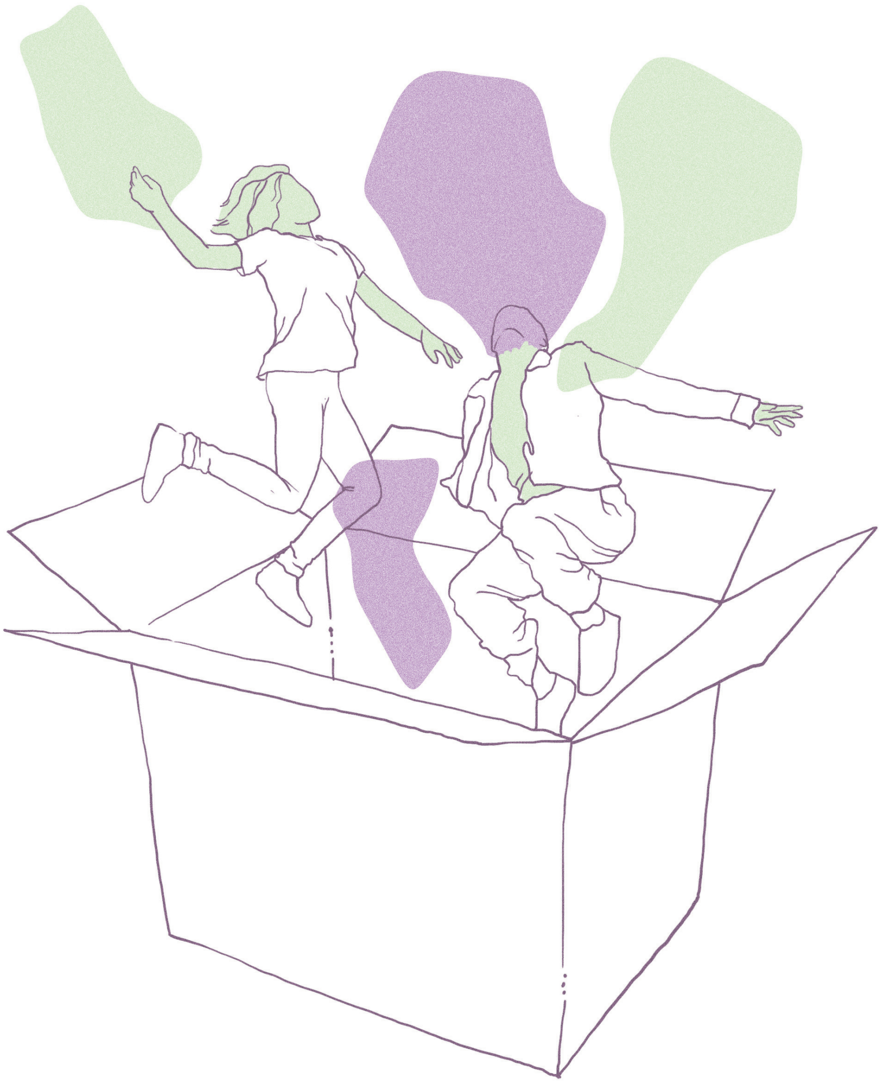

ADULT EDUCATION THEORY AND PRACTICE — MOVING THROUGH AND BEYOND POLITICS AND POLICIES

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A EUROPEAN INTEGRATION PERSPECTIVE ON THE HISTORY OF EDUCATION IN THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY

Abstract

This paper examines 1970s' and 1980s' European education politics from the perspectives of the neofunctional and the liberal theory of European Integration. Mediated by technological, labor market and cultural transformation, European institutions and national governments politically fought over the means and ends of education. Tensions loosened and engendered deeper integration after restructuring European institutions, groundbreaking judicial interventions and the commitment by national governments to pursue common objectives. The liberal and the neofunctional theory provide simple explanations for European integration, although, at the expense of the complexity of political processes. The examination exemplifies perennial questions concerning the circumstances of and motives for European education politics.

Keywords: international relations, governance, conceptual framework, analysis

Introduction

Education in the European Economic Community (EEC) has a special history. For several decades, Member States (MS) did not recognize education as an area of political cooperation or consider a common policy. However, from the moment MS agreed that education could be an issue whose cooperative handling would prove to be mutually beneficial to all MS, the status of education has consistently risen. Today, education is an important policy area of the European Union (EU) and a successful case of European integration. How can this development be explained?

In recent years, theoretically grounded research of educational politics has increased (Knauber, 2017). Studies on EU/EEC educational politics, though, remain mostly empirically-descriptive and are rarely based upon theoretical assumptions, such as those put forward by theories of European integration

(Holford & Milana, 2014). This paper aims to address this shortcoming by reconsidering education politics in the EEC from the perspective of European Integration Theories. In particular, the main assumptions of the neo-functional theory of supranational governance and the liberal theory of international politics will be applied in an experimental fashion to explore the political dynamics of the 1970s and 1980s; the decade in which the neo-liberal paradigm became dominant in European politics.

Both of these theories are meta-theories and cannot explain the complexity of day-to-day policymaking (Klatt, 2014) nor multi-level processes, however they can explain in a parsimonious fashion how the behavior of national and supranational actors has conditioned European politics. Thus, I assert that the theoretical framework presented in *part 1* of this paper contributes to a better understanding of how political cooperation and integration have occurred in the area of education. After an overview of key developments during the 1970s and 1980s (*part 2*), I apply the framework in *part 3* to test its accuracy. A detailed account of the history of education and training in Europe (1951–2017) can be obtained from a forthcoming book (Assinger, 2020).

Theoretical framework for an analysis of European integration

The relation between the national and the supranational level is an essential subject of international and comparative educational policy research (Holford, Milana, & Mohorčič Špolar, 2014). In the literature, this relation is considered ambivalently: Some scholars argue that global developments guide education policy (Ioannidou, 2014) and encourage states to transfer policy authority to supranational organizations (Jakobi, 2007), which govern national policies from a distance (Lawn, 2011). Contrastingly, others hold that states defend their sovereignty (Parreira do Amaral, 2006) so that they remain in power to decide what policies to implement (Schemmann, 2007) and shape the agendas of supranational organizations (Hingel, 2001). The history testifies, however, that policy formation and decision in the EEC/EU have never been exclusively top-down or bottom-up processes from the supranational to the national level or vice versa but rather processes of negotiation and compromise involving actors at all levels.

European integration, as understood in this paper, denotes the incremental transfer of policy powers from the national level of MS to the supranational level of European institutions like the European Commission and the European Court of Justice (ECJ). Analytically, this form of European integration can be approached from the perspectives of supranationalism or intergovernmentalism. Both claim to explain why integration occurs and why more competences in one area are being delegated to the supranational level (*deepening*) and why more areas are becoming a subject of integration (*broadening*). Supranationalism and intergovernmentalism differ in how they conceive of the key actors, their motifs, their interrelations and the role of supranational organizations. I substantiate two theories of supranationalism and intergovernmentalism: the neo-functional theory of supranational governance by Stone Sweet and Sandholtz (*neo-functional theory*) and the liberal theory of international politics by Moravcsik (*liberal theory*).

The neo-functional theory of supranational governance (1997)

The neo-functional theory by Stone Sweet and Sandholtz draws from the original theory of political integration by Haas, who was the first to present a coherent set of assumptions explaining European integration. According to Haas, interdependence and pluralist, interest-driven politics encourage integration. Interdependence refers to the fact that increasing transnational exchange leads states to recognize that their actions affect others and vice versa. Pluralist and interest-driven politics refers to the notion that non-political actors such as industry, business or academic elites articulate their interests to achieve beneficial outcomes for themselves. As national and supranational elites realize that their interests can no longer be sufficiently addressed at the national level, supranational organizations are established and competences for addressing pending problems are delegated to them. The dynamics triggered off by this integration, sets in motion a process of functional spillover indicating that competences have to be extended from one area to another because the initial objectives of the supranational organization could not be achieved without integrating new areas.

Stone Sweet's and Sandholtz's neo-functional theory claims to explain why European-level governance is constructed and why it proceeds more rapidly in some policy areas than in others. They define European-level governance as "the EU's capacities to create, interpret, and enforce rules" (Sandholtz & Stone Sweet, 2012, p. 5). Drawing from Haas and from empirical research, they argue three theses concerning what is driving the construction of supranational governance.

First, they argue that supranational governance supports actors who transact across borders, i.e. those dependent on the four freedoms: free movement of goods, capital, services and labor. Consequently, those who are disadvantaged by national rules and advantaged by supranational rules benefit the most from supranational governance. Moreover, they argue that due to increasing transnational exchange, costs inclined by governments in the pursuit of maintaining national rules rise to an extent that it becomes inevitable to adapt national rules to supranational rules. Lastly, they argue that MS' bargaining is conditioned by the structure and processes of supranational governance they attend to. It is emphasized that a growing transnational society combined with pro-integrative actions of supranational organizations and the rising number of supranational norms and rules will "gradually, but inevitably, reduce the capacity of the member states to control outcomes (...)" of their intergovernmental bargaining (Stone Sweet & Sandholtz, 1997, pp. 299–300).

On these grounds, the authors define three independent variables by which the construction of supranational governance could be explained (Sandholtz & Stone Sweet, 2012): (1) a transnational society, i.e. issues with a transnational scope and actors with transnational interests, (2) supranational organizations with autonomous capacity to make policies, law and resolve disputes and (3) an institutionalized normative structure, i.e. a supranational system of norms, values and rules.

The liberal theory of international politics (1997)

The liberal theory by Moravcsik builds upon three theoretical strands: that of the liberalism in IR, that of intergovernmental bargaining and that of a regime theory. The basic insight, though, is from realist IR theory, namely that the international political system is anarchic, which means, that there is no authority above the nation states that regulates interactions. Liberalism argues that the characteristic of the national society is the most important determinant of state behavior in an anarchic system. The intergovernmental bargaining perspective assumes that states cooperate and bargain to define whose preferences are more powerful and will prevail internationally. Lastly, the regime theory states that institutions based on principles, norms, rules and procedures facilitate and coordinate international agreements and cooperation.

Moravcsik argues that the liberal theory is superior to other IR theories since it accords priority to the "domestic" aspects of international politics but still explains "systemic" outcomes (Moravcsik, 1997). For studying European integration, the liberal theory is relevant because it "is grounded in broader social science theory" and because it "is a 'grand theory' that seeks to explain the broad evolution of regional integration." These two arguments reflect that the liberal theory is a bottom-up approach in which national politics analytically precede supranational interaction. Moreover, the liberal theory is claimed to be parsimonious and simple. "Its basic premises can be summarized in a few general, interrelated propositions, which deliberately seek to simplify EU politics, stressing the essential and excluding certain secondary activities." (Moravcsik & Schimmelfennig, 2009, pp. 67–68)

The main proposition is that "state-society relations – the relationship of states to the domestic and transnational social context in which they are embedded – have a fundamental impact on state behavior in world politics." (Moravcsik, 1997, p. 513) The core assumptions of the liberal theory, therefore, are: First, "states (and other political actors) exist in an anarchic environment and they generally act in a broadly rational way in making decisions." For integration, this assumption implies that only rational rent-seeking behavior can account for cooperation since there is no other authority that would force them into cooperation. Second, "states represent some subset of domestic society, whose views constitute state preference." He emphasizes that national political institutions of all kinds are the medium by which societal actors bring their interest in a favorable position. Third, "the interdependence of state preferences influences state behavior." (Moravcsik, 2010). Since states engage in rent-seeking behavior, cooperation is most likely when preferences among cooperating states are similar or converging, because then the policy externalities will be positive. This is when IO's and international regimes respectively are formed to cope with the negative consequences of interdependence.

The theoretical framework in a nutshell

In a nutshell, supranationalism conceives of European integration as a top-down process in the case of which the existence of supranational issues, supranational actors and supranational organizations drives the progress of integration. Intergovernmentalism, on the contrary, conceives of European integration as a bottom-up process, in the case of which the interests of the national society are communicated by national governments in exercising internationally cooperative problem solving. From a supranationalist perspective, supranational organizations take over the control of a policy field and govern the developments in this field according to the norms and rules that benefit the supranational society, thus causing a loss of national sovereignty. From an intergovernmentalist perspective, national governments remain authoritative as concerns their policies and use supranational regimes as means to coordinate their cooperative problem solving in line with their national interests.

Table 1.
Framework for an analysis of European integration

Neo-functional theory of supranational governance	Liberal theory of international politics
Dynamics: Top-down	Dynamics: Bottom-up
Variables regulating integration	Assumptions about international politics
• The existance of a transnational society • Autonomous capacity of a supranational organizations • Institutionallized normative structure	• Anrchic system, rational decisions by nation states • Societal actors define state preferencies • Interdependance conditions state behavior

EEC education politics during the 1970s and 1980s

From a formal point of view, the history of education in the EEC virtually amounts to a description of the interrelation between vocational training and general education. For instance, Article 128 of the EEC Treaty (TEEC) from 1957 provided for vocational training policy, while for nearly twenty years, general education was ruled out in discussions at the Community level. Vocational training relates to work and employment and consequently to industry, trade and commerce, which are fields with a transnational scope. Contrary to this, general education was associated with sensitive issues like national culture and community, so it was precisely therefore that MS were not willing to make education an area of common concern. Until 1981, vocational training and general education had some policy overlaps, however they were neither institutionally nor legislatively conflated. At the turn of the 1980s, though, a new framework for education politics was devised, which slowly eroded the barriers between vocational training and general education and between the MS and the EEC institutions.

Education becomes a subject of integration

At the Summit in The Hague 1968, for the first time the relevance of education for EEC politics was seriously discussed. Olivier Guichard, French Minister of Education, suggested establishing regular meetings of education ministers, where common policies could be decided, and a *European Centre for the Development of Education*, which could do supranational policy work. Guichards' plans initially failed, however in 1971, the first meeting of education ministers eventually took place and, in 1973, a separate division for education was established in the Commission. These instances indicate that general education was eventually deemed an area of integration.

In the subsequent years, the education division drafted a political framework and an action program, which was formally adopted by the education ministers in the Council meeting in 1976. It was agreed that the program must contribute to the harmonization of social and economic policies without putting the particularities of education at risk. Furthermore, it was stipulated that education must not be regarded simply as a servant to economic progress and that the diversity of the MS' education systems must be respected and preserved.

The political framework included the *Education Committee*. It was a committee adapted to the specificities of education politics and comprised national public servants supporting education ministers, diplomatic corps supporting the Council, and officials from the Commission. The *Education Committee* was intended to assure that policy decisions respected all viewpoints. Over the longer term, it proved mutually beneficial. MS benefited because no decision could be made without their consent and the Commission benefitted because it could advance policy proposals and persuade national governments of the value of common policies.

Member States oppose policy proposals

Given the agreement articulated in the Resolution from 1976, one might expect that cooperation would have developed positively, however it was not long until the flaws of the political framework became evident. Education was not accounted for in the TEEC, so it was formally not an area MS wanted as a subject of integration. For that reason, the 1970s ended with a crisis that paralyzed the Council of Education Ministers for nearly three years.

It all started in November 1978, when the Danish and the French governments forwarded a request that the next meeting of education ministers be cancelled. The Danish government was vehemently opposed to proposals for which financial implications were to be expected on the categorial argument that no decision should be made without having a TEEC basis. Pépin reports that "[t]he criticism was not, moreover, limited to education, but extended to all fields situated in the 'grey zone', starting with health, for which Denmark considered that the proposals made by the Commission overstepped the limits fixed by the treaty." (Pépin, 2006, p. 90) The Danish were not entirely against cooperation but were afraid of any kind of harmonization of broader social policy, which they expected to result from a common policy. According to Pépin, "[t]his was no minor deadlock, and there was a real risk of seeing the nascent cooperation and all the efforts to set up the first action programme [*sic!*] reduced to nothing." (Pépin, 2006, p. 90)

Education ministers finally resumed meeting in June 1980. Denmark agreed to participate only under the condition that no further decision with budgetary consequences be made. Paradoxically, the crisis could be resolved as it was agreed to turn away from traditional issues of education, which were considered too sensitive for a common policy, towards labor market issues, which were affecting all MS on equal terms as globalization was taking up speed. An agreement could be found on topics such as transition from education to work, career guidance, the impact of demographic change and technology on education or mutual recognition of diplomas, which were linking education and the world of work and, thus, could be promoted more easily by reference to the TEEC.

Employment and labor market form common interests

In 1981, after durable negotiations, the education division, which had been in the Directorate General (DG) for Science, Research and Education since 1973 was transferred to the DG for Employment and Social Affairs, where it was merged with vocational training. This had a tremendous impact on education politics. Hywel Jones, head of the education division and chief negotiator, wrote that the transfer "heralded the beginning of a new period during which the Commission has taken [*sic!*] every opportunity to stress the interrelationships between education, training and employment and to place strong emphasis on the need for a new partnership and sharing of responsibilities for training policy, its planning and implementation." (Fogg & Jones, 1985, p. 297)

Because of the new affiliation, it became possible to allocate higher shares of the overall budget to education simply because it was now much more related to the highly important issues of employment and labor market. With the European Social Fund being part of the DG and establishing a coalition with the Parliament, which decides on the budget, greater financial means allowed the Commission to further develop policy programs in the areas of education and vocational training.

Jones admitted in 1985 that "[t]he general political climate has also changed rapidly (...). The distinctions between education and training have begun to lose all significance in the race by the Community to develop a 'technological culture' and keep up with its main trading partners on the international scene. A highly skilled, well-educated labour force has now become as important a factor to the Community's economic survival as the breaking down of trade barriers and the completion of the internal market." (Fogg & Jones, 1985, p. 299) The first policy program promoted the cooperation of higher educational institutions and industry regarding the training in the field of technology (COMETT). Historically, this was probably the first time an economic focus became explicit in the discourse on education, in institutional structures and in policies.

According to Brine (1995) the merger had an impact on three dimensions. *Politically*, it meant that the relation between education, training, employment and social policy were made tangible for national ministries. A*dministratively,* it had a significant effect at supranational, national and regional levels because the allocation and administration of financial resources through funding programs could be established in the form of a multi-agency system. *Practically*, the combination of education, training and employment linked compulsory schooling with the world of work and, thus, vocational, adult and continuing education. Brine suggests that this was in anticipation of the lifelong learning focus of the 1990s.

The ECJ mediates between diverging positions

In the early 1980s, Belgium had an access to education policy that was different from that of other MS. While it was usual, for instance, in France or Germany to regulate access to education on the basis of a *numerus clausus* policy, in Belgium, public education was free for all Belgian and Luxembourg nationals and accessible for foreign students upon payment of a fee called *minerval* (Flynn, 1988). This policy was less restrictive in terms of access requirements, however, seriously contradicted the foundations of the internal market in three dimensions: equal treatment of all Community citizens, unrestricted trans-border access to services in the internal market and the right to freedom of movement.

In 1983, the Italian Marissa Forcheri, who was living with her husband – a Commission official – in Belgium, invoked her rights to equal treatment and freedom of movement because she was required to pay the *minerval* for participating in a higher education program for social workers. Alongside equal treatment and freedom of movement, the ECJ was dealing with the question, whether higher education is or is not a type of vocational training and, thus, possible to be governed under TEEC provisions. The ECJ concluded rather vaguely that even if the TEEC did not directly consign competences upon the EEC to legislate in the area of education, depending on how education and vocational training were defined, it was possible that education fell under the TEEC.

A short time later, the case of Francoise Gravier would change everything. Gravier was a French national and permanent resident of France, who registered for a four-year study program on the art of strip cartoons at a Belgian higher education institution. As she was asked to pay the *minerval,* she sent a request to be granted an exemption, which was rejected. Gravier did not pay and was, thus, not allowed to continue her course. As a result of this, her Belgian residence permit was not extended so that she eventually had to leave the country. The ECJ decided in favor of Gravier on the issue of equal treatment. Moreover, it defined education as a service and emphasized that given the service is subject to remuneration, every Community citizen has the right to stay in a Community state in order to receive this service.

Most importantly, the ECJ decided that "any form of education which prepares for a qualification for a particular profession, trade or employment or which provides the necessary training and skills for such a profession, trade or employment is vocational training, whatever the age the level of training of the pupils or students, and even if the training program includes an element of general education." (Barnard, 1992, p. 124) According to Flynn, (1988) this definition was groundbreaking because it marked the first instance in which the ECJ affirmed that the right to have access to education can be claimed only by reference to the TEEC vocational training provision.

These judgments had many consequences. Immediately, the Belgian government issued rules to govern conditions for the access to education programs. Migrant workers and their spouses were not required to pay fees. Non-Belgian nationals were exempt from paying the fees if they were participating in vocational training but not if they were participating in university programs. And foreign students were allowed to participate in university programs, if they could provide a residence permit of more than three months. This policy was opposed by the Commission in further ECJ cases (Watson, 1987).

Consequently, Germany opined that students need to have worked in the country since only those having paid tax in Germany could be allowed to receive social advantages (Flynn, 1988). When the discussion began to address the organization of university courses in the humanities and compulsory schooling, Great Britain argued vigorously against the definition according to which all education can be vocational education (Barnard, 1992). Furthermore, Ireland insisted on the primacy of national culture, arguing that foreign teachers can only be employed if they pass a proficiency test in Irish, even if the language of instruction is English (Shaw, 1991).

Most relevant, though, was that students saw new possibilities opening up. As Barnard recounts: "The decisions suddenly raised the spectre [*sic!*] of large numbers of students moving within the Community without any co-ordinated planning, thereby placing a new strain on the education systems of the Member States" (Barnard, 1992, p. 125). This situation forced national and Community legislators to react and eventually led to the adoption of mobility programs among which ERASMUS would be the best known.

The Council finally agreed on policy

COMETT was the first policy program adopted right after the ECJ decided that the TEEC vocational training provision was sufficient to legislate. The following is a summary of a report by Andre Kirchberger (as cited in Pépin, 2006, pp. 113–116), head of the Commission's vocational training unit, on the processes leading up to the adoption of COMETT.

In June 1984, the Standing Committee on Employment unanimously approved the conclusions of the French Presidency. Shortly thereafter, the Irish Prime Minister set out the priorities for his Presidency. He proposed that a conference be organized in Galway at the end of the year on the subject of cooperation between universities and enterprises. Subsequently, in early 1985, the Irishman Peter Sutherland was announced Commissioner for Social Affairs and Employment. He immediately gave his cabinet the task of translating the Conclusions of the Galway meeting into policy proposals.

At the same time, the Council, the Parliament and the Commission adopted an interinstitutional agreement that obliged the Commission to base all new policy proposals on strong instruments such as Decisions. This was completed by the Commission and, in September 1985, an ad-hoc working group was set up on the initiative of the Council and the Council President. Kirchberger reports that the atmosphere in the ad-hoc working group was cooperative and "at no time was the Commission placed in difficulty; at no time did the Working Group on Social Questions try to 'trap' the Commission's representatives (...)." The Council meeting, at which COMETT was going to be decided, took place in December 1985. "Of course, a unanimous decision had to be taken (Article 235), and the budget allocation announced by the Commission (ECU 85 million) seemed excessive, particularly to the 'big' countries (at least to France, Germany and the United Kingdom)."

Kirchberger reports: "No one will forget the long discussions in the Council (...) Each of the delegates gave their views not once or twice but three times in turn, and still the same obstacles arose, mainly because some ministers thought that the budget allocation was too high, and others that it was too low (...) Belgium was the first country to vote: and it voted in favour [*sic!*]. Without going into the details of the vote here, suffice it to say that the 'small' countries took it upon themselves that evening to oppose the three 'big' countries. Comett [*sic!*] was thus carried solely on the basis of Article 128 — and this was to be the first and only time it was used as the sole legal basis for a decision."

To summarize, throughout all of the 1970s and most of the 1980s, the EEC was acting "by virtue of implicit competences" (Ertl, 2006, p. 6), which means all their measures were in a grey zone concerning the scope of primary law. But the decisions, in which the ECJ turned the existing legal basis upside down, suddenly provided the Commission and the Council a "carte blanche to legislate on the basis of Article 128" (Barnard, 1992, p. 126). From there on, it seemed the logical consequence that education would become part of the Treaty on European Union (TEU), which was being negotiated in the late 1980s and signed in Maastricht in 1992. Since then, Article 126 of the TEU has regulated EU action in education.

Application of the theoretical framework

European integration in the area of education manifested in four instances during the 1970s and 1980s: firstly, when regular meetings of education ministers and an education division were established; secondly, when the Education Committee was set up, thirdly, when vocational training and general education were merged in the same DG and fourthly, when the ECJ decided that the existing TEEC provision was sufficient to legislate in the domains of vocational training and general education. Policy programs such as COMETT and ERASMUS represent the first instances where the policy powers gained through integration were successfully translated into practice.

Reflection from the perspective of the neo-functional theory

The neo-functional theory takes on a top-down perspective with three variables regulating the degree of integration: (1) the existence of a transnational society with transnational actors benefitting from issues of transnational scope, (2) supranational organizations with autonomous capacity to make policy and (3) an institutionalized normative structure governing policy.

In all four instances of integration, issues of transnational scope were pushing the decisions of MS to delegate competences to the supranational level. At the end of the 1960s, a cultural paradigm shift pushed education on the EEC agenda and at the end of the 1970s, the oil crises and economic recession enabled linking education with employment to deepen integration. In the early 1980s, finally, technological transformation and globalization reinforced the economic orientation and the need to further promote education (Field, 2001; Geiss, 2017).

Actors involved in transnational transactions of any kind and therefore beneficiaries of supranational governance were workers moving more often within the community (1970s), private corporations pushing transnational trade (1970s/1980s), and students starting to move after the ECJ had intervened in national access to education policies (1980s). The interests of these actors, it appears, were eventually addressed by the cooperation and mobility programs such as COMETT and ERASMUS, which started in the late 1980s. The supranational society, thus, affected MS on comparable terms and, therefore, made them arguably more inclined towards political cooperation and common policies.

Concerning supranational organizations, a distinction must be drawn between the Commission and the ECJ. The TEEC did not provide for much capacity of the Commission in the area of education. It was for this reason that the education division had to seek coalitions, which they established with the DG Employment and Social Affairs, the vocational training division and the Parliament – all supranational organizations. Moreover, the coalitions were established on the basis of issues with a transnational scope or with specific transnational relevance, such as labor market, recognition of diplomas and financial support.

On the contrary, the ECJ could autonomously intervene in national legislation by means of case law. The ECJ used this autonomous capacity to fulfil its function as the facilitator of supranational governance (Stone Sweet & Sandholtz, 1997). It intervened in national affairs and at the same time pushed the capacities of the Commission by defining the scope and application of the TEEC provision. In this fashion, the ECJ enabled deeper integration and the adoption of policy programs.

According to Sandholtz and Stone Sweet, (2012) the institutionalized normative structure becomes modified as actors recognize ambiguities and flaws or benefits and chances and then argue for or against the validity of the normative structure. This is what happened when the crisis in the education ministers meeting was resolved by exchanging the focus on traditional issues of education for the focus on employment and labor market. Core norms of the 1976 action program, namely that education must not become subjected to pure economic reasoning and that the specificity of education must be preserved, were modified and education became an important element of economic reasoning. This change is evident in the statement Ivor Richard, Commissioner for Social Affairs, Employment, Vocational Training and Education, gave at the meeting of education ministers in 1981:

"We must forge further ahead with integrated education, vocational training and employment policies if any adequate response is to be made to the challenges of new technology and rapid economic and social development. It is only through continuing training that society's problems can be resolved, because it is the only way to meet the requirements of innovation and creativity as well as greater social equality." (as cited in Pépin, 2006, p. 91)

A similar modification of the normative structure was initiated by the ECJ judgements, when MS had to accept that the supranational institutions were becoming more and more powerful. Article 126 of the TEU is the manifestation of the modified normative structure and the indicator that education had become fully integrated in the EU framework.

Reflection from the perspective of the liberal theory

The liberal theory takes on a bottom-up perspective with three assumptions about international politics: (1) nation states act rationally within an anarchic environment, (2) the claims of societal groups form the preferences of nation states and (3) interdependence among state preferences shapes international behavior.

Considering the environment in which education politics during the 1970s and 1980s took place as anarchic would mean to assume that the EEC as an IO was of little relevance to education politics. Yet this was not entirely true. Education became subject to integration at a moment when anarchy had already been reduced by the TEEC. Moravcsik considers IO's in terms of the functional regime theory, thereby marginalizing their organizational capacity, when he writes that, IO's "serve as a passive structure, providing a contractual environment conducive to efficient intergovernmental bargaining" (Moravcsik, 1993, p. 508). From this perspective, the pure existence of the EEC is but the result of rational decisions taken by nation states to improve their national situation. This reasoning implies that in the early 1970s, the EEC institutions framed a regime, in which negotiations concerning the role of education in the context of integration took place.

Along this line of argument, it seems reasonable to claim that during the 1970's MS considered education worthy of being discussed, however, they did not expect benefits to be claimed for themselves, in the case that education would be a fully integrated area. On the contrary, the crisis of the education ministers proved that MS were arguably expecting more disadvantages than advantages resulting from a common policy and therefore opposed deeper integration. When the conditions for political cooperation changed and the focus was put on employment and labor market, it became rationally acceptable to the MS to agree to further cooperation and some forms of common policy, as they expected to reap greater benefits for their national constituency.

Whether the claims of national societal groups formed state preferences on education is difficult to argue given that the data used in this paper does not allow for a judgment on preference formation at the national level. What can clearly be argued is that especially in MS with traditionally strong social partners and occupational interest groups, the likelihood that their interests contributed to the government's bargaining is much higher after the shift of focus from traditional education issues to employment and labor market issues. This can be interpreted from Council conclusions from the early 1980s (Assinger, 2020). Also Jones mentions the importance of these societal groups:

"If the original concerns of Education Ministers were centred [*sic!*] on the links between general and vocational education (...) it was clear from the very beginning that any improvements in this area had to be carried out in close co–operation with manpower authorities, employers and trade unions and all the other agencies concerned with vocational training, apprenticeships and placement. This became all the more necessary as, during the late 1970s, the number of special training measures for the young unemployed proliferated in all Member States. Manpower and education authorities alike became increasingly interested in devising new forms of vocational education and training which combined work experience" (Fogg & Jones, 1985, p. 297).

Intergovernmentalists argue that without "interdependence among state objectives, a rational state will conduct no international relations, satisfying itself with an isolated and autarkic [*sic!*] existence" (Moravcsik 2010). Assuming that in terms of politics, education always serves a purpose and is never an end in itself, Moravcsik's statement would justify the general inference that as long as education serves the purpose of maintaining a national culture, there would be no need for common policy since there was no interdependence among state objectives. However, when education is expected to serve the purpose of economic progress, competition on global markets or labor market stability, it becomes obvious that interdependence concerning education increases to the extent that the interdependence of economic systems increases.

It follows from this inference, that it was rational for MS to insist on their sovereignty concerning education as long as the traditional issues were at stake, that was until the mid-1980s, and to agree to a vocational orientation and a common policy as soon as they realized that this would be more beneficial to their economic needs. To satisfy these needs, they needed the commitment and contribution of other states. I posit that this could be the reason why the ECJ decision, defining all kinds of education as vocational, was not appreciated in the first place and why it was less controversial to adopt COMETT than ERASMUS.

Concluding remarks

The narrative presented in *part 2* of this paper strongly suggests that the integration of education in the EEC framework took place within the interplay of two tensions. The first tension existed in the political dimension between national sovereignty and common policy. The second tension existed in the policy dimension between vocational training and general education. Broadly speaking, I contend that the more the tension between vocational training and general education lessened, the more also the tension between national sovereignty and common policy lessened. This happened for two connected reasons, one systemic and the other institutional. Changes in the global economic system, initially caused by two oil crises in the 1970s, rendered labor market and employment issues pivotal. Political actors reacted to this and decided to link education with employment. The tensions began to relax to the extent that political integration in the area of education became a feasible option for national and supranational actors.

Depending on whether these processes are approached from a top-down (*neo-functional theory*) or a bottom-up (*liberal theory*) perspective, different dynamics are emphasized.

On the one hand, it can be argued that the pressure from the transnational society and the supranational organizations was so great that with each commitment made by national governments, a spillover was initiated that forced national governments to delegate competences to supranational organizations, which in turn deprived national governments of their capacities to autonomously govern education policy. This argument is in full accordance with the assumptions of the neo-functional theory.

On the other hand, it could as well be argued that societal groups within the MS such as labor and trade unions, chambers of commerce or providers of education required national governments to regulate problematic issues internationally in accordance with their needs and interests. National governments then agreed to cooperation and common policy and formed a regime consisting of principles, norms, rules and procedures to reap benefits for its national constituency. Such an argument is fully in line with the liberal theory.

Both, the neo-functional theory as well as the liberal theory provide a valid and convincing interpretation of political process and dynamics. Their strength, which is to reduce complexity and explain developments on the basis of only few assumptions and theses, is at the same time their weakness, since neither of the two can give account of the complexity of policy making. However, the neo-functional theory certainly supports those who argue that today's European education politics is grounded in a neo-liberal ideology driven by private economic interest. On the contrary, the liberal theory is appropriate to emphasize that social groups are politically strong enough to place their interests on the European agenda. To generate more detailed evidence, it would be desirable to apply these theories in an extensive research project.

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ACTIVE CITIZENSHIP AND ADULT LEARNING AS AN OSCILLATING PRIORITY OF EU POLICY

Abstact

The paper focuses on the European Union (EU)'s education policy, examining the question how the concept of active citizenship has evolved over the past two decades in EU's main policy documents on adult education and learning, in the broader context of lifelong education and learning policy. It confronts those concepts with some characteristics of the active citizenship debate in contemporary social theory. In the paper, I work with EU's main education policy documents after the year 2000 as well as with selected contributions of social theory (especially political philosophy and political sociology) on issues of (desirable) changes of democracy so that the forms of democracy in place are better compatible with society's current forms, orientation and problems and with people's needs. Based on measuring keyword frequencies and contexts, the document analysis found no association between the evolution of the citizenship debate in social science and in the policy documents of interest. It also found no patterns in the evolution of the notion of citizenship in the documents.

Keywords: European Union, active citizenship, policy, political documents, social theory

Adult education and learning as a multi-faceted and politicised phenomenon

Adult education represents an extremely diverse phenomenon (Field, 2018) that is highly variable in at least two respects. First, adult education is based in multiple areas of social life. Second, various particular (local, regional and national) social, economic, cultural and political contexts significantly shape the specific forms of this fundamentally idiographic phenomenon. Adult education is associated with the realms of work, leisure, public life, family and private life, health, lifestyle, religion etc. In addition, its forms correspond with the ways of life of different categories of adult learners (members of diverse professions, the unemployed, the elderly, migrants etc.)

There are different perspectives on adult education as a political phenomenon. It always exists in a political context. Adults are automatically assigned the roles of citizens. In some concepts, adult education is even viewed as always political *par excellence*. In the tradition founded by Paolo Freire, adult education is viewed as *a priori* political because it implicitly takes a stance on issues of human coexistence and ways of relating to the social world in general, one which is also a political world. Education serves to either affirm or question existing power relations. Sometimes, education affirms existing patterns of understanding the world, other times it opens new perspectives and thus encourages innovative social action.

Another reason to treat adult education as political is because it is subject to political attention. Such attention is typically paid by diverse actors of civil society, political parties, or specific polities.

Since the beginning of the modern era, adult education has primarily been addressed by social movements, political parties and civic associations. Modern governments were long (from early 19th to mid-20th century) mostly indifferent about adult education. Some ignored it, some were even suspicious of it (Pöggeler, 1990). As late as in the first half of the 20th century, there were only a few exceptions from that rule, with examples in the United Kingdom (The Centenary Commission on Adult Education, 2019) and interwar Czechoslovakia (Škoda, 1996).

The situation started changing in the last third and especially towards the end of the century, when an important shift took place that can be referred to briefly and aptly as "from the margins to the mainstream" (Mohorčič Špolar & Holford, 2014). The interest in adult education started growing in the 1970s and an even stronger boost occurred in the 1990s, whereas both waves were driven by international political and economic organisations. The key innovators included the Council of Europe and UNESCO in the former case, and especially (but not only) the OECD in the latter case (Milana, 2012; Barros, 2012).

During that time period, international organisations became important political actors and strongly shaped the orientation of the transformations that tend to be associated with the globalisation process. It was especially the economic globalisation, and its implementation in public policies, that became the main driver of education policy towards the turn of the century. Under considerable influence of international organisations, that policy newly embraced a strong orientation on higher education and adult learning. Education became an (at least declared) priority for politics and economics, especially with respect to those areas of education that are most closely associated with the labour market and can be related to goals such as competitiveness and flexibility. Policymakers characterised those goals not only as opportunities but also as absolute necessities. The future was associated with change, one viewed as profound and long-term. Moreover, success was identified with the ability to adapt to that change

(Holford, 2017, p. 177). The concept of change was primarily understood in economic terms. The task of adaptation to change was assigned not only to education systems but also to learning individuals as holders of human capital and skills.

There is a vast body of critical analytical literature on neoliberal changes of education policy and their implications. The following few authors and works can be brought forward. They emphasise various negative consequences of the neoliberally oriented reforms that individualise responsibility for learning as a source of adaptability and marketize (adult) education and learning. The marketization pressure resulted, among other things, in adopting new methods of governance and evaluation that had a long tradition in the private sector.

The nation-state and the EU as polities in the case of education policy

Whereas the former paragraphs discussed the importance of international institutions for the shaping and implementation of reformed education policies, it is now appropriate to elaborate on that point. Although the end of the 20th century was abundant with reflections on an inevitable decline of the authority of the nation-state, the expectations did not fully materialise.

It is, in a sense, appropriate to refer to the present era as post-Westphalian, but only insofar as the position of the nation-state is no longer indomitable. While the state remains key, other important actors have arisen alongside it, including large businesses (most visibly TNCs), NGOs, experts, the media and, last but not least, the above-mentioned international political and economic organisations. Private sector actors have been included side-by-side with those pursuing public and/or government interest. As a result, the concept of "government" has been largely replaced by that of "governance", which refers to interplay of multiple actors and fundamental capacity to perform (policy) management of an area of interest (Rizvi & Lingard 2010).

Governance is realised at a "multilevel" basis (Lawn & Grek, 2012, p. 8), bringing together various levels, from local and regional to national and supranational. In this respect, governance is often referred to as "transnational". It is thus understandable that governance may appear as a broad, perhaps even fluid concept, which is most apparently the case of international organisations. This is further exacerbated by the fact that one can govern without government (Lawn & Grek, 2012, p. 70). Some refer to a "soft form" of governance as an ability to define policy issues and ways of thinking about them. The soft form of governance often relies on expertise.

It would be simplification to view existing forms of governance as a "well-oiled machine". Due to limited space, I will not analyse this in detail and instead mention one illustrative piece of research. Palle Rasmussen's (2014b) comparative study delivers a highly inspiring analysis of the influence of EU education policy on different nation-states. The author deals with two EU member states, Portugal and Denmark, arguing that although both countries of interest have spent a considerable time period inside the Union, its education policy has affected them in diverse ways. Denmark, with its long, rich and successful tradition of adult education, has adopted relatively few inspirations from the EU. The situation of Portugal is very different. The country only began developing its policy at the time it joined the Union and eagerly adopted a number of its inspirations for policy and beyond. Portugal's adult education system was built in connection to European funding. Rasmussen demonstrates how strongly the overall shape of the policy is influenced by contextualisation of supranational-level policy in the specific national environment. The concept of glocalization is useful in cases like these (Kopecký, 2014). The long-term and intensive debate on the Europeanisation process that has been conducted in the European context relies precisely on such a perspective, among others (Klatt, 2014, pp. 64–65).

To draw a more general lesson from the above finding, the pathway from policy intentions to practical outcomes is often very long and sometimes difficult, too; and successful implementation of a policy is strongly determined by specific (e.g., national) conditions. Of relevance at this point is Max Weber's conclusion that politics is a demanding activity with uncertain results (Weber, 1998, p. 293).

Nevertheless, as stated above, this paper does not primarily focus on the mechanisms of education policy making and implementation or on its practical outcomes. Instead, it emphasises the ideological orientation and goals of education policy's take on adult citizenship education. I am interested in how the policy evolved in time and am going to confront it with some proposals and approaches brought forward in social theory, which strives to come to terms with the new societal situation similarly to (but independently from) education policy.

Active citizenship: Its promises and limits in the broad context of late 20th century social change

Change. There is probably no other word as clichéd and at the same time characteristic of today's world. And here we refer not only to the late 2010s but a broader time period that includes the end of the 20th century after the end of the Cold War.

It was no later than in the 1980s that a shared belief took root among many thinkers that a profound change was underway in the Western social world, one that implied a diversity of consequences and required us to pay attention to issues of citizenship and democracy, to fight against their decline or, alternatively, to search for new concepts of citizenship as a social role and a set of social practices.

Among the major threats thus stated are the decline of the nation-state as guarantee of democracy, power of the market over politics and the related there-is-no-alternative atmosphere, the rising political power of actors that are not subject to democratic control, the decreasing organisational capacity of civil society institutions, the decline of the middle class, the consumerist and narcissist aspects of the individualisation process, the shift from politics to a "managerial" approach, and the growing potential of manipulation through (mass) media.

Over the same time period, many reasons for optimism have been identified as well, or at least hopes to revive democracy by new understanding and practicing it, by making it more far-reaching and profound. Some have seen increasing possibilities of reflexivity as a tool for politicising ways of life at the individual and collective levels with respect to, for instance, gender, identity or nature, of opening to issues of a sub-political nature. Attention has been paid to civil society development (e.g., new social movements), the positive potential of societal diversity, the development of democracy and (active) citizenship at the local and supranational levels, citizens' opportunities for keeping informed and organised through (new) media.

In line with the atmosphere described above, the ambitious, complex and in depth-going research project of ETGACE (Holford & van der Veen, 2003) and its follow-up RE-ETGACE were undertaken by a consortium of European universities. The interdisciplinary project brought together efforts to diagnose the relationship between active citizenship and adult learning and to provide policy recommendations for encouraging citizenship learning in different environments (civil society, the state domain, the workplace, and the private domain). In an effort to assist decisionmakers, the project built its conclusions on an analysis of social theories, original theoretical research and qualitative studies of learning by active citizens involved in different domains. Interestingly, its launching was supported by the European Commission.

Active citizenship and the EU's (education) policy: Entering the stage

The topic of this paper may offer relevant insights not only for adult education research but also for other social sciences and all those studying the question what citizenship, as an actively played social role, means and might mean in today's Europe and how people can tap the potential of the phenomenon – one which not only guarantees access to diverse rights (and obligations) and forms the basis of citizens' relations with their government and with one another, but also exists in close association with collective and individual identities (Preuss, 2016, p. 163).

At the same time, there are some apparent limits to both the question and the approach taken. The importance of policy documents should not be overrated as they are but a part of the complex of education policy. At the same time, though, there is at least some correspondence between policies as programmes, politics as practices and polity as the institutional framework in which policy is made and more-or-less successfully brought to life.

Nor is the practice of citizenship and citizenship learning directly derived from policy documents. In spite of that, the latter are more than just insignificant parts of adult education policy, as they inform us about the current state of policy imagination and ambitions for developing new forms of democracy in today's EU.

Although the roots of European integration lie in a more distant past, in the era of cold war bipolarity, considerable development of the Union's citizenship and learning policy only occurred at a time when democracy was no longer threatened externally but rather by degeneration associated with the inability to face internal issues and tap opportunities for further democratisation (Beck, 2005).

The EU (formerly the European Communities) entered the stage of active citizenship education policy in a deferred and reluctant manner. This was due to several reasons. Like culture, education is a policy domain traditionally perceived as closely associated with national traditions, peculiarities and interests. In other words, it was long perceived as sensitive to enter the realm traditionally governed by the nation-state. Understandably, the history of European institutions' adult education activities is far from unimportant. They focused on formal qualifications and vocational education and training as prerequisites for entering certain professions; later they also added the goal of mitigating unemployment and other social problems related to social exclusion (Field, 1998; Rasmussen, 2014a). In this way, they exerted indirect but more-than-insignificant influence on the area of citizenship in terms of access to social rights and welfare. Issues such as European identity or reflections on a European dimension of education only took the form of initial hints (Lawn & Grek, 2012, pp. 41, 47). It was not until the 1990s that a more ambitious approach was taken, one whose ambition was likely proportional to the time it had been waited for. Since the middle of the decade (especially CEC, 1995), various documents and programmes appeared that were framed by notions of an emerging type of society to which knowledge and learning would be key. The new type of society was associated with both concerns and hopes. The concerns related to the risk of falling behind due to insufficient investment in knowledge, while the hopes were associated with a new form of economy that was to significantly rely on the ability to learn.

Shortly thereafter, a fundamental European document on citizenship education was published, namely *Education and Active Citizenship in the European Union* (CEC, 1998). It sought to draw attention to the fact that existing "static" concepts of citizenship, as a set of rights in more-or-less homogeneous national communities, were no longer adequate. As communities were becoming increasingly diverse, the transnational (European) dimension of citizenship emerged and with it the need to actively develop that dimension by building "bridges between local and transnational" (p. 25), even if European citizenship was still in an early stage of its development.[1] Interestingly, the document sets an ambitious tone when it argues in the Introduction (p. 3) that there is a "natural alliance of education and training with equality and social justice". It also repeatedly mentions the importance of social integration.

Main EU policy documents on adult education and learning after 2000: The topic of citizenship

There are two central facts that made it possible for EU education policy to embrace active citizenship of adults as its goal. First, the general emphasis on lifelong learning grew so strongly that the concept became a fundamental part of education policy making (Lawn & Grek, 2012, p. 7); at the same time, it was integrated as an important element of other public policies (not only social policy) as well. The second enabling factor was the natural expectation of the continuing political integration to be legitimised and supported by citizens of the EU, or of its member states.

The year 1996 was declared by the EU (and by the Council of Europe) as the *European Year of Lifelong Learning*. Notably, a number of later European Years were linked to the notion of learning as well as citizenship (2008 – *Intercultural Dialogue*; 2010 – *Combating Poverty and Social Exclusion*; 2011 – *Voluntary Activities Promoting Active Citizenship*; 2013 and 2014 – *Citizens*). In 2004, *civic competences* were named among the eight key competences recognised as highly desirable in the context of a knowledge-based society (EP & CEU, 2006).

The success of the concept of lifelong learning, including its emphasis on active citizenship, is simultaneously its weakness. A critical discourse analysis of the policy documents and confrontation of their discourses with concrete programmes reveals several paradoxes. There are instances of critique that do not tackle the underlying requirement to develop the practice and culture of citizenship; instead, they focus on the approaches implemented, often characterising them as selective, inconsistent, or outright contradictory to the fundamental concept of integrating (active) citizenship with support for democracy and inclusion. For example, Brine (2007) concludes that the rhetoric of the policy documents views as active citizens such individuals who are able to secure their own social inclusion. Thus, citizenship emerges as an individualised phenomenon. Borg and Mayo (2004) demonstrate that while documents such as CEC

1 The *Amsterdam Treaty* of 1997 followed up on the *Maastricht Treaty* of 1992 by defining European citizenship as complementary to nation-state citizenship and stipulating the rights of European citizens. The same goals were also pursued by later documents, including the unsuccessful *Constitutional Treaty* of 2003.

(2000) prioritise the topics of community, citizenship or solidarity, they do so in a rather declaratory fashion. A closer look at their content reveals that concrete recommendations are formulated in terms of integrating education with the economic domain – and this is what their actual priorities are.

It would be simplification to address the above question by merely unmasking the traditional neoliberal orientation of EU policy. Rubenson (2009) demonstrates that the position of the EU, on a scale between a strong version of neoliberalism on one hand and opposition to such neoliberalism on the other hand, is an ambiguous one. According to the author, the Union takes a position somewhere between the two extremes represented by the World Bank and UNESCO. Holford and Mohorčič Špolar (2012), too, demonstrate both neoliberal topics and ones associated with the requirement of social inclusion are strongly represented in European lifelong learning policy – see Rasmussen (2014) for a more in-depth discussion.

Selected social theoretical concepts and their visions for reviving democracy

Europe (EU) was recently faced with three distinct crises. The financial and economic crisis emerged in 2008, the refugee crisis started in 2015 and, finally, there is the political crisis that is difficult to define temporally and is marked by the rise of nationalism hand-in-hand with populism. The above crises seem to have underlined some negative tendencies of long-term development in Europe. They are associated with phenomena that have been perceived for several decades. The left wing, the right wing, and political institutions in general, as they evolved on the basis of the 18th and 19th centuries, appear exhausted and unable to fulfil their roles in the context of the social change taking place over the past several decades. The dominant neoliberal approach to addressing economic and social issues, too, has been confronted with its social, environmental and other limits.

Since the classics, the European philosophical tradition has treated the concept of crisis as an opportunity for a positive turn. In this sense, the maladies of democracy can be juxtaposed with the dilemmas of *post-democrac*y (Crouch, 2004) or *pre-democracy* (Hrubec, 2005). While the former trend is associated with the decline of democracy, pre-democracy is viewed as a state of transition that entails hope for a new, better level of democracy to evolve.

The debates on the possibilities of a (desirable) transformation of the ways we understand and use citizenship have yielded a number of ideas that have proved to be attractive and inspiring in a number of disciplines (above all, political philosophy and sociology, political science or legal theory). They have been able to ignite intensive polemics and become relevant for the ways we understand the possibilities of citizenship as an important resource shaping people's relations, also with regard to *individual* and *collective identities*. In the above approaches, which also have overlaps for the realm of education, the following concepts are of leading importance.

Communitarianism builds on an emphasis on the positive dimension of liberty (Berlin, 2002). Different variants of communitarianism place different emphasis on the importance of community in shaping human identity in all its (individual and collective) forms. Unlike traditionalist (conservative) communitarianism, there are approaches that emphasise the possibilities of new types of communities. Controversies between communitarianism and liberalism have given rise to notions of identity and recognition (Taylor, 2000; Kymlicka 2007) or multicultural society and helped us conceptualise the relations between majority society and minorities based on shared ethnicity, religion, health status or sexual orientation. This is also a source of an important debate about the value of diversity or the possible existence of multiple identities.

Reflections on citizenship in the context of globalisation are also accompanied by the theme of *cosmopolitan* forms of citizenship and democracy. Held (2010), Delanty (2013) and many other authors think of supranational-level democracy as both a precondition and a goal of further democratisation of democratic societies. Here, too, the topic of (multiple, European) identities occurs, whether its concrete forms are based in the global or "only" in the European level (Beck, 2016). Among the other fundamental issues raised are human rights, role of government or the justice system. Considerable polemics about changing civil society and sustainable development have also been waged.

The concept of deliberative democracy is another remarkable part of the citizenship and democracy discussion. It places strong emphasis on a high-quality discourse, as a precondition of democracy, in which dialogue can occur and consensus can be reached under equal and fair conditions (Habermas & Shapiro, 2002). The idea of deliberative democracy requires the ability to think critically in the context of undisturbed communication.

The final category includes a thematic variety of works on the potential of introducing democratic approaches in realms that have not, until recently, been viewed as political. Examples include the institution of the family, gender relations, the relationship between society and nature and, last but not least, the economic domain (production as well as consumption). Giddens (1994), Beck (2005), Fraser (2008) and Young (2002) are some of the important authors of those contributions.

In the following section, I turn to ten perhaps most important (relevant) EU policy documents of the years 2000–2016 that focused on the area of lifelong learning, including adult learning, or (mostly directly) dealt with learning adults. My selection of documents and ways of evaluating them follow a highly inspirational article by Borut Mikulec (2018). I work with the same nine documents as he did and add one more (CEC 2010).

A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning (CEC 2000)

Adult Learning. It is Never Too Late to Learn (CEC 2006)

Action Plan on Adult Learning. It is Always a Good Time to Learn (CEC 2007)

Adult Learning: It Is Never Too Late to Learn (EP 2008)

Council Conclusions of 22 May on Adult Learning (CEU 2008)

Council Conclusions on the Social Dimension of Education and Learning (CEU 2010)

Council Resolution on a Renewed European Agenda for Adult Learning (CEU 2011)

New Priorities for European Cooperation in Education and Training (CCEU 2015)

Council Resolution on A New Skills Agenda for an Inclusive and Competitive Europe (CEU 2016a)

Council Recommendation of 22 December 2016 on Upskilling Pathways: New Opportunities for Adults (CEU 2016b)

In evaluating the documents selected, I proceeded in two steps. First, I measured the frequencies of four keywords of interest: *citizenship*, *active citizenship*, *civil society* and *democracy*. In the second step, I identified the extent to which the keywords were discussed or, more precisely, the contexts in which they appeared in the documents. Thus, I did not perform (critical) discourse analysis and my ambition was merely to record the scope of closer attention paid to the keywords and of their in-depth thematisation as declared priorities, in the context of concrete education policy issues and goals.

General findings

It comes as little surprise that there are relatively very few references to (active) citizenship, civil society and democracy in the documents, compared with the number of references to priorities of (mostly) economic and social orientation. This was summarised aptly and in depth by the above-mentioned article (Mikulec, 2018, pp. 141–142).

Another finding is that the references to links between adult learning, (active) citizenship, civil society and democracy are mostly vague and declaratory. While the keywords are mentioned in all documents, most of the passages are formulated in general and extremely brief terms (e.g., CEC 2007; CEU 2008).

None of the documents contains "ambitious" references to innovative forms of (active) citizenship, or even to European citizenship. Civil society is only mentioned generally or in the context of the nation-state, never with regard to the transnational framework.

No clear trend has been identified to characterise the entire time period of interest or at least a significant part thereof. Only two documents stand out as the sample's most ambitious ones (CEU, 2000 & CCEU 2015), although the latter does not explicitly follow up on the former.

It is perhaps for that reason, too, that the documents fail to treat active citizenship actively and sensitively enough to develop it as a genuine policy priority. Such an ambition cannot be met as long as the topic is elaborated in reductionist terms, as explained in Milana and Tarozzi's article (2013).

Selected cases of particular documents

In addition to the two documents mentioned above, there is one more remarkable case that we are going to characterise in detail.

A Memorandum on Lifelong Learning (CEC, 2000) treats active citizenship as one of its two central priorities (along with *employability*). It recognises both declared goals as equally valuable and interdependent (p. 5). It considers citizenship as a precondition of taking part in social and economic life in a knowledge society (p. 7), with their emerging opportunities and risks. The importance of adult education practices at a local level is mentioned too (p. 10). No specific civic education contents are elaborated.

New Priorities for European Cooperation in Education and Training (CCEU, 2015) focuses on citizenship primarily in the context of the (social) problems of discrimination, extremism and difficult integration. The number of references to the topic of citizenship featured here is only comparable, within the sample of interest, with CES (2000). The document is much more specific than the others: it formulates selected inspirations (e.g., for the areas of critical thinking, media literacy, or for the overlap between intercultural and civic competence). Besides this the importance of active citizenship for the existence of an open and democratic society is also stressed (p. 1). Citizenship is mentioned both in connection with values (p. 1, 4, 9) and competences (p. 3, 4, 9).

Council Resolution on A New Skills Agenda for an Inclusive and Competitive Europe (CEU 2016a) mentions the terms citizen(s) or civic four times, but never in direct association with politics or democracy; it emphasises the general ability to understand the world critically and adapt to change (p. 1). It contains one mention of civil society and one of civic responsibilities.

Conclusion

The documents of interest do not exhibit any specific trend, and there are absolutely no indications of gradual evolution. Overall, the ambitions were, paradoxically, the strongest by far in the time period when the EU was only beginning to delve deeper into the topic of active citizenship and adult education (the 1990s and the early years of the Lisbon Strategy).

Whereas the topic of interest is repeatedly referred to as a priority, this does not translate into any innovative recommendations or, subject to isolated exceptions, into clear goals associated with concrete initiatives. It is, therefore, questionable to what extent active citizenship can be viewed as a genuine policy priority of the EU.

It would certainly be naïve to expect some kind of clear correspondence between the worlds of science and citizenship research, on one hand, and the world of education policy, on the other hand. There has never been this level of closeness between the two worlds. Whereas some concepts are occasionally shared by both the scientific and the policy perspectives on adult education (e.g., literacy, social exclusion or social capital), no such analogy could be identified in the field of interest. Therefore, we are dealing with two different worlds of imagination and analysis. These findings support the more than decade-old diagnosis of fundamental differences between two worlds – that of education policy, on one hand, and that of science, on the other hand. While they both share an interest in expertise, the respective logics of their workings are idiosyncratic and rest on different fundaments (Desjardins & Rubenson, 2009).

Separate analytical attention should be devoted to the reasons why this is the case. Is (active) citizenship an overly elusive (complex, chaotic, strongly context-bound) phenomenon? Or is the lack of imagination and courage to blame as well? In any case, there is ample room for an effort to bridge the gap, at least to some extent. Education policy should be innovated in terms of looking outward and opening to new inspirations so that it can respond more adequately to the changing world.

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INDIVIDUAL LEARNING ACCOUNT – AN EFFICIENT WAY TO CONTRIBUTE BOOSTING PARTICIPATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

Abstract

Nowadays, countries of the world face with different kinds of challenges, such as the fast spreading digitalization and technological development and their effects on the future of labour markets. Policy makers have long recognized the importance of skilled human capital for both economic and social well-being. Therefore, empowering adults' participating in lifelong learning is a priority on the policy agenda. Investment in education is pay off for individuals, the society, the economic sector and the state as well. Statistics show that there is a positive correlation between the level of education, economic development and social cohesion. Financing is one of the most powerful policy instruments for increasing the number of participants in adult education. There are four decisive actors financing adult education in Hungary: the state, businesses, individuals and the European Union. In Hungary 6% of people (25–64 year) participated in AE in 2018 (EU28: 11.1%) of whom 30–30% were financed by individuals and employers respectively. Today, in Hungary, there is no indirect financing in adult education, not in the form of either individual learning account, voucher, or individual tax deduction, etc. However, countries with high adult education participation rates, such as the Northern European countries, the Netherlands, United Kingdom, France and Austria, have chosen indirect financing forms. These demand-driven ways effectively support the participation of adults in adult education, which is essential to enhance competitiveness and the position of the states (and the EU as well) in the global innovation performance. Individual learning account is one of the indirect financing schemes, consists of the contributions of individual, employer and government, which can be an effective way of raising the participation of adults in learning activities. Several European (France, Portugal, UK, Austria etc.) and non-European (USA, Canada) countries have applied individual learning account. Despite its weaknesses and threats, country reports showed that individual learning account can be an appropriate financing instrument for governments, for employers and for individuals to meet future needs.

Keywords: adult education, human capital, finance, investment, individual learning account

Introduction

The Second World Conference on Adult Education (under the aegis of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was held in Montreal more than fifty years ago (1960). The topic of the conference was Adult education in a changing world. The main message of the conference was, that learning is not a thing which takes place only in school and during childhood anymore. Forty years later, in harmony with this statement, the European Commission issued the Memorandum on Lifelong Learning in 2000 as a response to socio-economic changes brought on by technological development. The Memorandum states that every member state of the European Union should incorporate lifelong learning (LLL) into their national policies, such as, education, financing, employment policy etc. The aim was to raise the proportion of adults participating in adult education (AE) to 15% by 2020 (Commission, 2000). What have we achieved in this field over the last twenty years? World has been changing incredibly fast since the Millennium. Many professions have disappeared, while many new ones came to life in the past decade. The latter requires new knowledge and skills based on digitalisation. 65% of children entering primary school will have jobs that do not yet exist today. Individuals more and more often face with the outdatedness of their knowledge. Therefore, adult labour force should be enhanced to participate in lifelong learning, to help them adapt to the challenges of the rapidly changing world. Due to "the explosion" of the so called fourth industrial revolution, AE is high on the policy agenda of many governments not just in the EU, but all over the world. By now, we should not only have achieved, but already gone beyond the target set by the Memorandum. The truth is that neither EU28 (11,1%), nor Hungary (6%) was able to succeed yet (EUROSTAT, 2019a).

A structural change is underway in industry and in the labour market, which rises the need for re– and upskilling of the labour force (Probst, 2019; Cedefop, 2020). This is challenging not only for education, but for financing policies as well. In 2018, Angel Gurría, the Secretary-General of the OECD, emphasized that: "we need to stop thinking of education as an initial phase of life that paves the way to a job for life. (...) Now is the time for governments to place a greater emphasis on facilitating learning for all, at all ages" (Gurría, 2018.). It becomes more and more clear, that governments should rethink their financing policies in connection with AE, Hungary especially.

Why AE is a governmental responsibility? It is a basic thesis in the economics of education that investing in education has several positive externals, which makes it worthwhile for the state to invest. In other words, investing in education has several positive outcomes not just for the individual but for the whole society as well: resilience, employability, income versus economic competitiveness, well-being, health consciousness versus health spending, increasing life expectancy, volunteering, and confidence in democratic institutions, etc. (Bisovsky, 2018; Fox & Fieldsend, 2018; OECD, 2016; Polónyi, 2008).

Financing is one of the most powerful policy instruments for increasing the number of participants in AE. Investment in education is pays off for individuals, the society, the economic sector and the state as well. Even in the early stages of economic thought, the value of human knowledge was recognized (e.g. Smith, Thünen). In the 1960s, as the work of Mincer, Schultz and Becker established the definition of human capital theory (Polónyi, 2008; Varga, 1998). Human capital is defined by the OECD as "the knowledge, skills, competences and other attributes embodied in individuals that are relevant to economic activity" (Keeley, 2007; Keresztes, 2013; OECD, 1998).

Which financing instrument is flexible and resilient enough to effectively manage all the structural changes, we are recently facing in Hungary? What kind of financing elements should it contain to be an appropriate solution to successfully handle the changes in the future, and to enhance individuals to take part in lifelong learning? In my research, I attempt to analyse this issue. By reviewing relevant Hungarian and international literature, my goal is to gain insight into what solution attempts and good practices have been developed over the past twenty years to preserve competitive knowledge in order to encourage individuals to renew and improve their knowledge and skills throughout their lives. This paper focuses on financing techniques used by the member states of European Union (EU28) and on individual learning account (ILA). I have made secondary analysis on research reports, statistics, country reports and other documents related to the features, characteristics of ILA. For the latter, a SWOT-analysis was used, which gives an overview on my findings.

International trends

Financing instruments used by EU28 to boost participation in adult learning

Database of the European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop) collects all financing instruments used by the member states of European Union to boost participation in adult learning. On one hand, as Cedefop does, we can characterize financing instruments by their types: whether it is a fund, tax incentive or grant, loan, regulatory (training leave) or legal (payback clause) instrument. Countries use these types of financing instruments, and their subtypes depending on their territorial, economical or even legislative differences. For example, "Learning account of Upper Austria" provides further education grants for all types of learners (with a few exceptions) in nine Austrian Regions. The amount of funding available, as well as the criteria for eligible groups, and educational programs vary greatly from region to region.

However, countries with high AE participation rates have chosen indirect financing forms while those with low uses less of them (Table 1).

Table 1.
Types of financing instruments used by EU28 to boost participation in adult education (Source: Cedefop, 2015; EUROSTAT, 2019a)

Countries	Training fund	Tax incentive for companies	Grant for companies	Tax incentive for individuals	Grant for individuals	Loan	Training leave	Payback clause	Sum	Participating rates in AE 2018 (%)
	Direct financing				Indirect financing					
Countries with high participation rates in AE										
Sweden					1	1	1		3	29.2
Finland		1	1	2	5	1	1		11	28.5
Denmark	4		2		3	1	1		11	23.5
Estonia		1	1	1		1	1	1	6	19.7
Netherlands	3		2	1	2	2	1	1	12	19.1
France	2	1	1		1	1	3	1	10	18.6
Luxembourg	3	1	1				2	1	8	18.0
Austria	1	2	5	1	6		1	1	17	15.1
Countries with low participation rates in AE										
Hungary	1		1		1	1	1	1	6	6.0
Poland			4		2	1	1	1	9	5.7
Greece	1					1			2	4.5
Slovakia		1	1			1	1	1	5	4.0
Croatia		1	2		1		1	1	6	2.9
Bulgaria		1	1		2		1	1	6	2.5
Romania		2	2				1	1	6	0.9

Another characteristic of these financing instruments is whether the beneficiaries are supported directly or indirectly (if there is a financial intermediary, such as companies, public bodies or NGO's).

In this aspect, I find that countries with high AE participation rates use more indirect financial instrument (Table 2).

Table 2.
Direct and indirect types of financing instruments used by EU28 to boost participation in adult education (Source: Cedefop 2015; EUROSTAT, 2019a)

Financing Instrument	Indirect financing	Direct financing	Countries (n)[a]	Participation rates in AE (2018)
Training fund		X		
Tax incentive for companies		X		
Grant for companies		X		
Tax incentive for individuals	x		*EU28*	*11.1%*
Grant for individuals	x			
Loan	x		Sweden (3)[b]	29.1%
Training leave	x		Finland (9) Denmark (5) The Netherlands (7)	28.5% 23.5% 19.1%
Payback clause	x		France (6) Austria (9) United Kingdom (5)	18.6% 15.1% 14.6%

a Reflects the number of the introduced financing instruments
b Sweden did not use any other instruments in the 2014–2015 period.

These demand-driven instruments effectively support the participation of individuals in AE which is essential to enhance competitiveness and the position of the states (and the EU as well) in the global innovation performance. Despite the obvious success of indirect financing, Hungary almost exclusively uses direct ways of financing (state and EU funds) since the collapse of the communist regime in 1989.

Relationship between participation in AE and GDP

Data shows that in OECD member countries only 0.1–0.2% of public expenditure is spent on AE, while the total cost spent on AE, including other financing instruments, is about 0.6% to 1.1% of GDP (Nesbit & Welton, 2013; OECD, 2017). However, statistics show that there is a positive correlation between the level of education, economic development and social cohesion. There is a correlation between the participation rates of the EU28 (except Croatia where I cannot find GDP data for 2018) and the GDP/capita. An upward trend line is presented in Figure 1.

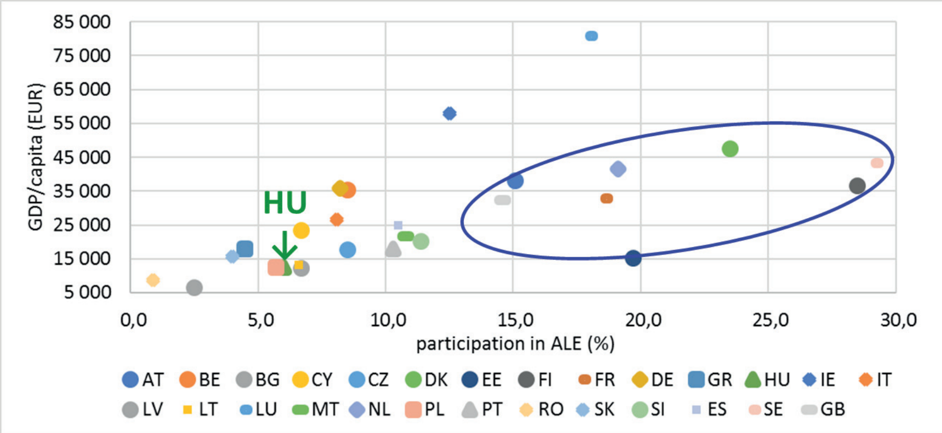

Figure 1. Participation rates in AE in the Member States of the EU vs. their GDP in 2018
(Source: EUROSTAT, 2019a, 2019b)

We can see that “high achiever” countries in participating in AE – Austria, Great-Britain, The Netherlands, France, Denmark, Finland and Sweden – have a higher GDP than countries with lower performance. Hungary’s performance is far below that of these countries.

Adult education in Hungary

A brief summary on adult education system in Hungary

In Hungary, under AE we understand education after the compulsory education, excluding higher education. It can be divided into two groups based on the training being in or out of the school system. The school-based AE refers to vocational education and training (VET) organized by VET institutions and higher education VET programs in universities. VET institutions basically operate under Act CXC of 2011 on Public Education, and organized VET programmes are regulated by the Act CLXXXVII of 2011 on Vocational Training. The out of school trainings in AE are usually organized by non-formal ways and primarily operate under the Act LXXVII of 2013 on Adult Education. These trainings can be vocational (covered by the National Vocational Qualifications Register, NVQR), continuing training, language and general (subject to the law) trainings.

In 2019, the Hungarian government started to restructure AE system. The goal of the reforms is to fully separate in and out of school training systems by modifying the above-mentioned acts and divide NVQR into two separate registers. One for those "basic" qualifications, which can only be obtained in vocational schools, and another one for only out of school trainings. In the end of November 2019 Act LXXX of 2019 on Vocational Training was published and came into force on 1 January 2020. The transformation of vocational and AE seems to move in the right direction. However, the effects, success of these amendments will only be ready for detailed analysis in the years to come.

Indicators of participation in adult education in Hungary

Figure 2 shows the trends of participation in AE in Hungary, in the last decade. As it was mentioned above, Hungarian participation rates in AE are far behind the average of the member states of the European Union.

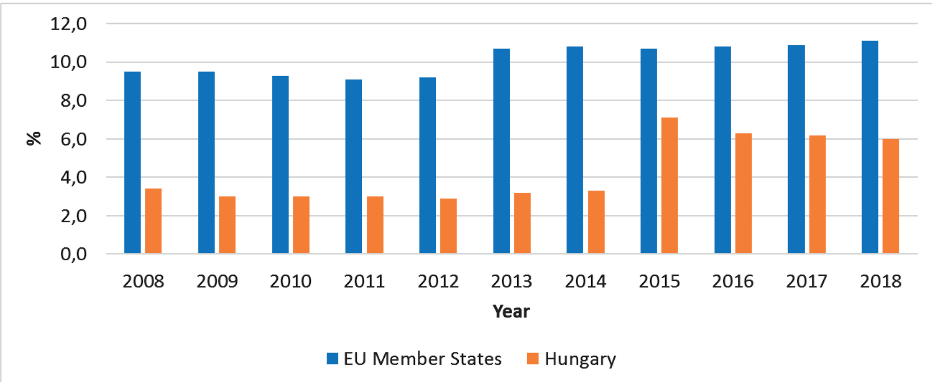

Figure 2. Participation of adults aged 25–64 in education and training in comparison of EU Member States and Hungary (Source: EUROSTAT, 2019a)

The Hungarian participation rates in AE in 2015 almost doubled compared to 2014. This sharp rise can be mainly attributed to two policy elements. One of them is the so-called Public Employment Programme, created in 2011, which aims to help underprivileged people to re-enter into the labour market. In the frame of this Programme more than 180 000 people participated in some type of trainings supported by EU funds. 2015 was the year when the implementation of many projects of the Programming Period 2007–2013 had been closed, while the results of the Programming Period 2014–2020 started to show. The amendment of the Act on Vocational Training in 2015 made obtaining a second vocational qualification within vocational educational institutions free for every adult, could not solve the "catch-up" issue. Moreover, it visibly could not stop the downward trend of participation in AE, since 2015.

There are four decisive actors financing AE in Hungary: the state, businesses, individuals and the European Union. In Hungary approximately 900 000 people participated in AE in 2018, of whom 30–30% were financed by individuals and employers respectively (Figure 3). The rest of them were funded by the EU through the state budget. Individuals prefer financing vocational trainings, while the EU mostly funds the development of basic skills and key competences like ICT literacy, language and soft skills (social inclusion, team working etc.).

Data of Figure 3 shows that number of participants in AE were approximately 900 thousand people, which is 14% of the working age population in Hungary. While in Figure 2 the proportion of participants in Hungary was 6%. The discrepancy is the result of different data collection methods of Hungary and EUROSTAT: working age population refers to 15–64-year population, while EUROSTAT collects data on participation in AE from individuals of 25–64 year.

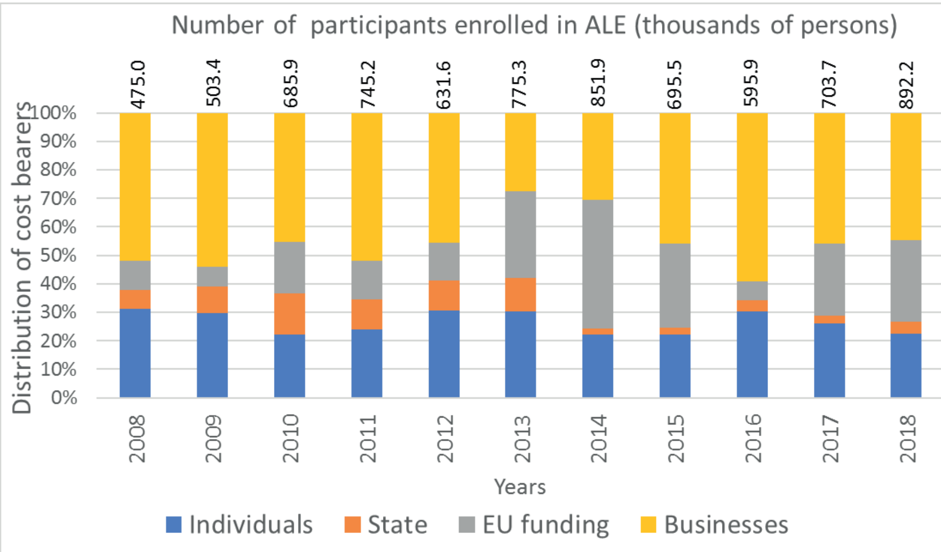

Figure 3. The number of participants enrolled in AE in Hungary by the distribution of cost bearers 2008–2018 (Source: OSAP, 2019)

In the absence of available data, it is difficult to determine the exact budget of AE. The minister responsible for AE claimed in March 2019, that it was about HUF300 billion (approx. EUR 923 million) in a year. This huge amount of financial source is spent via direct funding forms, such as project funds, or in the form of per capita support for training institutions, or in the form of tax concessions or direct support for employers. In the last decade, we could hardly find forms of indirect financing of AE: neither ILA or voucher nor individual tax deduction have been used. Among the weaknesses of Hungary, the Framework Strategy of the policy of lifelong learning 2014–2020 lists inequalities in access to AE, including financial and territorial barriers. To handle this issue, a targeted AE subsidy scheme has been introduced for target groups facing disadvantages in the labour market (low-educated and/or long-term unemployed people, women on maternity leave, individuals over 50). As there is no prospect of increasing the resources available, their more efficient use can be the solution. The ways of AE support need to be expanded to take the characteristics of those involved in training into better account (program funding, project funding, grants for individuals, tax incentives for companies, training leave, voucher, loans) (Magyar Köztársaság Kormánya, 2014, 93).

Individual learning account

There are several international examples, good practices to support the participation of adults in education (see above) with long historical roots (Benedek & Szép, 2006; Ebner, 2018; FiBS & DIE, 2013; Khirer, Oritz, & Contero, 2018; Oosterbeek, 2013; Rácz, 2017; Sági, 2008; Szalai 2005). These practices approach the issue from the perspective of the needs of individuals. Their main purpose is to provide appropriate resources for individuals to participate in AE. This enabling demand-driven financing of AE (Benedek & Szép, 2006).

ILA is made up by the contributions of an individual, an employer and the government, and can be an effective way to raise the participation of adults in learning activities. Several European and non-European (USA, Canada) countries have applied ILA. ILA designed differently in the countries studied, such as a financing formula of accounts or vouchers or some kind of "mix" of these financing instruments. ILA can include a group of indirect financing instruments. This feature of ILA allows its multipurpose use. In 2009, a seminar on ILA held in Greece, where ILA was assessed by case studies. by case studies of the implementing countries, allowing us to draw up a basic picture on ILA (Table 3). To sum up, while the target groups of ILA can vary, the goals of this indirect financing tool are very similar. A particularly important element of the ILA scheme is co-funding. ILA scheme requires financial contribution from the individuals, who would like to join the programme.

Table 3.
Main features of ILA of the implementing countries in Europe (Source: Cedefop, 2009)

Cornerstones of theoretical background vs ILA	
Definition	ILA is a special savings scheme (like pension account) which is consist of individual savings and/or employer (e.g. tax incentives for companies) and/or state contributions (e.g. voucher, tax incentives for individuals) to cover (part of) the costs related to individuals' training goals.
Aim	Provide a wide range of learning opportunities for adults.
Target groups	Most ILA schemes are targeting individuals in need (e.g. employees, job seekers, NEET youth, disadvantaged people), but some of them operating like a "subjective right."
Investment	A voluntary financial contribution made by the individuals, which is supported by contributions of the state and/or employers. Individuals have to invest a minimum contribution first (a prerequisite for opening ILA).
Application	Savings can be used mainly for course fees (but there are examples for allowing to cover other costs like book and other training materials; travelling and accommodation).
Incentives	Investing in ILA pays off for all the three contributors (individual, employer, government). Greater focus is on the needs of individuals; developing new skills, making individuals more employable/effective in their jobs; external benefits on economy and society.
Relevance	ILA schemes are implemented in countries with different AE and financial structures.

SWOT-analysis of ILA

In the frame of the FinALE project, researchers of the partner countries are looking at forms mostly used to enhance participation in AE. Among six countries (Austria, Germany, Portugal and Switzerland), individual training account was found the most used form of boosting participation in AE (Khirer, Oritz, & Contero, 2018). From the experiences of the seminar and other reports it seems, besides many positive outcomes, there are some issues to be handled (Table 4).

Table 4.
SWOT-analysis of ILA (Source: Szalai, 2005; Benedek & Szép, 2006; Szigeti, 2008; Cedefop, 2009; OECD, 2017; Khirer, Oritz és Contero, 2018)

Strengths	Weaknesses
– focuses on the needs of individuals – makes AE an individual responsibility – involve the three main stakeholders in the process (individual, employer, government) – enhances demand-led AE supply – increases competition between training institutions, leading to an improvement in the quality of service – is a return on investment – increases the participation of adults in AE	– high direct costs – economic returns can only be measured in the long term – it is necessary to ensure continuous information for proper operation (for adequate levels of use) – high risk of dead weight loss
Opportunities	**Threats**
– can be an effective tool for increasing the participation of underprivileged groups in AE – can help to create a coordinated funding – in the longer term, the operation of the system can provide useful data on the individuals' training motivations – it can enhance the learning motivation of individuals	– inadequate quality assurance and control system (abuses) – the lack of consensus among the stakeholders – participation/use of ILA is more common among highly educated people

Despite the weaknesses and threats, the reports also showed that ILA can be a key element to empower adults to become independent learners. It focuses on the needs of individuals, enhances the learning motivation and makes AE an individual responsibility.

Digitalisation has brought significant changes in the way we work, requiring novel, often unconventional, knowledge and skills from employees. In order to preserve the competitiveness, businesses need skilled workforce. Neither the Hungarian education system, nor AE is prepared to deal with this situation. In the last four years, one of the biggest challenges of businesses in Hungary was to cope with the labour shortage. ILA may provide a mutually beneficial financing opportunity for the three main stakeholders of labour market. ILA is a financial instrument in which the emphasis is on the needs of individuals, therefore "it reflects a shift from focus on 'education' and educational institutions to 'learning' and individuals" (Schuetze, 2007, p. 6.). ILA has the potential to create a more resilient, more independent, more efficient funding scheme to support adults participating in AE.

Summary

The so called Fourth Industrial Revolution shed the light on the importance of lifelong learning again, especially on the relevance of AE. There is an urgent need to enable individuals to meet the challenges of this rapidly changing world. Investment in education is pay off for individuals, the society, the economic sector and the state as well. Countries with high AE participation rates have mostly chosen indirect financing instruments to empower adults taking part in lifelong learning. These demand-driven ways effectively support the participation of adults in education and training which is essential to enhance competitiveness and the position of the states (and the EU as well) in the global innovation performance. Unfortunately, Hungary used almost direct ways of financing (state and EU funds) in the last decades. The main cost bearers in AE are the individuals, the businesses and the EU. Hungarian government should work out an appropriate financing scheme, which is flexible enough to effectively manage all the structural changes we are currently facing. There are several funding techniques, which may have a positive impact on the participation of adults in education. ILA is a financing instrument which can potentially contribute to individuals becoming independent learners, achieving their full potential and competitiveness in the labour market. The state and the employer can provide additional incentives to individual savings, either directly or indirectly linked to the ILA, which can turn the individual saving into a worthwhile investment, thus encouraging continued participation in training.

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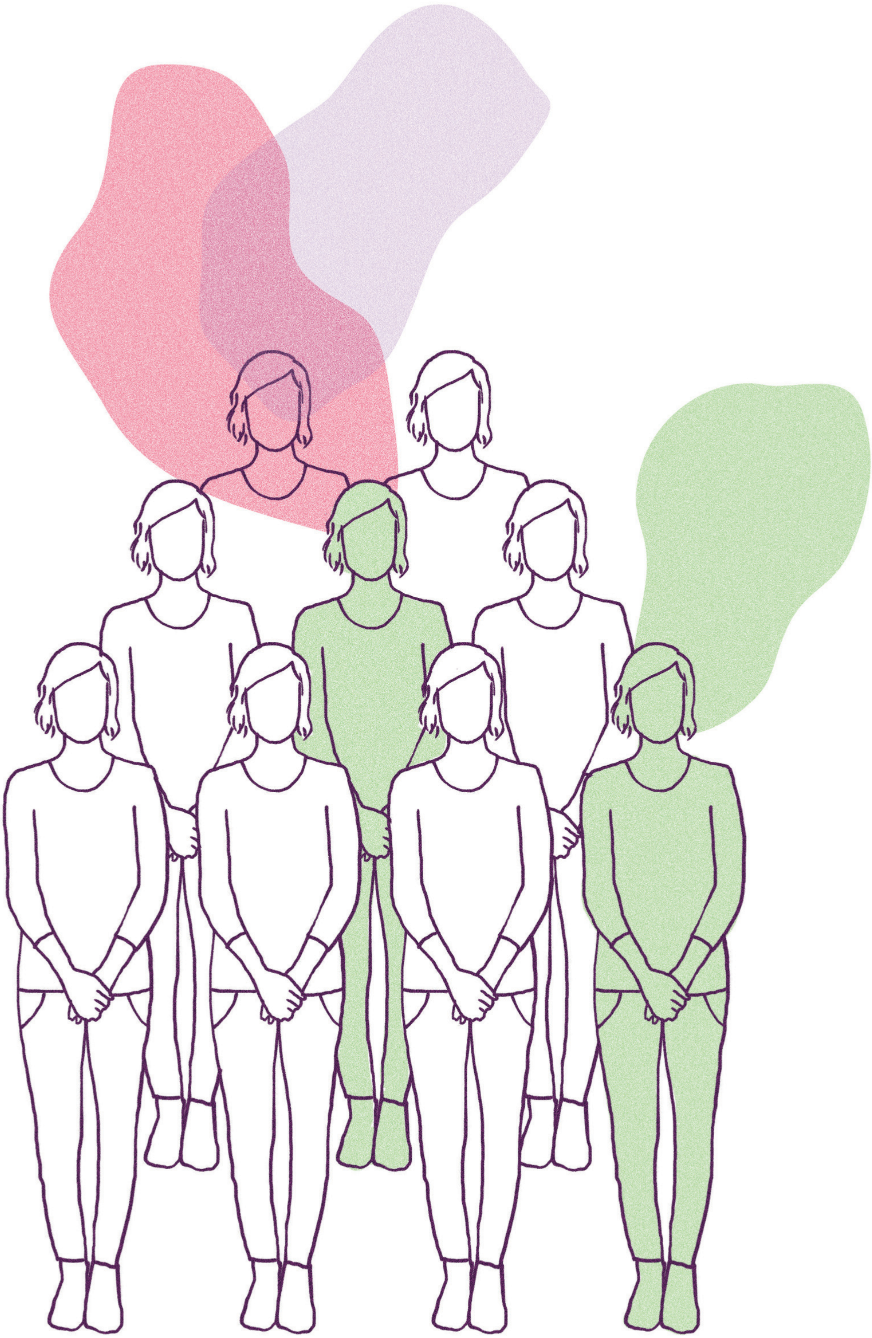

ACADEMIA IN TRANSITION — ADULT EDUCATION PRACTICES INFLUENCING HIGHER EDUCATION

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BRAIN DRAIN, BRAIN GAIN: WHY DO NON-NATIVE ENGLISH-SPEAKING STUDENTS DECIDE TO ENROLL AT A GRADUATE SCHOOL IN THE SOUTHERN UNITED STATES?

Abstract

Globalization has brought significant changes in the way we perceive progress and it has created an army of motivated, ambitious individuals seeking knowledge, not only in their home countries, but also abroad. Considering the increase in the numbers of foreign students in some (particularly developed) countries, the issue of "brain drain" should be considered more deeply by the countries that are losing educated individuals to those that are potentially reaping the benefits. With this background in mind, we set to provide one piece of the puzzle which aims to help address the issue. The specific purpose is to explain from the students' perspectives why some non-native English speakers opt for higher education and career development in the United States instead of staying in their home countries and to pinpoint implications for the fields of higher and adult education.

Keywords: globalization, brain drain, non-native English speakers

Introduction

"Country, wake up, the young are leaving!"
("Državo, probudi se, mladi odlaze!")

(Đukić Dejanovic, Bjelogrk, Jovanovic, & Đorđević, 2018)

Being an international student has long stopped being a rarity across the globe. Globalization in the education sector has led to a significant increase in the number of foreign students and educated professionals in the United States

(US) in particular (Bound & Turner, 2010; Johnson, 1967). The 2017/2018 academic year in the US for example witnessed a great number of international students – 1,094,792 (382,953 of these students were in graduate school), while the number of US students abroad was comparably lower – available data from the year 2016/2017 show that the number was 332,727 (Institute of International Education, 2018).

Foreign students in the US benefit their host country's economy and host universities in several ways. They contribute to the increase in revenue, provide additional financial resources for domestic students through cross-subsidization (a type of subsidy for domestic students from foreign student fees (Shih, 2017), increase cultural diversity, and provide an educated work force as many graduate students are offered assistantship positions (Bound & Turner, 2010; Institute of International Education, 2018; Macrander, 2017; Shih, 2017). On the other hand, considering that the US has only a slightly positive Brain Gain Index of 7%, which reports on the percentage of highly educated people who stated that they would permanently move to the United States (Gallup, n.d.), the reasons for a great number of foreign students in the US need to be further clarified.

Therefore, the purpose of this study was to understand why some non-native English-speaking first year students decided to enroll at a graduate school in the Southern United States over same-level institutions in their home countries. The focus was specific for several reasons. Non-native English-speaking students were chosen as their decision to study in the US might have been even more difficult due to the need for English proficiency. First year students would have the most vivid memories of their decisions and their decision-making processes, thus making them the perfect participant group for this study. On the other hand, even though there was a laser-type focus, it was diverse enough to encompass participants from different countries and in different fields, with the aim of avoiding repetition which might have come from a high similarity among the participants.

Through the lens of globalization, with specific focus on international migration (Bloom, 2004, 2006), this paper addresses three main questions: (a) Why do non-native English-speaking students decide to enroll in graduate school in the Southern United States? (b) How do non-native English-speaking students perceive the difference between studying in the United States and in their native country? and (c) What are non-native English-speaking students' perceptions of job prospects after graduating from a US graduate school? By doing this, the findings shed light on not only the reasoning behind the participants' decisions to study in the US, but they also direct attention to the implications of these decisions for their education and career.

This study is significant because it aims to provide insight and develop a keen understanding of the students' reasons for deciding to study in the US through in-depth narratives directly highlighting the students' perspectives on international migration. Previous research has provided ample data on the benefits that the host country, the US in this case, can have when it actively seeks international students and fosters their progress through higher education (Bloom, 2004; Bound & Turner, 2010; Ionescu & Polgreen, 2009; Ruby, 2015). Providing the students' perspectives adds another important dimension of this phenomenon.

Understanding the participating students' views may benefit not only others in similar situations, but also universities and policymakers. Those universities which seek to increase the numbers of international students can gain insight into the students' reasoning. The information might help better accommodate current and prospective non-native English-speaking students in US schools. On the other hand, those countries and universities which would like to keep their students from transferring to the US or other foreign countries would be able to counteract the brain drain trend by understanding why students opt for graduate education abroad instead of in their home countries and modify their education systems and/or processes to better meet the students' needs and expectations.

Globalization and education

The information gathered from the interviews with non-native English-speaking first year students was examined through the lens of globalization in the context of education. In this respect, we referred to globalization defined by Bloom (2004), as the process of global integration with international migration being its important aspect. Bloom writes about three major areas in which education is changing with the influence of globalization. First, globalization allows individuals to develop more competencies and skills necessary to succeed in the competitive global environment. This particularly seems to drive individuals from developing countries to seek education abroad. Second, Bloom argues that globalization places focus on cross-national and cross-cultural communication, which should be promoted in all educational environments. Third, globalization has a great influence on the development of education by requiring constant change in order to adapt to the growing needs of the society. This specifically affects the need for further research at the level of higher education.

Narrowing the analysis of the relationship between globalization and education to the level of higher education, Ruby (2015) lists the international movement of financial, intellectual, and social capital as the most important elements of globalization. The author also posits that globalization has made cross-national movement easier and faster. In a traditional way of observing education in the globalization era through the lens of trade in service, Ruby (2015) provides a summary of four modes of such trade (Suave, 2002, as cited in Ruby, 2015): distance education, which includes providing services virtually; studying abroad (which includes international students participating in the current study); moving campus branches abroad; and moving faculty abroad. Ruby also mentions an alternative lens for the analysis of globalization in education, which would focus on the individual and social benefits of internationalized education. This stance would require more research and a critical approach to the traditional trade model.

Further, Merriam (2010) describes challenges and opportunities for the fields of adult and continuing education caused by globalization. The author posits that globalization has created a greater risk of the imbalance of power, which affects different areas of life, including health, environment, and economy, but lists cross-national communication and information sharing as overall benefits, as well as the emergence of non-Western perspectives and lifelong-learning as education-specific advantages. Drawing from previous research, Merriam suggests that adult educators can positively contribute to the change by creating space for and listening to people's voices, adopting a critical stance, attending to policy, and engaging in collective learning and action (Merriam et al., 2006, cited in Merriam, 2010). These changes may, then, counteract some of the detrimental effects of globalization.

Overall, the influence of globalization on all aspects of education is undisputable as it has driven the development of education systems, increased knowledge importance, and created a climate of innovations (Bloom, 2004, 2006; Shahidi & Seyedi, 2012). In an analysis of the value of education in a globalized world, Bloom (2006) stresses the importance of education for the society, economy, and for overall development, based on the argument that strong higher education systems have the potential to build stronger nations. With the aforementioned in mind, globalization has been chosen as a suitable lens for analyzing the findings in this study.

The implications of brain drain for key stakeholders

Major findings from the review of literature revealed that during the period between 2015 and 2017, home countries of the study's participants each had a negative Potential Net Brain Gain Index (estimated number of highly educated people who stated that they would permanently move to a country), while the US had the Potential Net Brain Gain Index of 7 percent and Potential Net Migration Index (estimated number of adults who would move out subtracted from the estimated number of adults who would move to a country) of 46 percent (Gallup, n.d.). Thus, the participants' narratives could be vital to policy makers and state government officials as a step towards understanding how to alter the negative trend in countries facing brain drain.

Interestingly, brain drain has been primarily related to the United States since the term was conceptualized. The term was first used to refer to the scientists who moved from Europe to North America after World War II (Koerting, 2018). Nowadays, the term has extended its meaning to refer to education as well as the labor market. However, it has still retained the link to the US. The United States earned the attribute of the number one country based on the number of educated individuals who choose to relocate there and the number of doctoral students who decide to stay there after graduation (Koerting, 2018). The attractiveness of the US based on these data seems obvious.

Writing about the importance of the global campus and of globally competent students, Brustein (2007) suggested that there is a need for change in university policies to fulfil the mentioned goal. In this regard, the presence of a higher number of non-native English-speaking students on campuses and in the classrooms might help US students become more globally aware and competent. Non-native English-speaking students could contribute by actively sharing their cultural experiences and values with the US students. This demonstrates one potential benefit of non-native English-speaking students for the US education system.

Addressing the population of doctoral students, Bound and Turner (2010) posited that foreign students could specifically contribute to innovations in the area of science and technology. The same trend was recognized in the Western Balkan area, where the countries experienced brain drain in the areas of science, information technology, healthcare, and education (Vracic, 2018). This trend should work as an alarm to the countries suffering brain drain to examine the situation in more detail and take appropriate steps. For example, Greece and Israel have been trying to reverse brain drain by creating capital funds and offering resources to Greek/Israeli educated entrepreneurs living abroad in exchange for partly doing business in their home countries (Bateman, 2018). This may be a good first step toward attracting educated adults to return.

In a quantitative study analyzing student mobility trends post 2008-crisis in the US, Macrander (2017) stressed the importance of international students for improving the US economy and stated that attracting international students for the sake of revenue has become a "survival strategy" for many US universities (Macarander, 2017, p. 3). Additionally, the author suggested that the reason for the US dominance as the host country for such a large number of international students stems from the fact that the US sees this as a chance to stay in control of knowledge by attracting those students from less developed countries. These suggestions go hand in hand with the academic ranking of world universities, as the US is estimated to be the location of 50 percent of top 100 universities in the world (Academic Ranking of World Universities, 2018). This means that the benefits go beyond those that the US institutions reap.

However, it has been suggested that globalization has tipped the scales in favor of wealthy countries (with the US being on the list), while poor countries have been suffering in certain areas as a consequence (Bloom, 2004, 2006). Even the European Union has been experiencing the loss of talented individuals to the US, which has been negatively connected to issues in the areas of economy and welfare (Van Bouwel, 2010). For those countries with higher rates of educated individuals who decide to leave in order to pursue graduate education or for work opportunities abroad, the major disadvantage is the lack of return of investment for their previous schooling (Bloom, 2006). The conclusion is that the developing countries are suffering in areas such as education and the economy as a result of internationalization and globalization. This is not to say that the home countries cannot benefit for having their citizens study abroad. One such benefit may come from strengthening international cooperation and awareness, as international migrants connect with their host country (Bastien & Johnson, 2018). Such a situation would positively influence the home country as well as the host country. Further, those students who return to their country of origin after graduation will clearly benefit the country's economy (Simsek, 2011), but even if they do not return, some graduates work on bettering the conditions of their home countries from abroad (Bloom, 2006) through remittances and other supportive endeavors. Globalization has enabled this through the improvement of online communication platforms and creation of cross-cultural teams.

From the students' perspective, cultural diversity and the interest in the target institution were reported to influence their decisions to study abroad, based on the findings from a qualitative case study which focused on the motivation of Chinese students for studying in Canada (Zheng, 2010). A degree from a higher institution in North America was deemed important for the participants' career even if they decided to return to their origin country after graduation. Furthermore, non-personal motivators included employment and parental expectations as parents also believed in the quality of education in North America.

In addition to gaining a globally recognized and valued degree, those students coming from developing countries also listed better facilities and more resources as important for deciding to study in the US (Chen & Yang, 2014), which can be one reason why US universities are listed as top in the world (Academic Ranking of World Universities, 2018). Studying abroad has also been linked to the development of intercultural and linguistic competence and personal for both the foreigners in the US and American students abroad (Bastien & Johnson, 2018; Cavusoglu, White, James, & Cobanoglu, 2016; Maharaja, 2018). Development of those students in the US institutions stems from the fact that many of them work as research assistants (Simsek, 2011). With large investments in research, international students benefit in two ways. They get an opportunity to develop their research further while also receiving financial support in the form of a stipend. Economic factors were also listed by students as the reasons for not returning to their home country after graduation (Simsek, 2011), which shows that the US investment in foreign students' education pays off.

Methodology

The purpose of this study was to understand why some non-native English-speaking students decided to enroll at a graduate school in the Southern United States over same level institutions in their home countries. Considering the purpose and the goal to construct stories of the participants' experiences, the study was designed as a narrative thematic analysis (Bhattacharya, 2017; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Merriam, 2009). While defining the concept of storytelling and narrative inquiry, Connelly and Clandinin (1990) stressed the increase in the use of this method of analysis for studying educational experiences. For this study, the experience included the decision making process of choosing a program in the US, the preparation for the program and the participants' first impressions of the program, after spending a semester in the US. Narrative inquiry was appropriate as we could focus on the participants' lives and experiences told in their own words (Bhattacharya, 2017; Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Merriam, 2009). More specifically, the psychological approach directed the study at the participants' personal views and motivations (Rossiter, 1999, as cited in Merriam, 2009) which helped reveal detailed stories.

Study participants

While seeking to understand why non-native English-speaking students decide to enroll at a graduate school in the Southern US, we analyzed data based on six interviews with first year non-native English-speaking graduate students of different nationalities enrolled at a Research 1 institution in the Southern United States. The sampling was purposive (Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Merriam, 2009) because we believed that first year students could provide the most elaborate descriptions of their experiences and motives.

All participants came from different countries, including those in Asia, Africa, and Europe. Two participants identified as female, while four identified as male. As regards their programs, the distribution was also diverse and all students had previously completed bachelor-level studies, while three had also obtained a master's degree before deciding to proceed with their education.

Data collection and analysis

The data were collected from six in-depth, face-to-face interviews with a duration of approximately one hour each. The participants were given ample time to provide their recollections of the discussed events, after which additional questions were asked to encourage rich descriptions (Bhattacharya, 2017; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Merriam, 2009). All interviews were audio-recorded after the participants had given their consent. After each interview, the recording was transcribed verbatim, which provided direction for each further interview.

Data analysis started during the interviewing process, as notes were taken to ensure that key points would be noticed and analyzed further. After all interviews were completed and transcribed, the interview notes were compared to transcripts and a demographic table was created for easier data analysis and comparison (Bhattacharya, 2017; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Merriam, 2009). Next, the data from the transcripts were color coded and the themes, which emerged during the process, were analyzed using the theoretical framework and a narrative thematic analysis approach (Bhattacharya, 2017). These themes are presented in the Findings section.

Credibility and trustworthiness

Several strategies were implemented to ensure credibility and trustworthiness of the study. The data which were analyzed came from multiple sources (Bhattacharya, 2017; Marshall & Rossman, 2016; Merriam, 2009). In addition to analyzing interview transcripts, the notes taken during the interviews served to support the interview data. Double-coding (Elo et al., 2014; Westbrook, 1994) – coding the transcripts two times – was done to support the conclusions. These strategies enabled us to focus on rich personal experiences and helped us understand the participants' reasoning in-depth.

Findings

The main themes that emerged after data analysis and coding processes were related to the participants' academic and work experience, their decision making processes, opinions of the US education system, non-educational factors (such as demographic data), as well as their career prospects. The themes are presented in this section and analyzed further in the Discussion section. The revelations of these learners' personal experiences and decisions, in addition to their ideas of what the future holds, were crucial for understanding why US graduate schools benefit from hosting non-native English-speaking students, while the students' home countries might be left lacking educated individuals.

Table 1 offers a summary of the participants' profiles (outline of personal data significant for this study) in the alphabetic order, based on the pseudonyms the participants chose for the interviews. The data presented in the table include demographic characteristics, data regarding previous and current education, as well as employment details. Table 1 presents background data which should be used in addition to the presented themes to understand the study findings and gain a full picture of the participants' backgrounds and reasoning.

Table 1.
Participants' Profiles

Pseudonym	Arsene	Goku	Ivana	J	Leonardo	Little Star
Gender (self-identified)	male	male	female	male	male	female
Age range	26–35	26–35	26–35	26–35	26–35	18–25
Ethnicity	White	Middle-Eastern	Asian	Asian	Asian	White
Country of birth	Iran	Egypt	China	Kazakhstan	Afghanistan	Russia
First language	Kurdish	Arabic	Chinese	Kazakh	Dari	Russian
Other languages	Persian/ Farsi	French	no	Russian	Pashto	no
Marital status	single	single	single	single	single	single
Highest degree	Bachelor's	Bachelor's	Master's	Master's	Bachelor's	Master's
Previous employment	Chemical engineer	Environmental consultant	Social Studies teacher	Teaching assistant, instructor	Associate engineer, project manager	Master in milk processing
Current employment	Research Assistant	None	None	Teaching Assistant	None	None
Program	PhD, Biological engineering	Master, Marine Science	PhD, Educational research	PhD, Mathematics	Master, Water Resource Engineering	Master, Food science

Participants' academic and work experience

The data related to the students' programs confirmed the data from the literature which suggested that the areas of science and education were in high demand (Bound & Turner, 2010). All study participants had previous higher education experience in their home countries. They had all completed a bachelor degree program and three of them had also obtained a master's degree. However, not the same three participants who had previously completed master programs were enrolled in PhD programs in the United States, because in the US, there is the opportunity to start a PhD program with either a bachelor's or a master's degree. One participant, Goku, even mentioned that he would have chosen to enroll at a PhD program in his field had he known about the option, and that he was considering to proceed toward a PhD degree once he completes his current master's degree program.

All students were also previously employed in their home countries, where they worked in their areas of expertise. This means that the students had to resign from their jobs once they were accepted to the US universities. Those participants who worked on international projects as a part of their past employment, namely Goku and Leonardo, seemed to have made the decision of coming to the US more easily as they were more experience in international communication in the English language and were also promised jobs upon return to their home countries.

The US vs. home country's education system

Comparison of the education systems of origin and host countries was considered important for understanding the students' choices to study in the US. There was a feeling of satisfaction with the US education system that emerged from the participants' interviews. Some participants were more elaborate than others while comparing the education processes in their home countries and the US. One of the more elaborate ones was Little Star, who stated her opinion by saying:

> *I think the main difference is, like, educational process, it's absolutely different. So, we, for example in Russia, we go to university, or school, and we just listen to the teacher and write down what he or she explains. And here it's a competitive system. So, we're always talking to each other, asking questions, answering questions, and just, like, we have to absorb things first.*

In addition to talking positively about the professor-student relationship in the US, Arsene also compared to the university systems in Iran and in the US. He favored the American system because of a close connection between what is learned and needed for a future career. Arsene explained the differences in the following words:

> *In my country the study is most course based, so you have to take a lot of courses and also most of them are irrelevant to the work you have to do in the future. But here, there is a good connection between what you want to do and what you will have to do in the future and what is taught in classes, I mean in terms of courses.*

The participant who was enrolled in the Educational Research program, Ivana, noticed a similar difference between the education in the US and in her home country, China. As she talked about her preference for the American system, she contended that Chinese system "only focused on the score, the results, and teacher, parents, and the whole environment push everyone to study, study, study. They don't focus on the student growth and their mind, and their whole career, just only focus on score."

Making the decision

There were several prevalent ideas as to why the participants took the first step toward becoming a part of the US education system. The participants listed recommendations, prestige, scholarship, the US education system, and a lack of motivation at their previous job as the main reasons for deciding to pursue the program in the United States.

Three participants in the study who were supported by Fulbright scholarships stated that the opportunity to study in the US with little financial cost was a great motivation to make the decision. Little Star, who used to work in a dairy factory in Russia for two years prior to deciding to move to the US for a master program, explained that one benefit of choosing to apply for graduate education in the United States through Fulbright Program was that they offered assistance with choosing a school in the US.

Leonardo offered a different explanation for choosing to apply for a Fulbright scholarship, stating that "this scholarship is a wow back in my country. You receive it and people will always think you are, like, a genius, and it's not only nationally, it's also internationally." As for Goku, the main motivation for choosing to apply for a graduate school in the US through Fulbright Program were the finances, as he stated that he would not have been able to afford the studies otherwise.

J from Kazakhstan had limited options to choose from once he decided to go for a PhD program, as he explained that there were not many experts in his field of interest in the world. While explaining why he opted for applying to American universities, he compared the application processes for European and for American universities. His application process in the US was time-saving as he elaborated that

> *there are also some people who work on this topic in Germany and some other European countries, but I decided to go to the United States because, for me, it's easier to apply here, because it's, like, the system here, the application process here is unified I would say. So, you can collect almost the same application material and use it to apply to several universities. And in Europe you have to, each university has its own rules and for each university you have to collect separate application material.*

This explanation may be one of the reasons why the EU countries are also said to be suffering from brain drain (Van Bouwel, 2010).

Arsene from Iran and Little Star from Russia mentioned unsociable working hours in their previous jobs as additional motivators for making the decision to pursue education in the US. Little Star used to work evening and night shifts in a factory in Russia, while Arsene used to work on an offshore platform as a senior chemical engineer. Interestingly, Arsene also stated that his salary in Iran was considered above average and that many of his friends tried to convince him that leaving his job in the industry would be a mistake. However, seeing that there would be no way to progress, nor to find a job in Iran after finishing a PhD program there, he firmly decided to pursue a PhD degree in the US.

Non-educational factors

The Participants' Profiles table lists several other factors that could have helped in the participants' decision making processes. Firstly, the fact that the participants were all younger than 35, with one person younger than 25, might have made it easier for them to make the decision to move. Additionally, all the participants were single at the time of the interview and at the time they made the decision to pursue higher education in the United State, which obviously made it less complicate for them to relocate as they did not have to make arrangements for their immediate family members. For Ivana, it was simple to make the decision considering the fact that she had completed her bachelor's and master's degree programs in the US and had a few relatives there. Family also influenced Leonardo's decision, as his grandfathers both completed higher education in the US.

Career prospects

The final part of the interview focused on the participants' ideas of what the future holds. Asked about a career after graduation, the participants responded differently. Four out of six participants were highly interested in staying in the US after graduation. What they stressed at this point was the importance of having a visa and the need for considering the best possible job offer. On the other hand, two participants responded negatively to the question regarding their stay in the US after graduation. Leonardo had firmly decided to return to his home country after graduation even before his arrival, not only because his scholarship required that, but also because his wish was to use the knowledge acquired in the US to help his home country become more prosperous. He proudly explained his patriotism by saying, "for me as a person who has the motivation, I wanna serve my whole life back in my country, to take it from the stage where it is to a developed one."

Little Star stated that she would definitely return to her home country after graduation because of her scholarship, but that she would be willing to consider a job in the United States after two years spent in her home country, as mandated by the Fulbright Program. However, she was slightly reluctant to make predictions about possible future jobs, stating that it would be difficult to think that far in advance.

Both Arsene and J were extremely interested in applying for a post-doctorate position or a professorship at a US university after graduation. Another participant that was eager to work as a professor in the United States after graduation was Ivana, who explained that she loved the opportunities she had to do research. The participants emphasized that for their wishes to come true, they would need to work on developing their research during their PhD programs and that they would need to be vigilant in networking with other researchers in their fields. However, Arsene also suggested that he would consider a career in Europe as it would be closer to his family in Iran.

Discussion

The narratives from this study helped us understand why some non-native English-speaking students decided to enroll at a graduate school in the Southern United States over same level institutions in their home countries. The themes which emerged and were presented in the previous section elaborated on the participants' views and helped us provide responses to the overarching research questions. We provide a summary under each question in this section and discuss the responses through the lens of globalization.

Why do non-native English-speaking students decide to enroll at a graduate school in the Southern United States?

This was our primary question for the analysis of brain drain and two themes were vital for providing a response to this research question: *Making the Decision* and *Non-Educational Factors*. The difference between the themes was that the first one encompassed the responses which the students openly linked to their decision making process and included funding and scholarship program, opinions about the US system, and dissatisfaction with previous jobs, while the second theme emerged from our analysis of the participants' profiles and the information they provided during interviews, including the participants' demographic characteristics, namely age and marital status. Our findings aligned with the facts found in the literature regarding the quality of the US education and the prestige of studying in North America (Academic Ranking of World Universities, 2018; Zheng, 2010). The findings also showed that the participants, who came from developing countries, were driven to seek education in the US based on the positive ideas of the host country's education system, as stipulated in the framework we used.

How do non-native English-speaking students perceive the difference between studying in the United States and in their native country?

The participants from Iran, Russia, and China were more elaborate when explaining the differences between their home countries' and the American systems. What we discovered was that the reason why the participants felt that students in the US were at an advantage was a positive professor-student relationship. The participants explained that the US system puts students in focus as the American university environment encourages career development and offers career-relevant courses, which was one more point to confirm that the US system provides globally relevant education (Bloom, 2004; Ruby, 2015). By comparing education systems as they experienced them in their origin and host countries, the students suggested that course offerings in their home countries could be modified to reflect relevance to the students' future careers and that professors could reconsider their relationship and communication with students. These findings seem to confirm the need for a globalization framework which would focus on the individual and social benefits (Ruby, 2015) instead of addressing the trade in capital. Based on our framework (Bloom, 2004), it stems that one of the ways for the countries and institutions experiencing brain drain to adapt to the needs of a globalized world is to focus on making higher and adult education more career focused, which would include modifying their programs, curricula, and course offerings.

What are non-native English-speaking students' perceptions of job prospects after graduating from a US graduate school?

Bloom (2004) emphasized that globalized education brings the opportunity for individuals to develop and acquire knowledge and skills required to succeed in a fast-changing global environment. The participants' opinions regarding their career prospects were unanimous in that they felt that a US degree was valuable both in and outside the US. As Arsene stated, "most companies, most employers, most universities outside of America are impressed by those students who got a degree from America, so I think there is a good chance to find a job in other countries." This might be the reason why not all of them saw themselves pursuing a career in the US after graduation. The responses to this question confirmed the state of education and job market in the era of globalization, with the freedom of movement across the globe (Bloom, 2004, 2006; Ruby, 2015). It also confirmed the alignment of the US higher and adult education programs with the demands of a globalized job market. The participants showed confidence that a degree from a US university would serve as a "passport" which would allow them more choice internationally.

Implications

Globalization has been described as "a multidimensional phenomenon and a multifaceted process" (Shahidi & Seyedi, 2012, p. 1300) and its implications for education are undisputable. Considering that brain drain and brain gain are concepts which have developed through globalization, it was inevitable to address the issues jointly. In this paper, we explored one dimension of the brain drain phenomenon by presenting the experiences of six non-native English-speaking graduate students in the United States. Therefore, the implications from this study are important for policy makers in the United States and for educational institutions, governments and other policy makers and educational bodies of those countries with high levels of brain drain, as well as those students who decide to study in a foreign country because their education will inevitably be affected by the effects of globalization.

The findings from this research shed light on non-native English-speaking students' tendencies and reasoning behind choosing to study in the US and revealed that globalization has a great influence on education (Suarez-Orozco & Qin-Hilliard, 2004), specifically higher and adult education, as well as international career choice options by offering individuals a necessary skillset to thrive in the global market. Therefore, these findings could be of use to those bodies in charge of creating education, immigration, and employment policies, which should be aligned with the needs of a globalized society. Based on the students' responses in this study, it also seems that educators in those countries experiencing brain drain should strive to create more meaningful relationships with their students and in that way adapt to students' needs in a globalized world. This would imply stepping away from the traditional notion of pedagogy as the demands of adult learners change globally.

Future research should be aimed at understanding the views of students from countries experiencing brain drain which were not included in this study regarding their reasons behind choosing to study in the US and the influence those decisions have on the individuals' future career choices. Understanding why large numbers of students decide to study in the US and why the US is the leading host country for non-native English-speaking and other international students may be useful, not only in the process of accommodating the students' needs, but also as a benchmark for other countries' education systems. Thus, further research on the topic would help higher and adult education practitioners make research-based, informed decisions regarding best practices for non-native English-speaking adult learners.

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PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS IN HE ON TEACHING IDEOLOGY AND AUTHORITY BY LECTURERS: QUESTIONING NEUTRAL VIEWPOINTS ABOUT ACADEMIA

Abstract

This paper presents research conducted at a Brazilian university, focusing on students' perspectives on authority, power and ethics of lecturers, and their influence on teaching-learning processes. Teaching ethics is situated as a regulator of authority and power. From this perspective, we analyse the pedagogical action of lecturers, particularly in relation to the ideological imposition on students and its consequences on learning. The methodology has been based on focus groups, carried out with 18 students. Students perceive that teachers often impose their ideology, using mechanisms such as evaluation, strategies to avoid different opinions, or granting privileges to students who share the ideology of the teacher. We conclude that the ideological imposition of teachers is based on an unethical authority that impedes students' autonomy and harms learning processes.

Keywords: higher education, teacher ideology, students' perspectives, power

The classroom, a space of asymmetric relations mediated by authority and power

The classroom is the fundamental space of the teaching-learning processes. It is a meeting between teachers and students to try to make effective the educational purposes, the curricular indications, the implementation of teaching and the acquisition of the proposed learning. Within this complexity of variables, the teacher is placed as a fundamental axis to be able to analyse the functioning of the classroom, since he is the final executor of the pedagogical authority, understood as "the *possibility* that one agent has to act on others (or on another) without those others *reacting* against him, being totally capable of doing so" (Kojève, 2005, p. 36). Authority is essentially social, because it is always exercised over other people. For Kojève (2005), authority is legitimate, by definition, because "to deny the legitimacy of authority means not recognizing it, that is, destroying it". It is interesting to deepen in this perspective supporting us in the study about social reproduction carried out by Bourdieu and Passeron (1996), which question if the legitimacy is really legitimate or not. These sociologists consider that the legitimacy of pedagogical authority comes from the imposition as legitimate of symbolic relations established arbitrarily by a given culture, the dominant one.

This question of symbolic violence has also been worked on by Feyerabend (1998), although from an epistemological point of view, by pointing out how the subjectivity of certain traditions of knowledge is declared as objective before the others, making these *other* subjectivities invisible, or showing them as irrational. On the other hand, the theory of coloniality/modernity (Dussel, 2000; Santos, 2010) has also worked on the subject, pointing out that imposed cultural arbitrariness corresponds to Eurocentric hegemony, in which the essential knowledge of society is shown in a Eurocentric and linear way, denying, hiding or silencing all knowledge and influence coming from the non-Eurocentric periphery and simplifying the complexity of humanity.

Placing the discussion in the direct exercise of teaching, the teacher, as an authority, is the mediator between the proposed knowledge from the curriculum and the students. In this context, the teacher is the main constructor of the pedagogical process, within an asymmetric power relationship (Seddon & Palmieri, 2009). The position of the educator as authority within the classroom gives him or her the power to select and structure content, establish teaching methodologies and build evaluation processes that will certify the knowledge acquired by students.

Therefore, authority and power are concepts that are indissolubly intertwined under the figure of the teacher in the teaching-learning processes. Both authority and power have provoked great interest in social research, because they are considered fundamental elements for understanding the functioning of human and educational relations, particularly with regard to motivation and learning (Richmond, 1990; Covarrubias & Piña, 2004; Turman & Schrodt, 2006). Authority and power within the classroom have been extensively worked on by scientific literature (McNay, 2003; Gomes, 2009; Seddon & Palmieri, 2009; Tallone, 2011). These contributions coincide in highlighting that the type of authority that the teacher assumes, and the power that he or she exercises in accordance with it, is established as one of the most relevant dimensions in the students' learning process. The type of teaching authority assumed thus conditions and structures the teaching-learning model applied in the classroom. Thus, teaching strategies, relationships with students, ways of presenting and transmitting knowledge, classroom organization and evaluation formats will depend, to a large extent, on the type of authority and power used by the teacher.

At the crossroads of ethical teaching: the ideology of teachers and the autonomy of students

The theory of education as a socio-economic, ideological and cultural reproducer has been widely discussed in recent decades (Giroux, 1997; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996; Apple, 2006; Freire, 2007). This paper analyses the structural conditions in which the education system is involved and how the prevailing hegemonic system uses it to perpetuate itself in power and maintain inequality between social classes. However, in treating student-teacher relations within the classroom, the theory of social reproduction has placed the teaching sector as a collective subject to the influences of the system and with little margin of autonomy to change the orientation of education systems from its pedagogical action, so that no attention has been paid to the specific phenomena that depend on the direct action of teachers. However, we understand that it is necessary to investigate the analysis and interpretation of teachers' actions in order to make a criticism that makes educational improvement possible.

This study focuses on analysing the relationship between the ideology of the teacher and the autonomy of the students, within the framework of the teaching-learning processes of the classroom, studying them from the interrelationship between ethics, authority and teaching power. However, we do not intend to raise a discussion on the concept of ideology, since this, despite having been widely discussed, has not come to be defined precisely (Dijk, 2005).

The teacher, as mentioned above, maintains a power relationship with the students due to their knowledge, experience and position of authority within the classroom. His or her ideology is naturally included within his or her pedagogical action, since we understand that each person is inseparable from his or her ideology, either by action or omission (Freire, 2007). However, possessing authority within educational processes should not be used to impose their ideology, using their position, knowledge and skills, since this "constitutes the most serious infraction of professional ethics" (Vázquez & Escámez, 2010, p. 13). Education should be an end for the teacher, and not a means for the expansion of his or her social ideals, since we understand, in the words of Hansen (2001, p. 188), that "ideals can become ideological or doctrinal and can alienate teachers from their educational obligations and cause them to treat their students as a means to an end, be it political, social or whatever".

However, as we pointed out previously, teachers have tools that are their own due to the position of authority they occupy in the classroom and with which they exercise their symbolic power. For the purposes of this paper, we will focus primarily on two that are intimately related: the evaluation and moderation of classroom discussions.

The evaluation is considered as the mechanism by which it is verified, accredited and certified if the proposed learning has been achieved or not. This is a vision rooted within the educational world that needs to be critically questioned (Gimeno Sacristán, 2002). Martínez (2011) considers that evaluation can be established as control, imposition, dominion and authority over students, since it is established in an autocratic way by the teacher, without the participation of the students and with evident implications for the students. Since the teacher has the power over the assessment process, the knowledge considered important, and therefore developed in the classroom, depends on the teacher's subjectivity, ideology and epistemology.

As a second tool, the teacher is the mediator in the discussions that take place in the classroom. The teacher has the power to allow, lengthen, shorten or deny these verbal exchanges (Hernández, 2006; Camacaro, 2008). Simpson and Hull (2013) have identified three strategies that teachers generally use to inhibit, rather than allow, ethical discussions when they may be controversial or confront their ideological convictions. The first is the evasive tactic, whereby the teacher avoids discussion, declaring himself or herself not morally or ethically responsible for the issue in question; the second is the action of *logical stopper*, which is "when a person insinuates, affirms or acts as if there is a point at which no one can question a particular claim" (Simpson & Hull, 2013, p. 94); and the third, *ad hominem* arguments, which happen "when explicitly or implicitly he attacks a person by some real or assumed personal characteristic instead of addressing the individual's arguments" (Simpson & Hull, 2013, p. 91).

When there is ideological imposition, the values of respect, dialogue, autonomy and difference are nullified, because before the position of authority and the tools of power of the teacher, the students are conditioned to the evaluation process, adapting to what the teacher expects.

The discussions between Hare (2003, 2006, 2009) and Siegel (2005, 2009) take place under the perspective of student autonomy and ideological imposition (or indoctrination). In the studies carried out by the authors, they establish the characteristics of *open-mindedness* and *close-mindedness* as vertebrate categories for their analysis. The first one refers to when an "individual or a community is willing to take into account all that is relevant to forming a sound judgment and also willing to reconsider judgments already made or being formed in the light of emerging difficulties" (Hare, 2003, p. 4). While the *close-mindedness* attitude is characterized because it "rejects research, reflection and discussion, situating them as useless, thus arriving at a stubbornly inflexible position in which beliefs are considered fixed and final beyond any possibility of critical and open review" (Hare, 2009, p. 5). An *open-mindedness* teaching style, then, becomes a fundamental element within a democratic pedagogical action, since it will allow the access of the students' voices in the educational process, avoiding the proselytism of the teacher on them.

Methodology

This research has been developed using focus groups (Krueger, 1991). The focus groups were conducted around the categories of authority, freedom and autonomy in the classroom, with the emerging theme being the ideological imposition of teachers. The focus groups have allowed us to extract relevant information through the process of reflexivity to which the subjects voluntarily submitted themselves to think about lived situations.

The subjects interviewed in the research are students of a public Brazilian university. To select the members of the four focus groups, we selected four classes between the fifth and eighth semesters of the degree, so that they would have extensive prior experience. The total number of students of these four classes was 195. We intentionally selected the number of five participants per focus group to delve deeper into the issues analysed; however, in two classes we only got four students. A total of 18 students participated in the focus groups, 15 females and 3 males. At the beginning of each group, we collected demographic characteristics. The design of the focus groups was carried out following the model of Krueger and Casey (2000, p. 44), with an inverse pyramidal organization, going from the general to the most concrete, based on five topics: perception of educational processes as students; participation in the pedagogical organization in the classrooms; relationship between participation and learning; autonomy, freedom and authority in the classroom; and self-reflexivity.

For the analysis of the information collected in the focus groups we have based ourselves on the model proposed by Gil, García and Rodríguez (1994), extracted from the distinction made by Miles and Huberman (1984), who "contemplate in the analysis activities aimed at the reduction of data, disposition of data or extraction and verification of conclusions" (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 192). This consists of five phases: reading of speeches, reduction of textual data (categorization, coding), provision of data that allows us to reach conclusions, drawing conclusions, and checking the results.

Data analysis has been organized around two of the three principles of teacher ethics to facilitate and bring coherence to the analysis. The established categories have been the principle of autonomy and the principle of beneficence. The principle of social justice has not been included as a category, as we understand that it is implicitly found in the two selected principles. Categorization is not exclusive, as some of the students' opinions may fall into the two categories. The data have been anonymized.

Results

Ideological imposition is not an issue for all teachers, but neither are they isolated cases. As Luisa (22 years old) points out, "not all of them, but the great majority". Leandro (23 years old) highlights the same idea: "the respectful are few".

From the focus groups conducted, the ideological imposition of teachers emerges powerfully with an evident *close-mindedness* attitude (Hare, 2009), in which the autonomy of students is totally limited. Luisa indicates (22):

> The lecturers see the students of the faculty as a tabula rasa, where they will take their ideology and place it in us. They seek to form us in their thinking, in their ideological line.

This position is reinforced by other students, who lament the influence of the teacher's ideology on their training. They show how this influences their learning in three very specific areas that restrict their autonomy: the first, by having to assume the ideology of the teacher to approve the works; the second, by seeing the content of the subject limited by the epistemological or ideological preferences of the teacher; and the third, as a conjunction of the previous two, by not being able to develop and deepen their own interests. The students refer to evaluation as a tool of dominion, imposition and authority, that become effective:

> Karla (20): The ideology in the faculty is very strong. When you're going to do an academic task, you must know the teacher's ideology, the teacher's line, because you're going to have to put references to the author that the teacher likes.
>
> María (26): I felt limited freedom to act, very little on the ideological question. The lecturers have their ideology and, in their subject, they give better grades if you agree with their ideology, the authors they use are authors who defend that ideology. Then they do not give freedom to have another conception of pedagogy.

However, ideological imposition is not only given through the content of the subject, but is reflected in the opinions expressed by the students. The students' words refer us to Simpson's and Hull's research (2013), when the *logical stopper* strategy became clear, by which the teacher's knowledge is presented as unquestionable, preventing the dialogue between different epistemologies in the classroom and disrespecting diversity:

> Laura (22): There are teachers who don't even want to hear, you have the opposite opinion, your problem! You're the one who's wrong! Their opinions are

> those, they are right and you're the one who's wrong. How do you open a dialogue like that? There is no dialogue.
>
> Julia (20): The teacher considers you have an opinion like that, and he or she has an opinion and he or she doesn't even want to talk, you're the one who's wrong.

Once again, the *close-mindedness* attitude (Hare, 2009) is presented in teachers, denying the possibility of dialogue with other perspectives. In some cases students say that some teachers try to ridicule ideas that are different from their own. Pedro reflects on how the freedom of students is conditioned by the ideological position of teachers, having to restrict their autonomy so as not to come into conflict with teachers:

> Peter (27): They allow you to speak, but if you say something that opposes their idea, they don't tell you to stop talking, but they ridicule you in front of everyone and in the worst ways. (...) So, their freedom has no limits, but that of the students has the limitation of not being able to oppose their ideas.

Maria (26) emphasizes the use of *ad hominem* and *logical stopper* argument strategies (Simpson & Hull, 2013) by some teachers when attacking students, rather than discussing ideas or, on other occasions, without even allowing debate:

> There are teachers who accept opinions and others who sometimes are more neutral. But there are other teachers who ridicule, say you don't know anything. There are others who arrive with everything ready and you won't even have the chance to debate.

The students also expressed that privileges are granted to promote in the university those students who coincide with the ideology of the teachers. Leandro (23) says that "we perceive that in order to be someone here in the faculty we have to disguise ourselves as the interest of the teacher". The attitude recounted by Leandro encourages the chameleonic attitude that we recounted earlier. When students see that they can achieve direct benefits by communicating with the teacher's ideology, even if it is not shared, they can internalize that accepting the teacher's perspective is more convenient for their future professional development than the formation of their own autonomy.

The analysis of the results also showed the consequences that ideological imposition has when it comes to the evaluation. Once again, evaluation is positioned as a control tool (Gimeno Sacristán, 2002; Martínez, 2011) and with a tendency towards proselytism, exercising direct consequences in the training of students, who focus on learning the teacher's perspective, to the detriment of their own:

> Laura (22): Sometimes you have to say or write what the teacher wants to hear. Sometimes we can't go with the opposite opinion of the lecturer. He or she has an opinion and, if you were against him or her, you might even have negative consequences.

> Louise (22): What generally happens is that we put in the examination the opinion that he or she gave, as a condition to have good marks.

In a small dialogue between them, they relate these attitudes directly to their freedom and autonomy. They talk about the contradiction that some teachers present between speeches and practice, asking them for autonomy and freedom in their actions as students, but, nevertheless, being pushed to change their own opinion so that it is in line with the ideas of the teachers:

> Karla (20): In the exam, we often change to the teacher's opinion and the way he or she said it.
>
> Leandro (23): The lecturer limits our freedom, it is only the freedom of the teacher.
>
> Julia (20): It's kind of hypocritical, all disguised. I'm going to do that in my field, but it's not what I want or what I think about it.
>
> Luisa (22): The construction of autonomous thought has no possibilities of being delevoped.

The contradictions between discourses and teaching practices become evident again when students relate about the values of dialogue and respect for diversity of ideas. They show the frustration caused by observing inconsistencies between the teachers' theory and their concrete actions. The invitation to dialogue and constant participation on the part of teachers, however, is cut through *logical stopper* strategies (Simpson & Hull, 2013) when students' arguments do not agree with those of the teacher:

> Luisa (22): It is complicated when the student, or anyone else, has a different position. Sometimes we as students develop alternative positions. But the professor takes it in the sense of ´ah, you don't want to talk!`. But the teacher, with the knowledge he or she has, should say "look, there are different positions".
>
> Laura (22): They teach one thing and do another. They teach that it is necessary to have that dialogue, that you need it, that you are going to be in a school or in a place with different people with different opinions. They say that, but, on the contrary, they have their thought, and you have to agree with the ideas of the lecturer.
>
> María (26): I think it is very important that, if you believe in liberating education, it cannot be only in theory, it has to be put into practice. If you don't want to let students participate, then don't bring those proposals. I think that the University has to be reconsidered, because I perceive that there are many misunderstandings. There are a lot of nice speeches, but it's time for practice in the classroom... I feel very uncomfortable with all of this.

The limitation expressed by the students prevents their learning process from being framed within an *open-mindedness* space (Hare, 2003), within which they can express their ideas and beliefs to be discussed in an environment of dialogue and respect. This has consequences for learning, because as Martínez (2011) reflected, and the students confirm, the unethical attitude of certain teachers, combined with assessment, causes students to focus study on passing assessments, leaving learning in a secondary place:

> Beatriz (25): We really learn to pass. And it's not like I'm studying to do that. Unhappily I've already gone through subjects that I didn't learn anything about and I don't have a way back. I'm going to have to learn it outside the university or repeat it here again, even if I've already got my credits.
>
> Jaime (27): If something is imposed on you, what are you going to do? The most you get is to study to pass.

Discussion

The data analysed from the focus groups have shown that there is ideological imposition on the part of certain teachers, sustained by their position of authority in the classroom. To this end, teachers use different mechanisms, such as evaluation (Gimeno Sacristán, 2002; Martínez, 2011), various strategies to avoid different opinions (Hernández, 2006; Camacaro, 2008; Simpson & Hull, 2013) and the granting of privileges to students who share the same ideology. Asymmetric relationships within the classroom are established, on these occasions, as tyranny, where the unethical conduct of teachers is legitimized by their position of authority. However, the ethical actions of students who seek complete learning, autonomy or social justice are subject to the pressures exerted by certain teachers, through the tools of evaluation and silencing of voices. Pedagogical authority is exercised, in the situations analysed, as symbolic violence (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1996), through the tools of power granted to the teacher for his or her position in imposing his or her subjectivity on the students.

We situate this type of proceeding within the *close-mindedness* attitude, since the professor is inflexible when opening the dialogue towards other postures or beliefs that diverge from his, being "incapable of conceiving the possibility that there may be an alternative point of view worthy of serious consideration" (Hare, 2009, p. 5). Imagination, creativity, the possibility of connecting two skills that make a third emerge are limited by the difficulty of proposing options that diverge from those of the teacher.

Because of the *close-mindedness* attitude in the classroom, the students have shown how ideological imposition and its inconsistency with this ideology provokes a silencing of their opinions and political-pedagogical thoughts, preventing them from deepening and developing their own autonomy, directly affecting their learning.

We consider that there are no ethical conducts in certain teachers, as they do not comply with the principles of professional teaching ethics (Hortal, 2002), exercising symbolic violence when imposing their ideology on students. The ideology of teachers is sometimes placed above the intrinsic good of education, which would be the learning of students. The autonomy of the students is not respected, because their opinions, thoughts and actions are silenced and even punished with the available tools of evaluation and sanction.

Our concern is therefore installed in the interaction between authority, power and teaching ethics, since they have been situated as an interrelated triad with great implications for learning processes. We understand, with Tallone (2011), that it is the moment "to stop thinking about great reforms and to start believing in small improvements that are implemented in the own exercise of the day to day" (Tallone, 2011, p. 133). We establish ethical teaching attitudes within these small improvements since, as we have developed, they are situated as regulators of the authority and power of the teacher.

After analysing the main criticisms that the possible establishment of ethical codes has received, Schwimmer and Maxwell (2017) propose that these should be based on three flexible principles whose core is respect for the other. These principles would be the opening of meanings, space for dissidence and avoidance of moralistic language. Based on these principles, the authors consider that the values of dialogue, respect and diversity characteristic of democracies are put into practice and that they should lay the foundations for an ethical attitude within the education system. The research carried out by McNay (2003) seems to us to be of urgent discussion, since it raises the need for the concepts of authority and power to form part of the educational curriculum of future teachers, so that they can analyse and reflect on the responsibility that entails, and the effects on the learning that it contains, the position that is granted to them by the place that they occupy in the student-teacher relationship in the classroom.

However, in view of the results of our study, these proposals for a more respectful ethic, capable of regulating the authority and power exercised by the professor, are not reflected in the university spaces in which we have developed our research. This leads us to reflect on the need to continue deepening the relationship between the three concepts worked on in this paper. The perception of teachers about their actions and, specifically, about the interrelation of these three concepts seems to us to be fundamental to be able to undertake self-reflective actions in the teaching sector that lead us to an educational improvement. Values such as dialogue, respect for difference and autonomy of students or learning as an end of education are abandoned by certain teachers, either consciously or unconsciously, with negative consequences for students' learning. The type of authority and power used by lecturers rests on the ethical behavior of teachers, and therefore, from an educational perspective that is respectful of the diversity of subjectivity, we advocate the urgency of seeking democratic ethical models that make it possible to regulate the excesses of unethical authorities.

Our study has some limitations. Firstly, it does not allow generalizations of the results, as the sampling is not representative. Secondly, this research only refers to the field of education and training. Moreover, this study is located in Brazil, that has a very specific university context, very different if compared to European universities. Eventually, it is a limitation not to have included the perspectives from lecturers. Therefore, we see the need for similar research in different disciplinary and geographical contexts, including the voices of university staff, to assess the breadth of the processes documented in our research and to study the best ways to promote ethical and professional attitudes by university professors capable of regulating the authority and power inherent in them because of the important position they occupy in pedagogical processes. Anyway, we consider that our study may have relevance in the current university systems, both in Latin America and in a more transnational and global perspective.

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APPROACHING CONTEMPORARY HIGHER EDUCATION IN GREECE THROUGH THE LENS OF UNIVERSITY PEDAGOGY: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION IN THIS CONTEXT?

Abstract

University pedagogy, especially in Greece, is an emerging field of research in Educational Sciences. In this paper, we examine the aspects that influence and determine this new field, in order to delineate its profile. Some of these aspects are the objectives, the educational policy and the special characteristics of the participants, the university teachers and students. In our study, we attempt to shed light to the contribution of the basic principles of the Adult Education field to the formation of a university pedagogy in our era, both bibliographically and by presenting an example of educational practice. The need for more focused studies on that field is revealed, while a sufficient training of university teachers on university didactic becomes more demanding every day.

Keywords: university pedagogy, adult education, emerging adulthood.

Introduction

A common argument is that during the passage towards adult life it is necessary to have experience, become acquainted with oneself and acquire professional and social skills. All these processes, in order to be able to take place in a fertile and functional way for the young adult, presuppose the parallel existence of reflective processes and critical thinking (Raikou & Filippidi, 2019). The provision, therefore, of reflective opportunities from the environment is particularly important. If we combine this rationale with the effect that, as detailed below, is exercised by the socio-cultural context in the formation of emerging adulthood, we realize that the given context in which the young person exists, lives and acts, has a catalytic effect on his development.

The university is just such a social framework, which has an impact on the formation of the students' life (op. cit.). Especially in Greece, where the majority of young people are studying at university, this influence is decisive (Raikou & Karalis, 2010). The university framework could be seen as an intermediate stage between the family and the wider social context, contributing to the transition from full family dependence of adolescence to the autonomy of adulthood.

If we focus on the university context, it is estimated that the field of university pedagogy has continuously been developing on an international level throughout the last decades, and it has recently begun to grow in Greece (Kedraka, 2016). The role of the university is described in bibliography as a workshop for the transmission of knowledge and fostering of learning for the development of integrated personalities with critical thinking, academic ethos and awareness of social responsibility (Gougoulakis & Economou, 2014, p. 10).

In attempting to identify it, we could start by stating that university is a particular educational framework, with specific targeting as well as specific characteristics of the participants, referring to both university students and teachers. Consequently, all the above conditions (context, targets, and participants) have an impact on the formation of university pedagogy, as a special area of research in the field of Educational Sciences.

Gougoulakis and Economou (2014) relate university pedagogy with the scholarship of teaching and the 'professional' training of the academics at higher education institutions. They define university pedagogy as an academic dimension of pedagogy that focuses on didactics in universities, both theoretically and in practice. Moreover, the main areas of interest include the objectives, the motives, the content and the methods of learning in higher education.

University pedagogy integrates various scientific theories and studies concerning educational processes, while it focuses on specific teaching practices and approaches in the design, implementation and evaluation of learning processes which teachers activate as part of their professional mission (Kedraka, 2016). Nevertheless, as every dimension of pedagogy, it deals with issues that are related to psychology (educational, developmental, etc.), which enables the communication and interaction between an academic and his students, as well as sociology (higher education policy, socio-cultural aspects, etc.), in order to understand and take into account the conditions of the context.

Current trends in higher education

We have already mentioned that university pedagogy is an emerging field of research in Educational Sciences, especially in Greece. According to European Commission, teaching and research are the two equally important pillars of higher education in Europe (European Commission, 2011). Nevertheless, a study on European universities (2013, as cited in Kedraka & Rotidi, 2017) revealed that many higher education institutions pay less emphasis on teaching than on research. Research has become a primary concern for academics, since the improvement of their teaching skills does not count as much as their research on the promotion of their academic careers (op. cit.).

However, during the last years the need for flexible and innovative approaches and teaching methods is pointed out in the European documents, in order to improve the quality and effectiveness of higher education. So far, there are only a few countries that have developed policies on fostering the pedagogical aspects within universities and Greece is not one of them.

According to Zondanos (2011), in the last decades the Greek higher education is rapidly changing in many different domains. Some of the most crucial changes include a differentiation in the way and the amount of financing the universities, a strict governmental policy of control and accountability for more competitive institutions in the global market, as well as an augmentation (on people, faculties, etc.) leading to a massive system of studies in higher education.

It is worth mentioning that the importance of university pedagogy is referred to the legislation since the 19th century, but till today, the Greek Ministry of Education has fostered initiatives to improve the pedagogical competence of primary and secondary education teachers, without mentioning anything for university teachers (Kedraka & Dimasi, 2015). The lack of academics' training on pedagogy and didactics is underlined in Greek bibliography (op. cit.) and the last years, although with a delay comparing to other countries, there is a growing research interest and a creative academic discussion on the importance of teaching and the pedagogical aspects of higher education in Greece.

According to Plota and Karalis (2019, p. 54), most recent Greek studies are focused mainly on (a) the institutional factors influencing student's perceptions towards learning, (b) the development of critical thinking skills in students using adult education theories, mainly the approach of transformative learning, and (c) university professors' teaching perspectives and educational techniques.

The result of the emerging interest on university pedagogy in Greece was the organization of a symposium in 2016. It was a scientific meeting, aiming "at triggering an initial dialogue on and concern about teaching, critical learning and education in Higher Education, as a response to the European and international trends and developments in the field of learning and teaching at Universities" (Kedraka, 2016, p. 18). It is worth mentioning that this initiative is still active, since the first Conference was organized three years after, in 2019, by a Greek university.

This innovative, for Greek university standards, attempt led to the creation of a Network of academics, in order to continue and to spread the dialogue on university pedagogy to Greek universities. Furthermore, it is expected not only to develop a theoretical background, but also to activate institutional initiatives and to foster the application of participating teaching approaches.

University pedagogy: An emerging research field in Greece

Several factors led to the emergence of university pedagogy. First of all, as we have mentioned above, one major factor was the European policy which turned from research (focused on the scientific subject) into teaching (pedagogical aspect/didactic). It was a swift from 'what' to 'how' we teach in universities. At the same time, the new demanding conditions in Greek higher education which were described in the previous section, fostered the investigation of ways of dealing with the pressure created for the persons involved.

This fact was reinforced by a new reality in universities: the augmentation of distance education programs and the need for more applicable and effective teaching methods, because the traditional way couldn't come up with the current situation. The specific need in combination with the constant development of didactics based on new technologies boosted the trend of incorporating innovative methods that deploy information and communication technology the last years, such as flipped classroom or the MOOCS (Plota & Karalis, 2019).

In the meantime, a lot of research on specific scientific fields revealed the same need for improving the didactic aspect of the learning process (i.e., Boilevin & Ravanis, 2007; Karsenti, Depover, Komis, & Dumouchel, 2015; Georgantopoulou, 2009). Nevertheless, the existence of distinct studies (focusing every time on a specific scientific object) and the lack of a holistic approach, according to contemporary learning theories (Illeris, 2007), limited the findings to just ascertain and confirm the problem in each specific case. Notwithstanding, it is worth mentioning that most of the studies underline the necessity to turn to humanities and social sciences for psycho-pedagogical approaches, in order to understand the way of thinking and learning of the persons involved (Raikou, Karalis & Ravanis, 2017).

Rotidi carried out a research on teaching patterns used by professors in higher education's institutions in Greece (Kedraka & Rotidi, 2017). She concluded that an academic's teaching perspective plays a significant role in the way that engages reflection on the knowledge of how students learn and how a professor should facilitate learning. The study revealed that a professor's discipline influences the adoption of certain teaching perspectives and the lack of any formal training in teaching becomes an obstacle to the use of alternative teaching strategies.

To sum up, all the factors described above interact with each other, pressing from a different point. If we have in mind the above mentioned contemporary conditions within the university and the lack of teaching and learning supportive units (at least in Greece were the study takes place), we realize that the persons involved in the learning process (university teachers & students) feel sometimes lost and confused in handling this volatile and demanding situation. Therefore, the shift to psycho-pedagogical approaches is justified and evident to the current studies. This fact explains why most of those studies give emphasis on the necessity of active learning, focusing either on the relationship between teacher and student and the motivation of the participants' emotions (Karagiannopoulou, 2016; Raikou, 2016, 2019) or the incorporation of methods that promote students' engagement (Plota & Karalis, 2019), while the central role of critical reflection in higher education is commonly accepted (Liodaki & Karalis, 2013; Kedraka, 2016; Raikou, 2016).

All those elements, concluded by the relevant studies, compose the core of Adult Education and the affinities between university pedagogy and adult education are gradually coming up at the forefront. At the same time, university teachers, seeking effective didactic approaches to cope with the students' needs and the arising demands, they turn to Adult Education methods and strategies. In our study we attempt to shed light to the contribution of the basic principles of Adult Education field to the formation of university pedagogy today.

The role of adult education in university pedagogy

According to adult education theorists, the main aim of adult education is to help people ameliorate their lives. Popović and Koulaouzides argue that "adult education emerged from the needs of adults to bring about social change, to improve their life, to solve actual problems and to understand social reality" (2017, p. 1).

As we mentioned in a previous section, the lack of a holistic approach in university pedagogy, according to contemporary learning theories, has been limited to just acknowledge and confirm the existing problems. We argue that there is a need for a holistic view, which is related to the awareness of the university as a factor of the social system, as well as the relationship between the teacher and the learner, their motivation and the teaching process along with what it involves (planning, application, and evaluation).

At this point, Illeris' (2007; 2009) contribution to the way in which he approaches holistically the learning process is substantive. His work is particularly acknowledged in contemporary adult education field, especially in Europe. Specifically, in his attempt to analyze the learning process, he defines three dimensions that interact with each other and should be taken into account in tandem: a) the content of learning (curriculum, educational methods, objectives, etc.), b) the incentive of learning, which includes feelings, motivations and will, and (c) interaction, i.e. the learning context (educational organization, social context, and class). We argue that this holistic theory, in conjunction with the integration of critical reflection, compose the most complete approach in the learning process, a developmental transformative process of the person.

In accordance with the above, adult education literature has highlighted the fact that it is important, when educating university students, to emphasize on the process of learning as well as the content of the teaching subject (Halx, 2010). As it is stated (Tsui, 2003), it is useful for students to learn to think critically and to evaluate the knowledge offered to them, prior to taking on operational and leadership roles in society. This view is now more relevant than ever, as the intake and elaboration of new knowledge is in many cases, more important than the knowledge acquired (Illeris, 2009, p. 35).

For this reason, some scholars believe that the process of critical thinking may offer higher education the best possibilities for the most effective and lasting changes to the lives of the university students (Rogers 2001). It is claimed that enhancing reflective processes should be the benchmark of university student education, combining professional preparation with the development of the ability to think critically[1]. According to this thought we argue that adult education and higher education have many common points of interest. Therefore, it would be very useful if specific adult education theories and approaches could be applied in universities.

Consequently, the basic aim of higher education should be the development of the ability of complex thinking and justification among the students (Fink, 2003). A research on reflective and meta-cognitive processes of students showed that they lack these competences to a large extent and the main reason is the fact that a certain way of teaching continues to be used which is not effective at this level. Consequently, it is essential to develop a learning intervention which will provide students with significant learning experiences. A significant learning experience is an educational process that engages students in learning and creates a high energy level in the classroom, while where the outcomes are concerned, it must bring substantial and long term changes, which are useful for their future lives at a personal, social and professional level (Raikou & Karalis, 2016).

While examining all the aforementioned types of intended learning in higher education, it becomes obvious that they converge with the objectives of adult education as we know it. Besides the common points in target-setting which are obvious between adult education and higher education, there is also a consensus regarding the educational techniques that are used. Many different learning methods are proposed in literature which are participatory and experiential for students.

However, scholars of higher education stress that in order to achieve transformation and development during the learning process, it is essential, as mentioned in a previous section, to develop a fertile environment, a finding which is also highlighted by the theorists of adult education (Langan, Sheese, and David-

1 According to Dewey, reflective thinking is the "active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends" (1933, p. 9).

son, 2009, p. 49). An educational framework is considered fertile when there is cooperation, when learning is a social process and learners relate to one another and do not function as isolated individuals. As a relevant study reveals (Donaldson, 2009, pp. 75–76), "transformation cannot occur in learning without cohesion, teamwork and participation with other co-learners and co-seekers". The essence of this transformation is that the student takes on an active role: learners make learning.

Nevertheless, all this presupposes the commitment of the participants, their engagement in discussions and the formation of an opinion through feedback and dialogue. Therefore, emphasis is given to the relations developed among the participants, an element that is an important point for the learning process in adult education (Heron, 2009). Cranton takes it to a deeper level, highlighting that "in order to achieve transformative learning it is necessary to reinforce the learner-teacher relationship" (2006, pp. 122–125). Cooperation, participation in groups, learning contracts and giving the learner the leading role, are all determining factors for the outcome of the learning process both in the field of higher and of adult education.

Finally, there is also a convergence of views of both scientific fields regarding the extent of pursuing critical thinking and making use of the experiences of the learner. Reflection and encouragement of the students are necessary for them to connect the learning framework to their prior knowledge and their experiences. Nevertheless, what we experience in the classroom is equally important, as it facilitates critical thinking and dialogue, while it is a starting point for transformative learning. What is most important during the learning process is the creation of educational experiences for the students. The educational experiences, according to Dewey, contribute to the development of learner (Raikou, 2019). Therefore, it is important not only to reinforce the critical thinking of the students but also to provide them with experiences in order to live according to the new way of thinking. Thus, the new knowledge will become 'their own' (Tisdell and Tolliver, 2009).

However, in order for this to be feasible and have benefits in the practical application and the students' actions, the educational context in which we seek critical thinking, plays a determining role. According to Garvett's research (2004, as cited by Taylor, 2007, p. 186), "cognitive awareness of underlying epistemic assumptions and changing the form of meaning making" is not enough to achieve change in practice. A prerequisite is the development of a supportive educational framework by the university institution, with guidance and clear guidelines. This combination of communicative (support) and instrumental (clear instruction) knowledge are essential elements of transformation.

This education environment in conjunction with incentive can boost the learning process. In order to increase the participation of students in learning procedures that promote reflective processes, some factors that have an impact on reflective activation and progress should be taken into account. According to a survey by Kreber (2004, as cited by Taylor, 2007, p. 178), the most important factor in stimulating reflective frame of mind, is motivation. We should recall at this point the crucial role of motivation in Illeris' learning triangle (2007) mentioned above, as one of the three dimensions of learning. It is clear that, since it is a difficult and laborious process for the student, without the appropriate frame of mind and desire, no reflection can be achieved.

In this respect, Cranton (2006) places emphasis on the challenge of disorienting dilemmas in the educational context in order to trigger the process of critical reflection in learners. For over a decade there have been discussions at the Stanford University Center for Teaching and Learning on 'activating events', which may account for anything that triggers and causes students to consider their thoughts (McGonigal, 2005). With this in mind, they are advancing the design of teaching strategies that can be applied to all scientific fields, based on the theoretical framework of transformative learning, aiming at critically reviewing students' perceptions, starting with the challenge of dilemmas within the framework of university pedagogy. They note, however, the need for both the existence and balance between two key factors: support and challenge. The results of our related research on induced educational dilemma confirm the above findings, while the systematic use of art can play a catalytic role in providing dilemmas (Raikou, 2018).

To sum up, adult education theory and praxis could support university pedagogy, since common needs, goals and methods are appeared. First of all, in order to understand the learning context in higher education, the necessity for a holistic view of all the learning dimensions emerges, an approach that is particularly widespread in adult education research today. In addition, bibliography reveals common goals, with emphasis on fostering critical reflection and supporting the process to adulthood, as well as the efficiency of the same learning methods, such as experiential learning and inducing dilemmas to critically challenge the participants. In any case we are talking about adult learners, nevertheless, the emerging adulthood phase of students could be seen as a distinct life period, crucial for the development of adults.

The contribution of developmental psychology: Emerging adulthood

In order to motivate students, it is important firstly to understand them, to realize the way they think, feel and learn. In this section we focus on university students, in order to gain an understanding of their educational needs and how they acquire knowledge. In the last years there has been a discussion about a distinct period in human development between the ages of eighteen until the late twenties, the emerging adulthood, with specific dimensions depending on the socioeconomic and cultural context (Arnett, 2007). Regarding the question of whether or not students aged 18–25 who are in early adulthood according to Brookfield (2015) or emerging adulthood as posited by Arnett (2000) can be considered as adult learners, the international literature states that adulthood is not solely determined by age, in that this criterion is not constant, both in time and across societies.

If we accept that adulthood is not a final achievement but mostly a constant effort and process to fulfillment and maturity (Kokkos, 2005), then we can agree that the main aim of adult education is precisely this: the reinforcement and support of the adult's effort to reach adulthood. But isn't it the same for university pedagogy too? Consequently, the crucial issue is whether we, as university teachers, want to treat students as adults or not and if the objectives of the education we want to provide them comply with the objectives of adult education, meaning fostering adulthood (Karalis & Raikou, 2016). As Alan Rogers argues (1999, p. 63), "even in adult education, if the content of our teaching programme and the methods we apply do not contribute to the participants to become more mature, to act less as kids and to self-identify, then it's like denying the identity of the adult to those we educate".

According to developmental psychology research on emerging adulthood, this age range (18 – late 20s) is associated with developmental challenges, which in some cases may be difficult, and there is great heterogeneity, mainly due to socio-cultural differences (Arnett, 2007). The dimensions of emerging adulthood include a) identity exploration, b) instability, c) self-focus, d) feeling in-between, and (e) possibilities. A common conclusion of all the studies in different countries and societies was that, despite the socio-cultural diversity, all the above dimensions are appeared, nevertheless with a differentiation in characteristics and tension, depending on the context (Leontopoulou, Mavridis, & Giotsa, 2016). Therefore, we argue that the effect of the university as a socio-cultural context in the formation of emerging adulthood is decisive.

An educational example

Description of methodology

In order to comprehend the previous analysis, we will present our research (Raikou, 2019) with which we attempted to study the education of teachers through the perspective of university pedagogy and transformation theory (Mezirow, 1991). The aim of the study was to investigate the possible long-term effects over a decade of an educational intervention on teacher students during their university studies by applying the 'Transformative Learning through

Aesthetic Experience' (TLAE) method. Taking into consideration that they are going through the period of emerging adulthood, in which their identity is under development, the basic question was to explore reflective skills in the participants. We did so by updating their views on the educational issues analyzed in the above educational intervention. From the research findings it was clear that there are long-term effects of the above educational intervention on the development of the participants' critical reflection and on the way of their epistemological assumptions are configured throughout the emerging adulthood.

The TLAE method was introduced by Kokkos (2011) and is based on the theoretical framework of transformative learning, using art in order to enhance and promote the development of critical thinking within the educational structures through the elaboration of the participants' assumptions (Raikou & Karalis, 2011; Raikou, 2012, 2014). The six stages of the TLAE method include exploring the need for critical reflection on student assumptions on a subject, and the selection of appropriate (and related) works of art for processing (Kokkos, 2011). Then, through the gradual observation and processing of the selected works of art, a reflective dialogue is sought in order to achieve a critical reflection on the subject.

The specific longitudinal research was carried out in the Department of Educational Sciences and Early Childhood Education of the University of Patras and consists of two phases: a) an initial research involving the systematic application of the TLAE method, within a series of workshops to students of the above department (Raikou, 2016); and (b) a second survey with the same group of students six years after their graduation, using semi-structured interviews, which was designed and implemented in the context of the researcher's postdoctoral thesis (Raikou, 2019).

In particular, the initial research focused on investigating possible changes in student assumptions related to the application of the above method, and in particular in studying the degree of duration and breadth of these changes (Raikou, 2016). In the second research we were interested in examining the possible long-term effects on the participants of the previous educational intervention, which had been implemented in the same group during their undergraduate studies. A qualitative approach was used to conduct this research using semi-structured interviews. The axes of the interview questions included mainly open-ended questions, opinion questions and structural questions. During the interviews, the participants were asked to elaborate on some of the educational concepts of the initial research, while they were given the works of art that were used in the earlier research so as to comment on and relate them to the above concepts. These works included painting, sculpture, film, poetry and literature.

A basic difficulty that arose during the survey was to identify and communicate with all the participants in the survey. The expiry of a long time since the previous survey and the lack of updated communications data made it difficult to communicate and conduct interviews. For this reason, following systematic efforts by the researcher to identify the participants, she managed to interview eleven of the fifteen participants in the original survey. It is worth noting, however, that all the participants with whom communication was made possible, were very willing to participate in the new research and devote time to it. As they themselves stated, their willingness was mainly due to the positive memory they had from the workshops during their studies (Raikou, 2019).

Research findings

It is clear from the content analysis of the research findings that students' experiences from the workshops during their studies have influenced and continue to influence them positively as a good educational experience. If we look at their answers through the Illeris' learning triangle (2007), we can see that they cover all three dimensions of learning; content, incentive, and context. We therefore refer to a holistic approach to learning, according to the theory of the Danish theorist. These positive memories were the reason they themselves acknowledged that they urged them to take part in this research with great eagerness and willingness to participate.

In particular, what they have to remember is the team process, the sense of security in a friendly climate, participatory learning with constant dialogue, in terms of equity and respect for all elements that form a positive educational framework for learning, which is different from the standard teaching method used in university education (Rotidi & Karalis, 2014). As far as the content is concerned, this has also been a positive factor for their participation because the selected themes were, as they stated, of their immediate interest since they concerned issues of their role as teachers and practical applications in the team of students. Concerning motivation, the above reasons (supportive educational context and interesting content) were important factors of personal interest for participation in this group. However, the most important reason cited by the majority of the participants was the use of art. The works of art mobilized for participation, activating the feelings of the team members, not only during the workshops of the first research but also during the interview of the second research. Even after eight to nine years of the workshops of the group, the participants remembered strongly specific works of art that caused them surprise, distress, warmth, emotion (Raikou, 2019).

Another element that is particularly evident from the answers is the influence of their experience in constructing meaning and understanding of both educational concepts and works of art. Those who had educational experience speak through their role as teachers, using constantly relevant examples. They refer repeatedly to the pupils and to the circumstances of the particular group of students (i.e., age, subject, etc.).

Respectively, those who had no special or no teaching experience at all continue to perceive the educational concepts as trainees or through the theoretical knowledge they have acquired from their studies. However, many of them recognize the impact of experience, in the way meaning is constructed, as a continuation of the studies, and not an isolated one. They believe that these experiences (theoretical knowledge and experience in studies, as well as post-university experience) function interactively and complementarily, in accordance with the principles of experience in Dewey (1938/80).

However, we should not forget that the participants, even though they have completed their studies, are still in the period of emerging adulthood, just before the adult age threshold (Arnett, 2007). The age period investigated, both at the initial study during their studies and in the second survey, in the first few years after graduation and shortly before the age of 30, is –as stated in the theoretical part– a period of identity search, change, focus on oneself and exploration of the potential of the new. Throughout the survey, all the above dimensions of emerging adulthood emerged in the participants. The exploration of their professional role and its evolution over the years, through the effort to shape their identity as educators, is evident.

The sense of intermediary they had their first years of experience, slowly led them to take responsibility. Also, the construction of relationships with students and with the other people in their professional area (colleagues, supervisors and students' parents) is obvious. Finally, according to their answers, there is a clear orientation towards themselves, through continuous reflection and self-evaluation in order to shape and reshape their own worldview and their personal perceptions of what kind of educator they tend to be.

Another main aim of the research was to look at how critical the participants are, having spent a long time since the first intervention. It is obvious from their answers that there is evidence of reflection on the content and the process; however, there is no clear evidence of premise reflection (Mezirow, 1991), although there is a strong mood and the need for critical reflection on the part of the participants. It seems that the lack of a supportive framework and collaborative post-university learning (Raikou, 2019) that could provide reflective opportunities, prevents the further development of critical thinking. In any case, however, we can detect in the answers of the participants elements of critical thinking and self-reflection. As far as the factors of critical thinking are concerned, as mentioned above, the motivation plays an important role when it comes to learning. The desire and willingness of the participants in this research is evident in all their responses.

The application, therefore, of the TLAE method has enhanced partially the reflective process. Particularly, what prompted critical reflection was the formation of a supportive educational framework, with guidance and clear tooling instructions, such as the implementation of the stages of this method. Participants repeatedly mentioned the friendly and supportive framework that had been developed in the workshops, a feature that has emerged from research (Taylor, 2007) contributing decisively to the promotion of the reflective process. In any case, the combination of communicative (support) and instrumental (clear instruction) knowledge are essential elements of transformation, which are reinforced by the provision of learning experiences to the students that are direct, require the personal involvement of the learner and urge him to reflect on the experience (op. cit.).

Final thoughts

Three aspects of the university pedagogy are revealed that relate to the persons involved: the role of the university teachers, the teaching methods and techniques that form the university didactic, and the students' characteristics, all of them related to adult education. The need for more focused studies on that field is revealed, while a sufficient training of university teachers on university pedagogy becomes more demanding every day.

If we want to improve university education, the necessity for a holistic approach to the field is evident. Limiting to learning content makes training and preparation of future professors incomplete, while the need for reflective activation of all participants in the educational process is immediately and universally accepted. Nowadays, having initiatives from the university context as well as a European and national policy in favor of improving university didactics, is an opportunity we cannot miss.

In order to enhance the promotion of critical thinking, the basic prerequisite is to meet two key factors: support and challenge. On the one hand, it seems decisive to develop the appropriate supportive environment in a university context, with cooperative techniques and experiential methods, enhancing dialogue, respect and acceptance. On the other hand, it is necessary to stimulate the participants through the motivation of their interest. We have seen that the induced dilemmas in the educational context trigger the process of critical reflection, and therefore the design of teaching strategies aimed at critically reviewing participants' perceptions and starting from the occurrence of dilemma situations may act catalytically in this direction.

Methods such as the TLAE have been proven to be able to serve both factors within a university context, while its effect on participants' reflective processes is now evident over time, as emerged from the study presented here. Especially in an age of self-exploration and identity formation, in which the university students are, the need for reflective opportunities during studies, as well as the acquisition of reflective skills as a resource for the development of their lives, seems even more necessary.

According to Mezirow (1990, p. 375), "becoming reflective of the content, process, and especially the premises of one's prior learning is central to cognition for survival in modern societies. It is the way we control our experiences rather than be controlled by them, and it is an indispensable prerequisite to individual, group and collective transformations, both perspective and social". Enhancing critical thinking and reflective processes regarding established opinions must be one of the key benchmarks of student education. The contribution of adult education could be catalytic to the preparation of new scientists with innovative methods and contemporary practices which will favor the development of thinking human beings, with broad horizons and the ability to adjust to constant changes.

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ARTS AND ACADEMIA IN MÁLAGA: THE CONCERNS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE EDUCATION REGARDING SOCIAL ENGAGEMENT AND THE UNIVERSITY'S THIRD MISSION

Abstract

The proposal of this paper is to describe and analyze the state of art in Malaga (Spain), exploring Cultural Heritage items, so as to connect local cultural institutions and University of Málaga (guaranteeing its Third Mission commitment), while cross-examining social engagement and needs. In order to achieve this goal, interviews with cultural agents, museum directors and professors at the University of Málaga were undertaken over several months in early 2019. In addition, desk office studies were developed to improve research methods. Firstly, we should highlight the radical transformation the city of Málaga (Spain) has undergone in the last two decades due to the opening of several new museums and art centers including the Museo Picasso Málaga, Centre Pompidou Málaga, Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga, Museo de Málaga, Aula del Mar/Alborania, Colección del Museo Ruso, San Petersburgo/Málaga, among others. In addition, the city of Málaga is rich in cultural heritage, with archeological sites, monuments, botanic garden, fountains, etc. Noteworthy also is its historical legacy which includes a Phoenician wall, a Roman theatre and archeologic site, a medieval Muslim castle, or *Alcazaba,* and village stone wall, a Renaissance cathedral, churches and civil palaces, Baroque churches and houses, a nineteenth century botanic park and buildings, as well as impressive twentieth and twenty– first century architecture. This legacy has received enormous support in the last twenty years by local policies. Secondly, despite the threat posed to this heritage by the trend in mass tourism, efforts are being made to disseminate knowledge of Málaga's cultural heritage by the museums' official pedagogic teams and different cultural initiatives, which are at times supported by the University of Málaga. Therefore, the need for dialogue between institutions and the University is essential and it is likely cooperation will be strengthened in future. In spite of the general trend towards visiting museums, it is clear that younger public, and those in higher education, are not following this trend. We can see that society in general, and students between the ages of eighteen and thirty, do not visit these cultural sites and do not properly understand the contents of cultural institutions. Nevertheless, there is a growing interest among many citizens in their sixties who are mostly retired, in art and cultural heritage

conferences, debates, exhibitions, etc. Consequently, this study points to implementing Lifelong Learning programs which could be carried out by either academia or in non-formal courses and workshops.

Keywords: social science education, universities third mission, museums and cultural heritage sites, social engagement, Málaga.

Cultural heritage in HE and social science education

The University of Malaga participates in analyzing and describing the state of art in the European project topic KA203–051104 EXPLORING EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE FOR FOSTERING ACADEMIC TEACHING AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN HE (EU_CUL) the results of which will be enhanced by the light shed from interesting local data.

According to EUCUL project request, different approaches regarding the city of Málaga's cultural heritage were proposed and studied with the participation of students in higher education, and which has been highly active since the 2016–17 academic year. The Faculty of Educational Science began a new bilingual strategy line where students in the third year of their Primary Education Teacher Training degree, taking the Social Science Education subject in English, were the study group of the initiative. The results of the experience were presented at an international congress held in Seville and published as a chapter in an ebook (Lechuga-Jiménez, 2018) together with similar European proposals also presented at the congress and published in the same ebook titled *Higher Education, Employability and Transition to the Labour Market*, published by the Employ Project & University of Seville (Spain), edited by Barbara Merrill, M. Teresa Padilla-Carmona and José González-Monteagudo.

During the congress, a group of European researchers with similar interests and goals met together and began to formulate a common proposal. As a result, in September 2018, the European research project KA203–051104 was initiated, led by Poland, and titled EXPLORING EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE FOR FOSTERING ACADEMIC TEACHING AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY IN HE (EU_CUL), and within whose framework this study belongs.

Moreover, the goal of the project is not only to find out the needs and problems of our own cities where there are university consortiums, but also to make students and professors (university community members) aware of universities' third mission commitment (Glaser, O'Shea, & de Gery, 2014) as social engagement. Cultural heritage — museums, cultural and natural heritage sites of all kinds, tangible and intangible legacies, landscapes, etc. — can be used as tools for teaching and learning, as well as providing new experiences (UNESCO, 1972, 2007). These cultural resources could be useful in order to understand European history and social studies, as well as provide labor market entrepreneurism (Lechuga-Jiménez, 2018), which is also studied in the proposal.

In recent years, an almost universal interest in cultural heritage has rapidly expanded. Two important variables are involved in this growth: cultural tourism and the associated economic consequences, together with new social and educational implications. The consumption of heritage in its broadest sense, which includes cultural and natural heritage (UNESCO, 1972), mostly modified by human action when related to landscape, has not been sufficiently accompanied by the necessary reflection on what heritage means for citizens, nor how this legacy contributes to their daily life, knowledge and happiness or even how it should it be managed so that it can be enjoyed by all. Moreover, its conservation impacts on the whole of society, although nowadays deeper issues around the topic of cultural heritage 'for who' (Council of Europe, 2018), has meant a return to previous cultural heritage studies, especially those researched in the twentieth century. Heritage guidelines, conferences, reports and publications (UNESCO, ICOMOS) such as the Athens Charter (1931) for the Restoration of Historic Monuments, and the Venice Charter (1962) for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, were important steps forward in evaluating global legacy. At the same time, they educated professionals and society to catalogue and understand the need to preserve our culture and historical legacy on a worldwide scale. Since its beginnings in 1946, UNESCO has contributed to the development of new ways to strengthen our commitments to these topics of interest related to social science studies.

In this paper, questions regarding what is understood by cultural heritage were put to several cultural institution leaders and pedagogic or museum education teams and to the staff of the University community (professors and the University board). Data were also gathered about their experiences and proposals for the near future. To collect these data, structured interviews were undertaken with a representative cross-section of the University of Málaga community and local cultural stakeholders. In line with the Glaser et al. (2014) conference, a constructivist grounded approach was adopted, using an iterative process of observing, listening, reacting to and understanding the data (Charmaz, 2000, cited by Glaser, O'Shea & de Gery, 2014).

In conclusion, this research focuses mainly on finding out what the relations are between cultural institutions and the University's third mission commitment, so that professors and students will be able to interact more actively in local issues and current needs, using cultural heritage as a connecting tool.

Research method: Qualitative interview data tool for university participants, local cultural institutions and stakeholder partners

In order to analyze the local cultural state of art, the European Project program agreed to implement a qualitative methodology supported by face-to-face structured interviews. Social science studies foster both quantitative and qualitative data, although the latter involves a hermeneutic approach which can often be essential in the field of social research. Moreover, to document scientific surveys in detail, four factors need to be included: the purposes of the qualitative research, data collection, data analyses and the preparation of reports (Eriksson, 2012).

Bearing in mind that this field is more or less an autonomous body of thought under its own discipline rules, and in which its interaction shows a common pattern likely to be considered a universal knowledge upon whose terrain the local knowledgers wander (Abbott, 2001), data were collected from all universities in the EU_CUL international project, as well as local stakeholders and institutions (cultural, administration, etc.). We took into consideration Abbot's view that "The project of social science as a definable enterprise is, in reality, the production of sharable, "universal" knowledge of society. We ought to stop kidding ourselves that it is not" (Abbott, 2001, p. 6). In other words, and according to this critical and deeply thoughtful point of view, Abbott believes that there is universal knowledge linking local knowledges, which aim "at allowing interchange among people who differ fundamentally" (p. 6). This point of view lends a certain sense to our own approach and shares similarities with it, at least in this specific study.

In the light of what has been previously mentioned, the aims of this research is to establish links between the University and cultural stakeholders in the city or province of Málaga where there are none, as well as to foster relationship, when existing, with the singular and innovative objective of establishing the University's social engagement with local needs. To consider cultural heritage as a "universal" European teaching-learning-engaging tool has never before been tried. In consequence, the goal is to accomplish the University's third mission, which would be related not only to teaching-learning and researches issues, but also to the Higher Education (HE) commitment. This would involve implementing knowledge and human capital using either volunteers, grants, employment initiatives and/or investment (either academic, structural, professional or economic).

Following the Consortium's decision on the methodology to be used, from February to June, 2019, the University of Málaga's research team undertook the first stage of interview data collection, using a formal pattern created by the leader of KA203 project, Poland. During this stage, five internal University members were asked to participate, together with 15 external members whose connections to cultural concerns and institutions were a compulsory premise. It must be emphasized that the University members were chosen because of their relations with local institutions. In this respect, existing agreements were important, as well as efforts to raise awareness regarding universities' third mission commitment or a direct cultural approach to local demands. Regarding the interviews with external members, over time we came to realize that some of them were not at that moment so interested in what the third mission commitment may involve, as their approach came from a private investment perspective. Besides, others, such as the Aula del Mar/Alborania museum with more than 30 years' experience, took a different approach (Dufays et al., 2020), and had local commitments to several communities' areas of interest.

The initiatives implemented by the Aula del Mar/Alborania museum included: fishing methods for local people following a European normative; good practices in gastronomy against the consumption of immature fish; good practices in catering training to avoid the use of plastic residues; awareness of changes made to the landscape by human activities, and an environmentally sustainable approach including cultural and natural heritage. In the last three years, the Aula del Mar/Alborania museum has implemented teaching and learning workshops structurally and economically supported by the Andalusian Government and the University of Málaga. For this research, the latter sample is used as a reference regarding the goals to be fulfilled, since they include not only science or environmental studies, but also consider cultural heritage and the social science legacy as important factors.

Interview results regarding the university community and cultural heritage concerns

In the spring of 2019, an interview with a board member of the Vice-Rector for Institutional Policy, revealed that a third mission commitment was under consideration as a project for the near future although it was not yet an official university proposal. In fact, as the Rectoral elections were to be held in December, 2019 (UMA, 2019), none of the boards were starting initiatives until the elections for members had taken place. Nevertheless, the fact was that the third mission was under consideration as a future University action. The concept of a third mission had rarely been discussed at the University of Málaga (there had been no forums, conferences, courses or workshops), although a common agreement had been perceived on an unclear understanding about what requirements regarding social engagement related to cultural heritage in higher education involved. Additionally, there has recently been an obvious trend which encompasses traditional sciences such as medicine, biology, and even technology, although art and architecture seem to be leading the field in carrying out the strategies for the city's requirements and its sustainable programs. Moreover, with the intention of establishing some key points concerning what a third mission commitment should embrace, and to broaden horizons, in this paper we will consider eight different categories of the activities related to it, which include "research collaborations, policy development, services to the local economic environment, explicit knowledge transfer, tacit knowledge exchange, facilities and economic and social initiatives" (Glaser, O'Shea & de Gery, 2014, p. 4), plus local community involvement, known as the fifth "C" for communities (UNESCO, 2007). It should be mentioned here that at the 2007 UNESCO Convention, the fifth

"C" was added for the identification, management and successful conservation of heritage with the involvement of human communities if possible, including the smallest groups of citizens and non-state actors.

Taking this proposal into account, the current main aim of cooperation with cultural institutions regarding the answers given in the 2019 interview, is to provide cultural heritage identities and contexts for society in general and the university community in particular, as a response to the current university training of future academics and professionals. In consequence, one of the fundamental purposes is to prepare future experts in these issues, as the realization of curricular practices by students within the grant agreement framework is vigorously promoted. Moreover, this interrelationship is encouraged in many cases, as both sides profit. This includes researchers whose work will bring new values to cultural institutions, whilst the management of these establishments will in return receive additional knowledge, although not know how — a weakness of the cooperation — with new surveys related to different cultural topics (exhibition curators, academic writings and conferences, etc.). Furthermore, as a result of the interview analyses, at present all members are involved in common responsibilities concerning its dissemination to society as a whole, although no specific community will be singled out or invited to participate.

To summarize, what this first phase sheds light on is the idea that cultural heritage is one of the fundamental vectors of the relationship between the University of Málaga and countless institutions and private companies related to its management and promotion, as expressed by Board of the Vice-Rector, "*We are open to any suggestion which benefits the university community in research, teaching and learning, knowledge transfer and increasing graduates' employment opportunities*", even though no investments in employment or entrepreneurship have been made so far, at least in the area of cultural heritage. In addition, a parallel question arises in the survey when studying university proposals: disciplines that are traditionally considered sciences in academia, engineering, medicine, biology, mathematics, etc., would be able to participate in ongoing and future projects (including promoting international relationships) related to the University's third mission (UMA SMART-CAMPUS, 2020), and the eight different categories in the activities described above. Obviously, the issue already had an air of certainty and distinguishes between fields of interest. As such, the social science, education, arts and humanities discipline would not be considered for development as social engagement or investment, regardless of their high economic value in the province of Málaga.

In this study, the results show the suggestions made to the University in which the assessment concerning cultural (and natural) heritage approaches should be made regarding social uses and policy involvements (mentioned in the interview by Juan Jesus Martín, a board member of the Aula del Mar/Alborania museum, and Assistant Professor at the University of Málaga). University professors and PhD lecturers should evaluate and reflect on what is currently happening locally, and how newly identified matters can be implemented and established in the social community framework. Moreover, some of the institutions' representatives (such as those from the Aula del Mar/Alborania museum, Museo Picasso Málaga, Centre Pompidou Málaga, Colección del Museo Ruso, San Petersburgo/Málaga and PROPIDEC) think that university professors and PhD lecturers do not usually attend the cultural heritage activities held at their centers, and their students are not encouraged to do so either, thus there is a real risk of losing the opportunity for a rich, diverse and contextualized line of teaching and learning.

On the one hand, regarding students, the results show that, depending on how much students are involved in activities (expression through art, exhibitions, programming art events, visits related to educative cultural methodology, etc.), the interest they have in cultural heritage increases or there is none. In this respect, we would like to point out that the Office of the Vice-Rector for Culture, professors and PhD lecturers from the Fine Arts Faculty, involve students in cultural activities promoted by University of Málaga, and a great many students attend these events. Furthermore, professors and PhD lecturers from the Fine Arts Faculty promote links with institutions in Málaga that are concerned with social issues and future artists. As an example, art students help to paint primary or secondary school grounds with art which touches on current topics such as bullying, gender equality, cultural diversity, etc. In this way, they learn how to work in these spheres and gain an introduction to the world of artists, and which is directly connected to employment. Furthermore, students are sometimes invited to participate in exhibitions held in art galleries or cultural sites, so they can experience and be involved in their city's cultural life and possibly even contribute to its future cultural heritage.

On the other hand, university professors and PhD lecturers are generally considered not to be connected with local issues, specifically with regards cultural heritage. Degrees in subjects such as mathematics, biology, astronomy, etc., do not show an interest in cultural legacy even though interrelated and transversal learning is obviously a big opportunity in education. Related to this response, as several local stakeholders suggest (Aula del Mar/Alborania museum and pedagogical – museum – teams of Museo Picasso Málaga, Centre Pompidou Málaga, PRODIPEC and Colección del Museo Ruso, San Petersburgo/Málaga), if university professors evaluated projects (education, tourist, history of art, archeology, etc.) with a multidisciplinary team, the results could foster future sustainable local economies and social engagement programs.

The awareness of a lack of connection between the University and local issues is present in all the interviews. The population of Málaga is relatively small, which means that very often cultural board members are locals who have attended the University of Málaga. However, despite this fact, general opinion clearly reflects a lack of connection among institutions, including the University. Cultural centers work in an isolated way, whereas those within the University bubble seem not to notice real world problems. They do not attend to outside needs and new, diverse communities, which are alive and asking for new lines of living, entertainment and learning. Moreover, this is one of the main reasons why the University's third mission is an important matter of interest according to the eight activities proposed above, in order to develop the new role of higher education.

In a review study undertaken by Glaser et al. (2014), in which seven activities are proposed, sharply assigned interchangeable roles are established among them in order to implement a high degree of effectiveness in the third mission commitment.

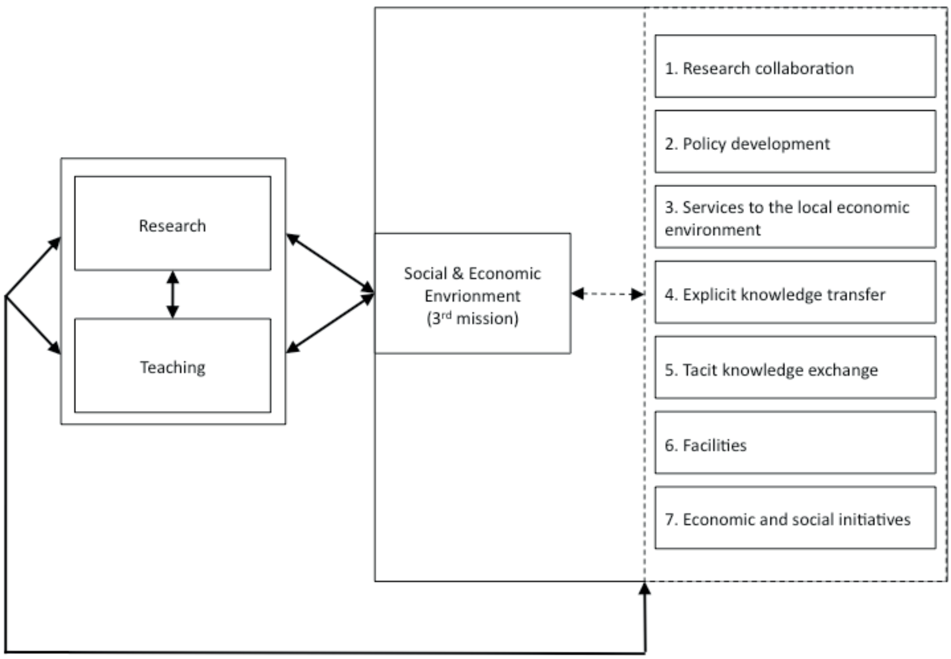

Figure 1. University's third mission commitment
Source: Glaser et al. (2014)

According to this academic, it makes good sense to increase interest and profits to meet community needs, while social improvement would seek changes in methodological implementation regarding society, education, progress and collective needs.

Overcoming barriers between university and stakeholders

In an interview held with the Vice-Rector for Institutional Relations at the University of Málaga, it became clear that the University board is aware of the social role of the University's third mission. As yet, no plan has been provided or fostered, at least regarding cultural heritage concerns (community identity, history, conservation, research and teaching-learning in fields such as tourism or lifelong learning), although a great opportunity to initiate new lines for innovative projects are in our hands. Therefore, the University would eventually become aware that cultural heritage is part of the cultural industry, and that there are good economic reasons to foster improvements in the area, in the same way as benefits traditional sciences.

In view of the results, which show a gap between the University and the social framework (local culture institutions and stakeholders) and between the University and city issues, the institution would be wise to reconsider cultural heritage as a strategy for enjoyment, knowledge and to bring economic benefits. Accordingly, training actions which foment joint efforts would ensure progress and successful cooperation. Furthermore, covering the need for labor insertion and pioneering entrepreneurial actions would involve the community as part of identity items and interests. Thus, it would be of great interest to promote cross-cutting between vice-rectors to generate better coordination in workshop proposals and employability; in the case of Málaga, between ECOCAMPUS and the Vice-Rectorate for Strategic projects, as described above. The alliance would provide volunteers, studies with credits or grants so academia would be involved in local issues of relevant importance. In other words, the 'real world' would be part of the University objectives, as it seems that no links are currently in place.

Considering data from the Museo Picasso Málaga interview, we found that the museum is a highly active institution in cultural programs. The museum not only exhibits permanent artworks from the Picasso collection, but also holds temporary exhibitions, the themes of which vary according to the curator's interests, from children's artworks, sculptures paintings and writings in the vanguard period, to the one held in 2017 titled '*Joaquín Torres-García: un moderno en la Arcadia*' (Museo Picasso Málaga, 2017). Artworks shown in the exhibitions highlight topics, materials or even trends which are related to Pablo Picasso. During the exhibitions, professors and experts are often asked to collaborate, giving conferences and spreading knowledge, usually without charge, and it is the cultural institution which programs and initiates links with the University. In other words, stakeholders have the know-how with regard to cultural heritage management, and obviously its economic, cultural and touristic benefits. Moreover, this institution also offers several workshops for culture professionals (teachers, professors, interpreters, managers), children, families, etc. Besides this, they also offer tourists cultural visits to their collection in different languages, stimulating an increase in their cultural demands.

With regards to the Museo Picasso Málaga's social and cultural enterprises described above, in the interview held with the educational team of the museum, questions were raised that related to a past exhibition where the experience highlighted an awareness of the Mediterranean identity. Workshops and cultural visits to the exhibition led them to reflect on Mediterranean cultural heritage as students related their studies at the University with the museum's dogma. The issue centers around what European cultural heritage means, as people from the south of the continent (Spain, Cyprus, Italy, Greece, etc.), obviously lack a sense of the importance of central and northern Europe, while contact and influences from the Mediterranean coast, such as gastronomy, smells, landscape, music, and buildings, are fostered. Additionally, the question concerning what constitutes European cultural heritage, which identity would foster and support it, is furthermore in the air, vague, and controversial. Regarding this line of enquiry, few studies have been undertaken as to how cultural heritage could introduce multicultural issues into classrooms, to educate students in diversity, citizenship and human rights, and not only to show we have a common history, but also highlight the types and importance of our present-day multicultural cities.

Interview results regarding the stakeholder's concept of and approach to cultural heritage

Regarding what is understood by the Cultural Heritage concept, there are several different approaches, although most stakeholders frequently provide the same answers. In order to identify and analyze this specific point, we use *word cloud tools* (Tagxedo and WordArt), so as to visualize which concepts are regularly mentioned. Furthermore, we examine thirteen interviews out of fifteen. In the conclusive range, two of them are not finally implemented in this study as they did not achieve our expectations. Taking this premise into account, the analyses are made with following stakeholders described in the list, which are, in our opinion, the best representatives of the city's culture management in the last ten years: (1) Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Telmo, (2) La Casa Amarilla Art Gallery (LCA), (3) Museo Picasso Málaga, (4) Colección del Museo Ruso, San Petersburgo/Málaga, (5) Centre Pompidou Málaga, (6) Casa Natal Picasso, (7) La Asociación Amigos del Museo de Málaga. Bellas Artes y Arqueológico (8) Association of Friends of the Botanical and Historical Garden La Concepción. (9) Aula del Mar/Alborania museo, (10) Historical-Artistic Heritage of the Municipality. City Council of Málaga, (11) Museo Carmen Thyssen Málaga, (12) PRODIPEC. Mediation, (13) LA TÉRMICA. Cultural Observatory of Málaga.

The aim of this research is:

1. To analyze the interviews conducted with different cultural agents in relation to the concept of cultural heritage.
2. To know the perception of cultural heritage by cultural agents in the context of Málaga.
3. To evaluate data obtained, in order to determine certain variables which will allow to recognize reasons for different constructions about cultural heritage.

The subsequent approach concerning the understanding of cultural heritage is shown by the resulting word cloud. The idea of using this tool is to visualize the written names.

Figure 2. Word cloud. Elaborated by Dr. Esther Mena (UMA)

According to the research, the concept of cultural heritage in the interview is understood both as 'cultural' and 'culture' the most commonly used words for its definition, and which are replicated 17 times. This is followed by 'heritage' also meaning 'legacy' in Spanish with 15, and 'research', 'archeology', 'preserve', 'future', 'intangible', 'tangible' with five, and so on as shown on Table 1.

Table 1.
Word cloud chart. Elaborated by Dr. Clotilde Lechuga-Jimenez (UMA).

Names	Replication
Cultural/Culture	17
Heritage	15
Research, Archeology, Preserve, Future, Intangible, Tangible	5
Art, Legacy	4
Interest, Contemporary, Monuments, History, Museum, City, Building,	3
Institution, Lifelong Learning, Old, Concerts, Generations, Architecture,	2
Artistic, Collection, Goods, Natural, Association, Educational, Council, Common	
Conservation, Enjoyment, Inherited, Exhibitions, Artworks, Community,	1
Library, Documents, Site, Government, Finance, Tourism, Garden,	
UNESCO, Medieval, Towers, Civilization, Underwater, Knowledge, Transfer, Tool, Citizenship, Collaboration, Sculptures, Fountains, Studies Programs,	
Primary Resources, Possession, Historic, Disseminated, Value, Patrimonial,	
Public, Geography, Students, Objects, Economy, Social	

Discussion and conclusions

The results of this exploratory study, which is initiating new lines of study, are threefold. Firstly, we identified third mission activities undertaken at the University of Málaga, specifically concerning traditional science areas, which do not include the areas of social science education, arts and humanities. Moreover, this chapter provides eight different activities to consider in order to implement new approaches. Secondly, there is the addition of new perceived impacts where no indicators previously existed, such as monitoring and evaluation processes asked for by several cultural institutions. Thirdly, we identified both institutional and organizational difficulties, so a successful framework may be constrained when an evaluation tool for measuring third mission activities is eventually provided (Charmaz, 2000, cited by Glaser et al., 2014). In fact, the latter outcome was contemplated as a factual probability of the score, so that in future stages the EU_CUL project needs to shed light on both the University and local cultural stakeholders, providing planned recommendations support. Currently, the whole international research team is working on preparing a list of suggestions, which we are hoping will be successfully resolved in near future.

Finally, we are pleased to add here that most of interviews carried out show the high expertise of local cultural institution members in the cultural heritage field, as well as highlighting their professional concern with research needs such as educational programs for higher education. In addition, considering contemporary art, music, etc., as a future legacy helps this international study in broadening horizons involving cultural heritage, its learning and teaching.

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SURVEY ON VALIDATION OF LEARNING OUTCOMES ACQUIRED IN NON-FORMAL LEARNING CONTEXT IN HUNGARIAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Abstract

As the EU considers validation a policy priority, the validation of non-formal learning has been in the focus of European discourse in the last decades.

The precondition of validation is that the output requirements of the qualifications should be described in learning outcomes and the qualifications should be classified in the National Qualifications Framework. An important reform was introduced in the Hungarian higher education system in 2015, and at the moment higher education is the only field where the Hungarian National Qualifications Framework and the improvement of qualifications based on learning outcomes are to be legally applied.

The Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education offers the opportunity of validation of competences acquired through non-formal learning.

In the validation process, the learning outcomes which are not certified by documents are transferred to the formal education process (to the curriculum), so prior knowledge of adults can be accredited; however, full qualification cannot be acquired only through validation.

In Hungary, system-level validation has not yet developed. Higher education institutions have to regulate their validation processes themselves. There are good practices in higher education, but a national level system does not exist. It is a legitimate demand from adults that higher education institutions should take into account the learning outcomes acquired through non-formal learning, and this way the training could become easier, shorter and cheaper.

The higher education qualifications were referenced into the Hungarian National Qualifications Framework in the summer of 2015 which classifies the output requirements of the qualifications into 8 levels and 4 categories (Knowledge, Skills, Attitude, Autonomy and responsibility).

The restructuring of training and output requirements of the higher education qualifications based on learning outcomes began immediately after the classification process. The new system based on learning outcomes applies to students who were going to start their studies higher education in the academic year of 2017/2018.

The requirements based on learning outcomes can significantly enhance the validation and recognition of competences (e.g. work experience of adult learners) acquired through non-formal learning because the acquired competences can be compared with the learning outcomes of the qualifications easier.

The survey was conducted with a questionnaire, with involvement of 1282 higher education teachers.

In our research on the one hand, we got to know the teaching and evaluation culture of teachers and the current validation practices in the Hungarian higher education system. On the other hand, we got to know how the teachers think about the validation of learning outcomes acquired in non-formal learning context and what validation practice they use. Finally, in our research we explore the supporting factors and barriers of validation.

The practical purpose and long-term goal of our research is to give information based on the results of our research and contribute to the development of the national validation system with our recommendations.

Keywords: validation, higher education, non-formal learning, work experience, learning outcomes, adult learners

Introduction

Validation of competences acquired in non-formal and informal contexts is becoming more and more important. As we live in a very quickly changing world, it is essential for people to continuously improve themselves. However, in many cases this improvement does not occur in a formal context. While, there is an economic and social need for competencies acquired in different contexts to be acknowledged and official.

The European Union considers validation as a priority as this is one of the most important topics in educational policy. Member states accepting the Council's recommendation in 2012, guaranteed to establish their own national validation system by 2018 (see Council of the European Union, 2012).

In recent years validation of informal and non-formal knowledge has got into focus.The European Union has provided new improvements and tools for Member States, so that they could build their own national validation system (see Council of the European Union, 2012; European guidelines for validation of non-formal and informal learning, 2009, 2015; European inventory on validation 2004, 2005, 2008, 2010, 2014, 2016, 2018).

Although Hungary accepted these recommendations, there has been no progress in validation ever since (CEDEFOP, 2019).

The European Council defines validation as follows: “validation is a process of confirmation by an authorized body that an individual has acquired a learning outcome which is measured by a relevant standard and consists of the following four, distinct phases:

1. DEFINING the experiences of an individual based on a conversation with them;
2. DOCUMENTATION, in order to present the individual's experiences;
3. a formal ASSESSMENT of these experiences; and
4. CERTIFICATING the results of the assessment which may lead to a partial or full qualification (European Council Recommendation, 2012, 5. p.)."

Validation in higher education is a process based on self-evaluation and external evaluation (Farkas, 2014). Self-evaluation is carried out by the students themselves with supervision, which is an important part of this process. Here, students prepare a portfolio in which they collect the competences, abilities and knowledge acquired by formal learning along with evidences if available, such as activities, workpieces, photographic documentations, references, recommendations and self-reflections.

The second stage is the external evaluation during which a committee appointed by a higher education institute ascertains that the student indeed possesses the competences presented in the portfolio.

Figure 1. Validation in higher education

Source: own editing

First, the student's knowledge is tested by a committee of the higher education institute. It is followed by evaluation and comparison of the result to the measures of a previously determined training system, i.e. the output measures of an element such as a module, subject or practical course of the corresponding training. Next, it is acknowledged in a formal way as credits and gets considered as part of the formal education system. There are multiple ways of acknowledgement such as exemption of visiting class or taking exams.

The aim of validation in higher education is to recognize knowledge, skills, competences acquired in non-formal settings (e.g. work experience, volunteering, course training) in formal higher education (BA, MA, Higher education vocational training).

In my opinion, as there are several reasons for development of validation, it is more and more important to act on it. On one hand, the environment of higher education and the composition of people entering higher education both have changed: besides 18–23 year-old young adults, older people with previously acquired knowledge and work experiences also apply for higher education. This group of students can be a potential target for validation. For them validation offers a more flexible way of individual education pathways.

On the other hand, validation can increase competitiveness between higher education institutions. We know by experience that, though informally, validation actually works based on personal agreements between teachers and students. Since higher education institutions are service providers, their purpose is to reach and keep as many students as possible. If carried out in an official framework, validation becomes quality assured, which can increase trust in it.

The third reason for developing validation is the shortage of labour in jobs requiring a higher education degree and the pressure by the corporate sector. This problem is already recognized in healthcare (e.g. nurses with bachelor's degree) and in informatics. If higher education institutions develop their own validation processes, they can react more efficiently to the needs and changes of the labour market.

Finally, in the past years internationalization of higher educationhas increased, resulting in agrowing number of foreign students in higher education institutions. In my opinion, their knowledge should be measured and compared to the entrance requirements of the given course, since they are coming from very different areas, cultures and educational backgrounds. In the 2017/2018 academic year 30276 foreign students had been learning in Hungary (OktatásiHivatal, 2017).

As in the Hungarian education system only higher education enables validation, I focused my research on that. For validation, it is essential to use the Qualifications Framework. In 2015, higher education qualifications were listed as part of the eight levels of the Hungarian National Qualifications Framework (4. high-school graduation, 5. higher education vocational training, 6. BA/Bsc, 7. MA/Msc, 8. PhD, DLA).

Another criterion of validation is to describe the requirements of qualification considering the output. Learning outcome is the tool for that.

The Council of the European Union defines learning outcome as follows: “statements of what a learner knows, understands and is able to do on completion of a learning process, and which are defined in terms of knowledge, skills and competence” (The Council of the European Union, 2017, p. 20). Furthermore, to what degree the learner is able touse its knowledge independently. In Hungary, there are four categories of learning outcomes: Knowledge, Skills, Attitude, Autonomy and Responsibility.

Figure 2. Learning outcomes

Source: own editing

In Hungary, from 2017, training and output requirements of higher education are defined by learning outcomes. It was developed in the context of establishment of the Hungarian National Qualifications Framework. This system must be applied in phasing-out system since 2017. This allows, that competences acquired in informal and non-formal learning contexts (e.g. work experience, volunteering) are acknowledged and validated in the formal system, thus acquired competences can be compared with learning outcomes of qualifications more easily.

Research aims

Since 2005, Higher Education Law of Hungary[1] has been offering the opportunity for students to make their non-formally acquired competences validated as part of their higher education studies or trainings. But, validation is not widely used in practice and is not officially regulated. Although it is available for more than 10 years, there is a lack of information about the process, the institutional practices, the form of the procedure, and the attitude and knowledge teachers have of validation.

In spring of 2019, I started an empirical research about teaching and evaluation methodologies used by teachers, the opinion of higher education teachers about the validation of learning outcomes acquired in non-formal learning context, and the validation practices used.

Based on the results I would like to show a clear picture about the Hungarian higher education practices of validating learning outcomes acquired through non-formal learning context, from the teacher point of view. My results serve as raw data for further analysis and provide recommendations for development of the national validation system. My research results also serve as a survey aiding experts, policy makers and directors.

I think my work is filling a gap, since there is only a few researches about validation in Hungarian higher education. There has been no empirical research before in Hungary on the attitudes and practices of higher education teachers, who work at universities (state or non-state), about validation of learning outcomes acquired in non-formal learning context in Hungary.

Research methodologies, samples and research results

Research I.

The Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education has been offering the opportunity for students to make their non-formally acquired knowledge and work experience recognised as fulfilment of academic requirements.[1] According to the Act, higher education institutions have to regulate the implementation of validation in the Academic and Examination Regulations (AER). All higher education institutions need to have their own AERwhich has to be publicly available.

I carried out a desk research about the AER of the Hungarian state and non-statehigher education institutions. I made comparisons between regulations of August 2017 and January 2019, to reveal the changes in regulations and in attitude after the establishment of validation following the 2018 deadline mentioned in the 2012 recommendations.

I used the Annex 1.of the Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education as a sample in both cases, which contains all higher education institutions (N:65), out of which 28 are state and 37 are non-state. When analysing the AER-documents, I examined how validation is established in the institutions.

1 Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education 49§ (6) "The credit transfer committee may recognise prior non-formal and informal learning, as well as work experiences, for the purpose of the fulfilment of academic requirements, as set out in this Act and the applicable government decree." http://old.mab.hu/web/images/doc/hac/regulations/Nftv_angol_2Sept2016_EMMI%20forditas.pdf

Table 1.
Infrastructure of validation of non-state and state higher education institutions by the Academic and Examination Regulations in August 2017 (N: 65) and in January 2019 (N:65)

Information about validation in SEC of higher education institutions	2017 non state institutions	2017 state institutions	2017 total	2019 non state institutions	2019 state institutions	2019 total
no information or regulation regarding validation	13	7	20	13 (4)[2]	3	16
corresponding legal requirements of higher education act[3] are quoted	21	18	39	22	19	41
there is further regulation besides legal requirements	0	3	3	2(1)[4]	6(4)[5]	8

Source: own editing

After analysing the AER, I classified the higher education institutions into 3 groups depending on the state of the validation.

In 2017, in case of 20 institutions I did not find any information about validation, 39 institutions only quoted the act and in 4 institutions I found further regulation besides legal requirements.

In 2019, I did not find any information about validation in 16 institutions and 41 institutions only quoted the act. While, in 8 institutions I found further regulations besides legal requirements, including 5 institutions having their own validation regulations or processes.

If we compare validation of state and non-state institutions, we can observe that 24.3% of non-state institutions do not have validation in their AER, which is two times more compared to state institutions (10.7%).

2 the academic and examination regulations of the higher education institutions are not public

3 work experience can be acknowledged as thirty credits at most. + Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education 49§ (7) Issues related to the application of paragraphs (3) to (6) shall be regulated in the academic and examination rules, with the stipulation that the number of credits required under the academic and examination rules for obtaining a final certificate (absolutorium), but at least two thirds of the credit value of the programme, shall be collected at the given higher education institution, even where previous studies at the institution or elsewhere or prior learning are recognised as having credit values. http://old.mab.hu/web/images/doc/hac/regulations/Nftv_angol_2Sept2016_EMMI%20forditas.pdf

4 there is detailed regulations in Academic and Examination Regulations or in annex

5 there is detailed regulations in Acadamic and Examination Regulations or in annex

However, the act is found in the AERof state and non-state institutions almost equally, as 59.4 and 67.8% quote it, respectively.

Finally, there are further regulations beside legal requirements in 5.4% of non-state institutions and 21.4% of state institutions.

Research II.

In the second part of my work I used primary research methods, in the period from October 2017 to January 2018. I conducted semi-structured interviews about validation with the most competent person (N: 3) of each higher education institution, in whichAER contains the 49. §[6] of the Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Educationbeyond the legal requirements.The interviewees worked in three different higher education institutions and they were responsible for validation in these institutions.The aim of the semi-structured interviews wastoget familiar with the practice, documents, decisions, procedures, and costs of the validation process of higher education institutions. Also, to reveal the process, applied methodology and evaluation methods of validation in higher education. And finally, to compare the validation processes in different higher education institutions.

I asked three key figures of the 2015 developmental work called "TÁMOP 413 project: Validation, The prior learningrecognition in the Higher Education", to hear about their opinions and experiences about validation in higher education, in a personal interview. The aim of the interviews was,on one hand, to gain information of the topic from the leading experts being part of the pilot development of higher education validation system. On the other hand, it was important to me not to create facts by myself, but to prepare the measures for my empirical study by gaining prior knowledge and getting familiar with real experiences.

First, my interview questions were as follows: What did the experts experience during the developmental work? How could ambitions be realised in the TÁMOP 413 project? How could they utilize the results of developmental work? Why does validation of knowledge acquired through non-formal learning not work in higher education? According to them, is it possible to properly validate non-formal competences in all trainings and professions?

To the question "Why does validation not work in Hungary and,in practice, which factors make the validation system difficult to work?" I got a series of different answers. Based on these I managed to group the most important blocking factors into 3 groups: lack of knowledge, lack of trust and lack of interest (see Table 2).

6 Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education 49§ (6) "The credit transfer committee may recognise prior non-formal and informal learning, as well as work experiences, for the purpose of the fulfilment of academic requirements, as set out in this Act and the applicable government decree." http://old.mab.hu/web/images/doc/hac/regulations/Nftv_angol_2Sept2016_EMMI%20forditas.pdf

Table 2.
Blocking factors of validation in higher education according to interviewees

lack of knowledge	lack of trust	lack of interest
of society	no political commitment	from higher education institutions
of policy	in validation system	from teachers
of higher education institutions	in validation of learning outcomes acquired in non-formal learning context	
of students	no cooperation and trust between institutions	
of teachers	by teachers in one another	
about the validation and process	to sources of knowledge	
about measurement and evaluation system		
about learning outcome approach		

Source: own editing

The first blocking factor is the lack of knowledge, which is observed, for example, of society, politics, higher education institutions, trainers and students. There is a lack of knowledge about the validation of learning outcomes acquired in non-formal learning context.

Today there are only a few professionals in Hungary who possess valid and relevant knowledge in validation.

There is a lack of knowledge about the measuring and evaluation system. According to one of my interviewees, the evaluation practice of academia is traditional (usually written test and oral exam).

Validation is not important to anyone; it is a peripheral issue in the Hungarian educational policy. The learning outcome-based thinking has not become widespread.

According to my interviewees, validation is connected to people in the institution. If professionals, who have valid, relevant knowledge of validation move to another institution, they transfer the knowledge too.

The second blocking factor is a lack of trust. For example, at the political level there is no significant engagement to validation. There is no trust in not formally acquired knowledge. According to my interviewees, university teachers do not trust each other's work.

Finally, the third blocking factor is a lack of interest. Higher education institutions and trainers do not show interest in validation. On one hand, with the current funding, validation is not important for institutions as it can reduce the time and costs of education. On other hand, I assume that trainers, driven by the fear of losing their jobs, positions and knowledge and of undesired volunteer work, do not welcome the establishment of the validation system.

Research III.

Following field research, I asked teachers working in all universities to fill in a questionnaire. In this work, I created a questionnaire that focuses on validation, but also contains questions about areas affecting the quality of education (e.g. teaching and assessment methodology culture). Therefore, I could examine the topic thoroughly. The questions were elaborated slowly and carefully. The questionnaire includes four big sections. The sections of the questionnaire and the questions they contain correlate and are interconnected (see Table 3).

Table 3.
Structure of the questionnaire

Name of Section	I. general data	II. questions about teaching and assessment methodology	III. questions about learning outcomes	IV. questions about validation
Number of questions	9	10	11	20
Aim the of Section	General socio-demographic data. This section containsquestions about sex, age, teaching status, role, employment relationship, workplace, training area, training structure, years spent in teaching	Getting to know the teaching and assessment methods mostly used by the teachers in teaching and evaluation. Why do they use these methods? How do they use information and communication technology tools and who provide those tools? I suppose, teaching and assessment methodology culture of teachers can correlate with the practice and spread of validation.	To reveal whether teachers know and use the learning outcome based (teaching) approach in their work? If they do so, in which areas? Do they have difficulties in applying the learning outcome based approach? These are important, as noting training and output of qualifications in learning outcomes is an important requirement for validation to work.	Getting to know the validation practice of higher education institutions, to get information about how the validation work in practice. Do the institutions follow legal requirements? We get familiar with the opinion of teachers about validation, and the validation practice they use. We explore factors supporting or hindering validation.

Source: own editing

The questionnaire was filled in by the participantsin the period from 1st November, 2017 to 24th January, 2018.

To reach the target group, I got help from the Deputy State Secretary of the Ministry of Innovation and Technology responsible for higher education, and from the Hungarian Rectors' Conference. They sent my questionnaire along with a supporting letter via email to the rectors of higher education institutions, asking them and the teachers of the institution to fill in the questionnaire.

The population involved in the study included members of state-certified (state and non-state) higher education institutions operating as universities listed in Annex 1. of the Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education[7].

At the beginning of the research (on 1st November, 2019) the population included 14577 teachers from 39 higher education institutions. During the study, overall 1282 teachers filled my questionnaire from 36 institutions, making up 8.8% of the population.

Out of the 708 men and 574 women who filled the questionnaire, 71 persons were under the age of 30, 297 were between 31–40 years, 434 between 41–50 years, 278 between 51–60 years and 202 participants were above 60. 1057 teachers work in state higher education institutions and 225 persons in non-state institutions. In order to apply the statistical results to the whole population I used weighting.

This empirical research of large sample size verified the answers of the interviewees as most of the participants consider the lack of knowledge as the main barrier to a properly working validation system (see Table 4). The participants could give more than one answer.

Table 4.
Blocking factors of validation in higher education according to the respondents (%)

lack of knowledge	%	lack of trust	%	lack of interest	%
of society	24,6	policies limit regulation	14,4	of teachers	9,5
of policy	14,4	it is a peripheral issue in the Hungarian educational policy	23,2	Higher education institutions do not show interest in validation	10,4
of higher education institutions	25,2	no political commitment	4,4	difficult and complicated organization of educational work	12,3
of teachers	27,8	between teachers	5,1	Duration of students' training is not necessarily shortened	7,8

7 The Act CCIV of 2011 on National Higher Education updated from 2019.VII.1. https://net.jogtar.hu/jogszabaly?docid=a1100204.tv (2020.04.05.)

lack of knowledge	%	lack of trust	%	lack of interest	%
of students	17,7	in non-formally acquired knowledge	17,0	industry do not show interest in validation, lack of communication of good practices	0,1
shortage of validation experts	12,4	there is no supporting system	4,1	-	-
about learning outcomes approach	18,3	there is no trust between institutions/ lack of cooperation	4,8	-	-
about measure-ment and evalu-ation systemof validation	11,9	-	-	-	-
uncertainty of teachers	12,3	-	-	-	-
traditional evaluation methods	7,4	-	-	-	-
there is no legislation	10,6	-	-	-	-

Source: own editing

To the question about the attitude of teachers towards validation, 57.5% of the participants claimed to accept and support validation in higher education, 21.8% were indifferent, and 1.8% does not consider validation to be important (see: Figure 3). It is definitely good news that almost three quarters of the participants (71.7%), although to a varying degree, accept validation. However, that 21.8% of participants being indifferent about validation might raise concern. In their case I suppose a lack of knowledge and information about validation. The results of the research clearly showed that a proper amount of information is needed.

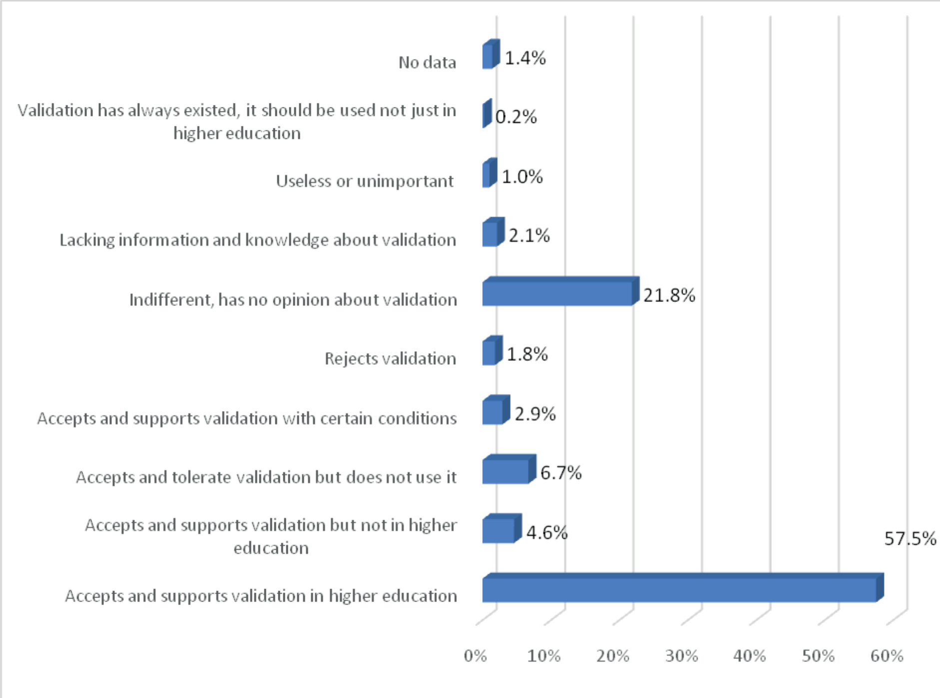

Figure 3. Attitude of teachers to validation in higher education (%) (N:1282)

Source: own editing

Learning outcome based approach is a criterion for validation. To the question whether teachers use this approach in their work, 76.3% of the participants answered "Yes" and 23.7% answered "No" (see Figure 4.). This is a very good ratio, but we must not forget, that teachers have to learn how to apply the learning outcome based approach and its methodology. It is not enough to present training and output requirements in a learning outcome based manner. This approach is not just a new technique but represents a brand-new way of thinking with the possibility to improve educational methodology and evaluation.

One has to identify, define and fine-tune learning outcomes with the teaching process (content of curriculum, structure of curriculum, teaching methods, teaching strategies, tools, learning support, time needed, educational environment) and with assessment. The three factors need to be in line with each other. This makes the learning process mature, consistent and transparent. And teachers need to be prepared for this (Farkas, 2017).

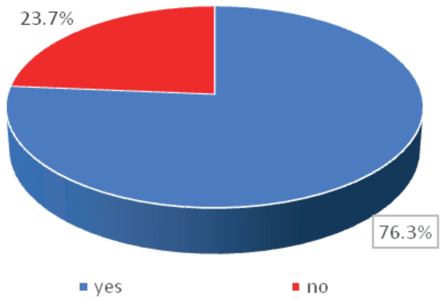

Figure 4. Application of learning outcome approach (%) (N:616)
Source: own editing

Table 5 shows the effect of applying learning outcome approach on the attitude of teachers to validation.

As seen in the table, 69.4% of teachers who apply this approach accepts and supports validation in higher education. For these teachers, the second most common answer about validation was indifference (10.6%). Among those teachers who do not apply the approach, 52.1% accepts and supports validation in higher education. Interestingly, 25.3% of such participants are indifferent about validation. I suggest that improper amount of knowledge and information is responsible for the lack of interest.

We suppose that 82.6% of those who apply the learning outcome approach will accept validation with certain conditions.

Table 5.
Attitude of teachers to validation by the application of learning outcome approach in the teaching process(%) (N:470; N:146)

attitude of teachers to validation	application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process	no application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process
	%	%
Accepts and supports validation in higher education	69,4%	52,1%
Accepts and supports validation but not in higher education	4,3%	5,5%
Accepts and tolerates validation but does not use it	5,1%	7,5%
Accepts and supports validation with certain conditions	3,8%	2,7%

attitude of teachers to validation	application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process	no application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process
	%	%
Rejects validation	1,5%	2,1%
Indifferent, has no opinion about validation	10,6%	25,3%
Lacking information and knowledge about validation	2,6%	1,4%
Validation is useless or unimportant	1,1%	1,4%
Validation has always existed; it should be used not just in higher education	0,4%	0,0%
no data	1,3%	2,1%

Source: own editing

Table 6 shows the effect of applying learning outcome approach on validation in higher education.

The data supports my preconception according to which validation works informally, by a personal agreement between the teacher and the student. Among teachers using the learning outcome approach, 31.2% answered that validation is based on an agreement between the teacher and the student. Compared to that two times more, 31.9% of teachers, who do not use the approach, claimed that validation does not work.

Table 6.
Validation in higher education institutions by the application of learning outcome approach in the teaching process (%) (N:452; N:141)

validation in higher education institution	application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process	no application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process
	%	%
there are detailed regulations for validation at institutional level	10,2%	8,5%
there are detailed regulations for validation at the faculty level	6,9%	2,1%
there are detailed regulations for validation at the department level	6,9%	5,0%
there is a detailed Academic and Examination Regulations	15,9%	9,9%

validation in higher education institution	application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process	no application of learning outcome based approach in the teaching process
	%	%
according to the agreement between teachers and students	31,2%	27,0%
it is not working in any ways	16,6%	31,9%
one does not know about validation	10,6%	14,2%
validation works in an unregulated way	1,8%	1,4%

Source: own editing

Figure 5. shows at which faculties validation works the best and the least, based on the regulations at university/faculty/department level.

Validation works the best in political sciences, humanities, sports, engineering and social sciences. Validation works the least in the following faculties:science, art mediation and theology.

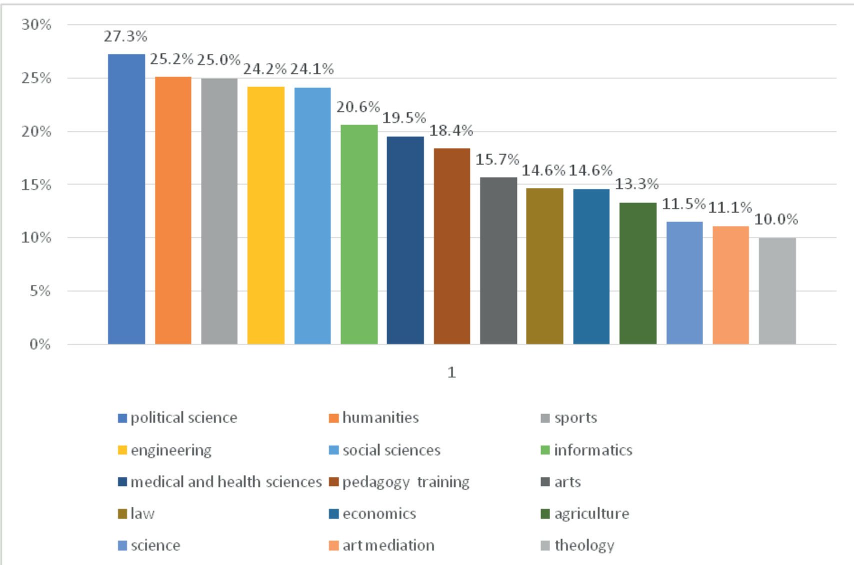

Figure 5. Validation in higher education institutions based on regulations at university, faculty and department level shown by faculties (%) (N:240)

Source: own editing

I asked the participants to choose those factors that, according to them, supports the validation process. Here they could give multiple answers.

According to the answers, most of the participants claimed that implementation and application of learning outcome based approach (33,7%), interest of the students (32,5%), commitment of the institution (31,6%) and interest of the industry (30,2%) could support validation.

Interestingly, 5% of participants mentioned information as a supporting factor. Nevertheless, a proper amount of information is very important as previous answers revealed that many participants are indifferent to validation. In my opinion the reason behind it is, again, the lack of information.

Table 7.
Factors supporting validation in higher education

Factors supporting validation in higher education	**N**	**%**
interest of the industry	387	**30,2**
implementation and application of learning outcome based approach	432	**33,7**
interest of higher education institutions	304	23,7
commitment of teachers	260	20,3
commitment of the higher education institution	405	**31,6**
interest of students	417	**32,5**
establishing good quality principles	287	22,4
information	68	5,3
training of validation experts	123	9,6
implementation of supporting policy	128	10,0
cooperation between higher education institutions	132	10,3
reforming the financing system	109	8,5
extra payment for teachers	98	7,6
providing legal background	169	13,2
realisation of LLL	191	14,9
supporting effect of vocational training in higher education	92	7,2
interest from teachers and higher education institutions	199	15,5

Source: own editing

Conclusions

The aim of my secondary and primary research was to provide a clear picture about how validation works in Hungarian higher education and to present validation practices and the attitude of people towards validation in higher education. The targets of the online questionnaire were teachers working in higher education. The questionnaire included 62 questions and was available online as I found it being the most effective way to reach my target group.

The most important results of the research are the following.

First, the participants of the large sample empirical research verified the answers of the interviewees. According to most of the participants the biggest barrier to validation in higher education is the lack of knowledge.

I think the results reveal the need for a better communication strategy towards society, politics, higher education institutions, teachers and students in the form of publications or brochures.

By attending to trainings and workshops teachers can get informed. We provide trainings in validation methodology and measurement-validation, and we can improve their teaching, measuring and evaluation skills. This is all the more important as the majority of people working in higher education does not have competencies in pedagogy or andragogy.

Second, a positive message of my results is that 71.7% of all responders accept validation. However, around a quarter of the participants are indifferent about validation, as they have no information or opinion about it.

Third, my statistical results verifie my assumption, that is, validation is working informally, based on an agreement between teachers and students (31%). Validation should not work that way though. It should work in a controlled manner to ensure its quality.

Fourth, as we are just at the beginning of the process, it is positive that 76.3% of the responders use the learning outcome based approach during their work in higher education. Furthermore, it is important to note that 82.6% of teachers who use the learning outcome approach accept validation and have a supporting attitude towards validation in higher education.

Fifth, based on my research, most of the participants listed the followings as supporting factors of validation: interest of the industry, implement and application of learning outcome based approach, commitment of the institution and interest of the industry.

In my opinion, it is important to make companies, institutions and students interested.

I believe, we can succeed by building trust for validation.

To my mind, building of trust is very important and with political intervention we can create a supportive environment. Dialogue and cooperation should be formed between the professional public and higher education institutions. Teachers should be made professionally and financially interested in the topic. Training and further opportunities should be provided and extra work should be paid. This way commitment can be increased.

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PROFESSIONALIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATION, WORK-RELATED AND NON-FORMAL/FURTHER EDUCATION: MAPPING THE PAST, ENCOMPASSING PRESENT AND DISCOVERING NEW PERSPECTIVES

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IMPLICATIONS OF DIVERSITY IN PROGRAM PLANNING – A GERMAN PERSPECTIVE

Abstract

Program planning is considered a central field of adult education in which a multitude of complexities and challenges emerge (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019). On the background of a growing societal differentiation, program planners have to consider individual needs as well as organizational expectations (Fleige, Gieseke, von Hippel, Käpplinger & Robak, 2018). The objectives are the operations of program planners as being affected by societal frameworks and changes, taking account of diversity as an influential factor. Embedded in societal structures, the differentiation in this context leads to the importance of the concept of diversity for program planners. In this paper, implications of diversity in program planning will be illustrated theoretically, before giving insight to the ongoing research in the scope of the author's PhD thesis.

Keywords: program planning, diversity, governmentality

Introduction

The scope of program planning in adult education can be displayed by considering the program as a central objective and result (Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018). Programs contain information about concrete offers, their location, time, costs, facilitators, aims and other conditions influenced by the organization (Käpplinger, 2008), being published as printed booklets and/or accessible online (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019). The program is representative for educational offers as well as an instrument of advertisement for an organization. Programs also reflect the organization's assumptions about their own understanding of education and its addressees, and conceptualizes the local needs and demands.

Moreover, individual learners, other organizations and a broader society can retrieve information about the organization through its program (Gieseke, 2018b). "Program planning [...] legitimizes the organization as such." (Käpplinger, Robak, Fleige, von Hippel & Gieseke, 2018, p. 9) Programs serve as flagship for the organization that is publically visible. Based on those factors, programs are being understood as an educational option to generate, transfer and offer knowledge within a certain space and time (Gieseke, 2008). Considering this role of programs, the program planners find themselves at an interface between organizational responsibilities, expectations towards the program's offers by the addressees and the influences of the societal context (Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018). In regard to the variety of functions, program planning becomes a complex task (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019), conducted as a educational operation by adult education professionals (Gieseke, 2018a).

Positioned in program planning research (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019; Gieseke, 2018c), this paper in particular is based on a PhD thesis finalized in 2020. It is focussing on the role of diversity in program planning, following the question "How is diversity constructed by program planners?". Being derived from the position of a German researcher, the paper contains mainly German perspectives and resources when discussing diversity in program planning. The chapters will follow five assumption that are contributing to the argumentation why a concept of diversity is being discussed as implicit factor in regard to program planning. The paper begins with the assumption that 1) Program planning is centrally positioned in adult education, by elaborating of the underlying understanding of program planning and its position in the field. Subsequently, the assumption that 2) Program planning is considered a complex field of work within adult education. This serves as a basis for the assumption that 3) Program planning is embedded in societal contexts through a perspective of governmentality. A concept of diversity is then elaborated under the assumption that 4) The analysis of program planning is being deepened through an intersectional concept of diversity. Subsequently, analyzed towards its relevance for program planning, the following assumption states that 5) Empirical situational constructions are revealing implications of diversity in Program planning. Concluding remarks will hint to preliminary conclusions at this point of the research project.

Program planning is centrally positioned in adult education

Program planning, as being characterized by its complexity, requires the planners to professionally adapt to its surroundings besides their formative work . The decision about suitable program planning on the interface between individual, organizational and societal perspectives is based on professional knowledge that is specific for adult learning (Dollhausen, 2008). Besides this discipline-specific knowledge as part of the requirement for professionalism, program planning requires an autonomy of the planners. This applies to their decisions-making, ethical responsibilities, creativity, their willingness to take risks as well as financial skills (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019).

A professional action cycle of program planning helps to visualize the scope of those planner's tasks from a didactical perspective. The model shall be considered in its heuristic sense for a better understanding of the field of planning a program and its offers in adult education. It is not understood to predetermine a linear structure of the program planning process. Since programs are revised and adapted after a specific program cycle, their applicability is also temporally influenced and limited (Gieseke, 2018b). Based on the premise of complexity, program planning comprises time as fundamental aspects (Schmidt-Lauff, 2018) in the process of planning.

The professional action cycle of program planning is divided in a micro-, meso– and macro-didactical level: On the micro-didactical level, e.g. a facilitator is conducting offers. An offer is defined as one unit of the programme in form of a concrete event, such as a course or a workshop. The program consists of a multitude of offers and bundles them. On the meso-didactical level, these offers are being prepared and evaluated, which also mainly conducted by facilitators of the offers. The macro-didactical level is considered the level of program planning. It is framing the offers by an assessment or creation of demands, the planning of the broader program in which the offer is embedded and the evaluation of the latter (Reich-Claassen & von Hippel, 2018). "The professional action of program planning comprises all activities required for developing programs, individual educational courses, or projects." (Käpplinger et al., 2018, p. 9) The program therefore appears to be a central and apparent component within the field of adult education, since it includes contents, didactical approaches and the concrete offers of an organization. Those planning procedures and tasks can vary within different organizations and settings and need to be considered context-specifically.

For a deeper understanding of program planning as a complex task in adult education (Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018), the model of so-called Knowledge Islands (Gieseke, 2000) is adduced. It positions the program planners in the role of a seismograph, which metaphorically exemplifies the sensitivity that is needed on a macro-didactical level, due to the complexity of program planning (Gieseke, 2000). With adjusting actions, the program planners are to manage a variety of organizational tasks for planning the program itself, such as cost calculation, marketing or lecturer's recruitment. In addition, the model takes external influences such as the job market, media or trends into account. It illustrates concrete tasks of the planners and is simultaneously clarifying the functions of program planning. As the field itself, they are not linearly structured and need to be adjusted flexibly (Gieseke, 2000; Gieseke, 2008; Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018). Accordingly, program planning requires a high level of communication and interaction (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019).

Program planning is considered a complex field of work within adult education

Situated in an area of tension (Robak & Fleige, 2017), antinomies[1] occur in regards to objectives, expectations or values emerge (Helsper, 2004; von Hippel, 2011). The antinomies derive from polarities in the fields of adult education, by involved stakeholders and the given environments. They are not appearing in every stage of the planning processes, but are highly relevant for the general complexity in program planning and certain aspects. In this understanding, antinomies are not only inconsistencies in the field, but rather formed of complex contradictory constellations (von Hippel, 2011).

In order to deal with those contradictories of requirements and expectations, program planners are constantly asked to connect their practical and theoretical knowledge (Gieseke, 2018c). As professional adult educators, program planners are to overcome means and ends relations in their planning processes by reflection (Gieseke, 2003). The reflection processes help to balance the complex settings by adjusting the contradictory requirements and expectations to one another. The mediative adjustment processes within the context of antinomies are core of the professional program planning processes (von Hippel, 2011).

The expectations to work autonomously are being influenced by structural shifts, such as organizational or societal changes. Besides a growing need for networking and cooperation, knowledge about organizational development as well as commercial knowledge are acquiring an increased importance (Feld & Lauber-Pohle, 2018). Program planners find themselves in the role of a doubled professionalism, which requires them to analyse, structure, reason and examine the functional logics of different settings. In order to act under adult education premises, their decisions need to be based on adjusting the antinomies and underlying contradictories (von Hippel, 2011).

One prominent antinomy in the field of program planning is based on adjusting educational and economical functional logics (von Hippel, 2011; Käpplinger & Robak, 2019; Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018) Based on the assumption that a market structure and its economical logic are prevalent in the field of adult education, educational objectives and financial prospects are to be implemented (Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018). Program planners need to consider economic aspects and meet respective requirements as part of their working routine within organizations, while following educational values and needs (Gieseke, 2018b). By focussing on a reflexivity about those dynamics instead of the contradictories themselves, antinomies and their dynamics can be used in a productive and creative way. The antinomies can be addressed and reflected on, though they will not be resolved fully (Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018).

1 For further information about the antinomies in program planning see (von Hippel, 2011)

The understanding of program planning as complex and pervaded by antinomies – such as the adjustment of economical and educational functional logics – is related to an understanding of the structures that are influential for the field of adult education. For a better understanding of the settings that those antinomies are emerging in, adult education as a field, and program planning as a fundamental part of it, are being looked upon from the perspective of a rhizome metaphor (Deleuze & Guattari, 1977). This current approach that is prevalent in the German context of program planning research (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019) is characterized by its anti-genealogical structure (Gieseke, 2017). It consist of networks and a vast number of changeable connections, rather than the formerly used metaphor of a tree that is rooted in one major perspective.

In doing so, the metaphor of the rhizome is creating an added value to the understanding of program planning by pointing out a partial loss of boundaries. It captures the growing need for a flexibility to adjust to a complex environment as it is expected from program planners. "This metaphor for social processes [...] suits best for providing a theoretical approach to this completely different structure of developing educational offers in adult education/further education" (Gieseke, 2017, p. 25). In the sense of its fungal shape, a rhizome is flexible in growth and decline, as well as open-ended. Whilst it can grow at one point, another part can do so simultaneously or one aspect can disappear elsewhere (Gieseke & von Hippel, 2018; Gieseke, 2017). In relation to programs and offers of organizations formed by program planners, this rhizome-like understanding of program planning is characterized by following non-linear processes. It therefore captures the complexity in a structural sense, in addition to the antinomies that program planning is embedded in.

Program planning is embedded in societal contexts through a perspective of governmentality

Besides positioning program planning at an interface within and area of tension, and regarding its antinomies as well as its rhizome-like structure as complex, it is here being viewed from the perspective of being embedded in societal contexts. This comprises the role that is given to the program planners, organizations and its addressees in regard to their respective responsibilities.

As a basic assumption, participants of educational offers are asked monitor themselves e.g. by gaining further knowledge for their personal development that can be used in the labor market (Höhne & Karcher, 2015). Adult learners are being constrained to foster qualifications and competencies, and programs are planned in accordance to that logic. The end in itself of the learners, as well as optimizing one's own living standards, is being promoted (Wrana, 2007; Fleige & Robak, 2018). Adult learning is therefore no longer only rooted in the context– and content-specific interest of the participants (Gieseke, 2018; Forneck & Franz, 2006). Rather, this concept of educational planning and responsibility relates educational and economical functional logics.

Those current structures of adult education in the German setting are being reflected through the perspective of governmentality, when considering the societal context. It is here understood as a switch of responsibility for learning towards the learners themselves. Governmentality is being performed under the premises of liberty and autonomy. It is therefore characteristic for the neo-liberal context, which is aiming for a liberal environment (Höhne & Karcher, 2015; Foucault, 1988). In this understanding, liberty is created within the context of governance (Bröckling, Krassmann, & Lemke, 2000). This position is also embedded in supranational policies like the concept of lifelong learning (UNESCO, 2016). It aims at a connection with political and economic factors, such as demography and an optimized population (Höhne & Karcher, 2015). The quality of adult education programs is thus not solely defined by educational needs, but increasingly serving the fulfillment of external factors (Forneck & Franz, 2006).

From a perspective of governmentality, this switch towards a learner's individual responsibility is induced by organizations, economy, politics and society. The perspective, once again, reveals program planners as being positioned at an interface between individual learners and their needs, the requirements of the organization and the societal context and demands (von Hippel, 2011) in form of a growing personal responsibility. By fostering this personal responsibility of adult learners, with concrete offers for self-optimization (Pongratz, 2010), program planners are also contributing to a neo-liberal governmentality. Within this frame of reference, liberty and autonomy of the adult learners as well as neo-liberal orientations of governmentality (Forneck & Franz, 2006) are gaining importance in the field of program planning.

The currency of societal implications, taken into account by the program planners, are indicating the importance of those social contexts for their field of work. Social configurations, such as dominant interests, hierarchies and consequent power structures are therefore implicit in program planning processes. Considering the social context as being transformed towards a neo-liberal topography (Pongratz, 2005) from the perspective of governmentality (Forneck & Franz, 2006), those tendencies of individualization also lead to processes of differentiation within society (Tippelt & von Hippel, 2018; Höhne & Karcher, 2015). Concerning the abovementioned interface and the area of tension that program planners are positioned in, an importance for them to address this individualization and differentiation becomes apparent.

Program planners reflect interpretations of adult education within that scope of societal changes and challenges through the programs themselves (von Hippel, 2017). On the background of these circumstances, program planning research appears to be sensitive for analysing societal, political and economical influences on the planning processes (Fleige et al., 2018, p. 13). In order to embrace the given complexity and analyse program planning processes from a broad perspective, the author's research project is taking the abovementioned aspects as a theoretical basis. The concept used for this analysis is required to be multi-leveled at most. Built on the necessity of taking societal, political and economical implications into account, diversity is being considered an influential factor for program planning and used in order to analyze its complexities. The relevance of diversity for researching program planning processes, as it is derived from the given understanding, is being discussed subsequently.

The analysis of program planning is being deepened through an intersectional concept of diversity

In order to point out how diversity is relevant for the underlying research on program planning, this chapter is outlining the given understanding of diversity. The concept of diversity as it is being used here is derived from political, economical and legal interpretations: It is based on an understanding that is rooted in the Civil Rights Movements, where it has been in use to counter discrimination in fields such as the labour market or the educational sector (Walgenbach, 2017). As a so-called travelling concept rather than a theory, diversity implicates connections to a variety of other fields, such as in politics, economy or education. Due to this historical background, it is flexible in nature. "The innovation of a diversity approach lies in its attempt to explicitly engage with the multiplicity of diverse subject positions" (Rosentreich, 2007, p. 132). The subject positions refer to the individual and group-related connotations that are being covered in program planning as a field of work in adult education. Considering the economic and societal notions of program planning as mentioned above, diversity appears to offer broad perspectives that are applicable to them. The herein underlying concept fits the needs of researching program planning as a complex field.

Diversity, as commonly used for a characteristic for human beings, is understood as a variety of characteristics that are attributed to persons or groups. In the underlying concept here, it is moreover understood from a perspective of differentiation and othering (Hall, 2002; Baquero Torres, 2012). So-called lines of differences are being used for constructing differences and similarities. The reasoning for the processes of othering that build the foundations for those constructs are based on biologistical, acquired, legal, structural, institutional or individual differentiations. Given their different perspectives and benchmarks, the lines of differences are considered being of relational character. Commonly used lines of differences are for example *race, class, gender, age* und *ability*[2] (Egg-

2 This naming of lines of differences is based on most commonly used constructs within the Germany academic discourse in adult education and is raising no claim to completeness.

ers, 2011; Robak, Sievers, & Hauenschild, 2013; Allemann-Ghionda, 2013). Being constructed through processes of othering, those lines of difference emerge simultaneously with social power structures and positions. They are oftentimes highly intertwined, which is considered in approaches of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1991). By applying intersectionality as an analytical perspective in this research, interconnections of power structures are taken into account.

This perspective is also key for the analysis of diversity in program planning as it emerges within the structures of organizations: It goes beyond individual differences but takes a broader context and its implicit power relations into account. Adult education serves as a system of reference while interleaving individual and social-historical perspectives (Robak, 2013) in which the concept of diversity education is being adduced for a broader understanding of diversity itself (Hormel & Scherr, 2004). In the German setting, diversity education is seen as a further development of previous concept. It is distinguished by its notion of a multi-referentiality of contexts, meaning that identities, belongings and differences are critically examined as being constructed in contexts that inherit a multiplicity of referentialities (Hormel & Scherr, 2004).

Considering diversity as a recognition of this multiplicity, it is broadly anchored in societal structures, as they appear to be diverse themselves (Fleige, 2013). The concept serves as a kind of quality assurance when taking differences into account as a productive factor (Eggers, 2011; Emmerich & Hormel, 2013). In this positive connotation, fostering diversity is aiming for the possibilities of participation in organizations and society. For adult education, this notion is especially influential of program planning in regard to the participant's needs (Robak, Sievers, & Hauenschild, 2013). Diversity education, in that sense, is understood as a permanent interpretation of educational needs, given the various settings. Positioned between institutionalized programs and individual learning on the basis of personal responsibilities, diversity is a central component for meeting an intermediate space between individuals and society. Fundamental concepts particularly relevant for the field of adult education are participatory approaches, such as employability (Robak, 2013).

This perspective of diversity education is also closely connected to the development and the management of organizations (Walgenbach, 2017). Diversity management, as the thematization of the employee's diversity (Robak, Sievers, & Hauenschild, 2013), is a recent prominent approach in Germany (Fischer, 2018). Diversity, as a competitive advantage to foster a maximum of differences, is considered a possibility for a positive development of organizations (Krell & Sieben, 2007). In the context of program planning, it is of significance as being a crucial component in their organizational environment as well as an influencing factor for their planning processes. The economic connotation of diversity, in the understanding of diversity management, is prevalent in addition to the participant's diversity in diversity education (Robak, 2013).

In addition, the legal background for addressing diversity in adult education organizations resp. program planning is based on anti-discriminatory approaches. In order to counter structural discrimination, the German Basic Law[3] is prohibiting disadvantages that are based on gender, race, language, origin, faith, religious and political opinion and disability (BMJV, 2014). The General Act on Equal Treatment (ADS, 2006) serves as its extension and is additionally taking the prohibition of disadvantages based on sexual orientation as a line of difference into account (ADS, 2011b). That law is applicable for routine businesses, such as banks or insurances. The anti-discrimination requirements for private stakeholders such as employers are regulating job postings or application processes to be anti-discriminatory (ADS, 2011b). The German anti-discrimination laws (ADS, 2006) are closely linked to those of the European Union (ADS, 2011a) since they are sharing similar goals, e.g. gender mainstreaming (Abdul-Hussain & Baumann, 2014; bpb, 2018). Those laws and regulations are crucial for organizations for the societal embedding of their programs.

Based on those understandings of diversity, it can be approached in relation to program planning from different perspectives: The individual learners and their needs are being defined by constructing lines of differences and are being addressed by the programs and offers. Diversity education can be considered the conceptual basis for that. The organizations, as they are building the working environment for program planning, are oriented towards managing diversity productively. They are being guided by legal regulations that need to be taken into account in processes of program planning.

Empirical situational constructions are revealing implications of diversity in program planning

Given the theoretical notions as explained above, diversity is addressed in program planning through needs analysis, organizational frameworks and legal regulations. They appear to be relevant for the program planners themselves, as well as for the participants, the organizations and the societal environment. The importance of analysing implications of diversity emerges when taking the perspective of the planners themselves into account. Their key role in program planning is influenced by the theoretical perspectives of participants, organizations and society (Käpplinger & Robak, 2019), but is yet to be analysed. Despite the shown significance that diversity inherits in the context program planning from a theoretical perspective, a conceptualization of diversity as it is used in the actual processes of program planning from the planner's perspective is lacking. It

3 The German Basic Law can be considered similar to a constitution that was established after World War II.

is therefore not the explicit connections that are to be analyzed, but the implications of diversity that are derived from the program planners.

To add on the current state of analysis, empirical data is fundamental. As mentioned before, this paper is based on the research of a PhD thesis that is empirically analyzing implications of diversity in program planning as argued before. In order to reveal prospects here, the following paragraphs are providing an insight to how the topic is addresses empirically through the research design.

In the PhD research, a qualitative approach is being followed by conducting problem-centered interviews (Witzel, 1982) with program planners. They are guided by the leading research question on "How is diversity constructed by program planners? " The chosen form of problem-centered interviews facilitates the focus on the topic of complexity in program planning, since it is being considered to be related to a societal challenge by the researcher and the interviewees (Witzel, 1982).

The data is analysed with a positional analysis (Clarke, 2012), in order to go beyond individual opinions of the interviewees. A situational analysis allows a broader understanding of program planning as a complex situation by taking a wider scope of the context of program planning into account. Based on maps of social worlds and arenas, its relations and positions, it will conclude in a cartography of the situation (Clarke, 2012). Within those maps, relevant discourses are being analyzed as fundamental for reconstructing the situation from a researcher's perspective, of which diversity is one.

Prospects

At the current point of the research project, the interview's analysis is leading to the conclusion that program planners find themselves in a position between their own educational values of adult education whilst implicitly following social, economic, political and organizational requirements during the planning processes. The line between an educational approach and an economic goal is blurred in this interpretation and can therefore be related to adjusting antinomies that are prevalent for the program planners. The importance that is given to this particular antinomy hints to the influence of neo-liberal tendencies in the field. From a perspective of governmentality, this can also be analyzed towards the question of taking over responsibilities in that context and the role of the program planners in that regard.

As a preliminary analysis, diversity sticks out as an argument for linking adult education values or economical rationales. The constructed lines of differences, such as gender, age or class, are being used as an argument for meeting specific educational needs of target groups within the processes of program planning. Further conclusions will be discussed on the background of post-structural and post-colonial concepts.

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QUALITY OF VOCATIONAL TRAININGS AS A FACTOR FOR THE EMPLOYMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE LABOR MARKET[1]

Abstract

The question that this research aims to answer is whether short-term vocational trainings are a significant determinant in changing the position of the individual in the labor market, i.e. if there is a correlation between the quality of short-term vocational trainings and the employment of an individual in the labor market. For the purpose of this research, the quality of the realization of short-term vocational trainings was analyzed through four broad sets of organization and realization of short-term vocational trainings: quality of the realization of short-term vocational trainings, quality of career guidance and counselling services, characteristics of short-term vocational trainings and andragogical characteristics of the trainees. The research uses a non-experimental method, where the basic measuring instrument consists of a battery of instruments made up of several types of scales and questionnaires. The research was conducted on a sample of 306 participants.

The results show that the quality of the realization of vocational trainings represent a significant determinant in changing the position of an individual in the labor market, that is, it can be understood as an important factor that is in the function of the employment of the trainees upon the completion of a vocational training. Additionally, the employment of the trainees is determined by the characteristics of the trainees themselves and vocational trainings. Better position in the labor market have the trainees with work experience relevant to the attended vocational training, or the trainees attending vocational trainings based on the needs of the local labor market.

If we analyze the employment of trainees on the jobs for which they were trained, it is interesting that the research recognizes the importance of some other factors such as the quality of connecting the individual to the needs of the local labor market, the relevance

1 This paper is a constituent part of doctoral thesis *Vocational trainings and the position of the individual in the labour market*.

of formal education to the attended vocational training and the motivation of trainees to attend the training. Observed in this context, the participants who found employment on the jobs they had been trained for, compared to those who did not, have better assessed the quality of career guidance and counselling services, their formal qualifications were more related to the attended vocational training and as a motive for participation in training in a greater degree they had the desire for personal development.

Keywords: quality, short-term vocational trainings, employment

Introduction

In recent years in the labor market of the Republic of Serbia have been recorded employment growth, increase in activation and reduction of unemployment (Program ekonomskih reformi za period od 2017. do 2019. Godine / Economic Reform Program for the period 2017–2019). However, despite positive trends, the labor market remains characterized by a large number of informal employees in total employment, high structural unemployment, gender inequality in the labor market, and limited resources for active employment policy measures. This is accompanied by the lack of harmonization of human capital in respect to the social and economic needs, an unregulated system of qualifications acquired by education, hampered mobility of workforce, etc. (Program ekonomskih reformi za period od 2017. do 2019. Godine / Economic Reform Program for the period 2017–2019).

Poorer labor market performances researchers often explained as a consequence of an insufficiently flexible labor market (Layard, Layard, Nickell, Nickell & Jackman, 2005; Lindbeck, 1996; Blanchard & Wolfers, 1999). However, empirical evidence does not give a unique confirmation of this thesis (Arandarenko, 2004; Avdagić & Salardi, 2013), so in the context of labor market policies and performances, the significance of educationand its interaction with other labor market policies and institutions is increasingly emphasized (Avdagić, 2014). Certain authors go even further and emphasize the importance of the quality of education, namely, that for economic growth and development the quality of education is far more important than quantity (Kulić, 2011).

The significance of the quality of education is also emphasized in strategic documents where adult education is viewed as one of the key instruments for the development of a knowledge-based economy that is able to ensure employment of the population (see: Strategija razvoja obrazovanja odraslih u Republici Srbiji / Strategy for the Development of Adult Education in the Republic of Serbia in 2007; Adult Education Subsystem Development Strategy: Strategija razvoja obrazovanja u Srbiji do 2020. godine / Strategy for Education Development in Serbia 2020; National Employment Strategy for the period 2011–2020). Adult education is expected, in a relatively short period of time, to enable an individual to acquire the necessary knowledge, skills and competencies, to put what he has learned into practice at the end of the training, thus improving his position in the labor market.

The recommendations of numerous researchers also point to the necessity of assessing the quality of the realization of the training itself (Arandarenko & Krstic, 2008; Betcherman, Dar & Olivas, 2004; Dinkić, Đurić, Ognjenovic, & Savčić, 2006; Marjanovic, 2015; Martin & Grubb, 2001; Ognjenović, 2007). It is however interesting that, despite numerous recommendations, training as an active labor market policy measure whose effects are assessed is not systematically varied or researched, especially not in terms of quality. Consequently, the explanations of contradictory results regarding the effects of trainings lack (Arandarenko & Krstić, 2008; Lehmann, 2010; Marjanović, 2015; Ognjenović, 2007) as well as the answers to the question how the trainings should look like in order for the workforce to be more competent and more employable.

Trainings as an active labor market policy (ALMP) measure

In their original form active labor market policy (ALMP) measuresfirst appeared at the beginning of the 20th century, while modern measures that worldwide practice recognizes today in the developed OECD countries appeared in the second half of the 70s and in the 80s (Arandarenko, 2011). In the Republic of Serbia more importance to the active labor market measures was given only in 2005 with the adoption of the National Employment Strategy for the period 2005–2010 (Ognjenović, 2007).

At different stages of social development and different economic circumstances ALMP measures were an instrument for achieving different goals. In recent European documents, which consider the role of ALMP measures in the context of the Europe 2020 strategy, it is emphasized that one of the key roles of an active labor market policy is to ensure conditions for a more secure transition in the conditions of intense technological and social changes (European Commission, 2007). It can be noticed that, in addition to achieving economic and social goals that are reflected in the increase of the probability for unemployed persons to find a job, further chance of inclusion and participation accompanied by productive employment, ALMP measures are increasingly regarded as an instrument for "adapting" to the new demands of the modern world of work, especially in the domain of innovation of knowledge and skills due to intense technological changes and increasingly intense global competition.

In addition to influencing the characteristics of the available workforce (workers' skills improvement, productivity improvement, etc.), the implementation of ALMP measures is put in the function of influencing the labor demand itself (Jandrić, 2011; Betcherman *et al.*, 2004; Boeri & Ours, 2008; Estevao, 2007), that is, improving the functioning of the labor market, increasing workforce demand, reallocating work between the labor sub-markets, creating jobs, mitigating cyclical declines, reducing structural imbalances etc. (Jandrić, 2014; Betcherman *et al.*, 2004; Boeri & Ours, 2008). According to the authors each of these goals implies the realization of one or more ALMP measures. Nonetheless, the view of Betcherman and his associates that training is the only group of ALMP measures that can achieve goals related to both labor supply and demand is interesting (Betcherman *et al.*, 2004).

However, the implementation of ALMP measures of educational character is followed by numerous challenges. An example is the difficulty in monitoring and comparing the effects of individua leducational programmes since dominantly in practice a number of generic classifications of ALMP measures is present, where all educational programmes (no matterhow different) are classified into one category (e.g. educational and training measures, programmes focused on investment in human capital, labor market trainings, etc.) or in different categories together with other non-educational measures oriented towards specific target groups (youth, people with disabilities, etc.).

The use of generic classifications blurs the results of the implemented (meta) evaluations just as itreduces the possibility of their better understanding and application in practice. Additional issue opens when trying to compare two or more countries since researchers often do not have information about individual educational programmes that are crucial to understanding one country's labor market policy and, therefore, to their comparison. In this context, the conceptual comparability of aggregate data is vital to the quality of the analysis, since even within a certain category of aggregates, such as "training", can dominate programmes which, despite the same name, can be very different in characteristics in different countries. A particular challenge for researchers is also the fact that countries continually change ALMP measures including educational ones, just as it is possible in practice to redefine the categories of ALMP measures, that is, to shift measures from one category to another. Therefore, the results of (meta) evaluations need to be prudently interpreted.

The effects of trainings on the position of the individual in the labor market

In accordance with their significance and social expectations in the previous period, the effects of short-term trainings were the subject of attention of a larger number of researches (Arandarenko & Krstić, 2008; Betcherman, Dar & Olivas, 2004; Bonin & Rinne, 2006; Kluve, 2006; Lehmann, 2010; Mamaqi, Miguel & Olave, 2011; Marjanović, 2015; Martin & Grubb, 2001; Ognjenović, 2007). In the last ten years a significant number of meta-analyzes that provided overviews of the evaluations conducted in different countries and in different periods has been carried out (Arandarenko, 2011; Zubović, 2011). Evaluation researches were related to the employed and the unemployed persons and their position with employers, i.e. in the labor market after completing training.

When it comes to the employed persons, the research results show that short-term trainings have impact on the position of individuals with the employer. This primarily reflects in the improved internal mobility, employability, career advancement and/or achieving professional success in general and job satisfaction (Mamaqi *et al*., 2011; Sanders & De Grip, 2004). However, the impact has not been identified in the part related to the increase in employee productivity and the improvement of their external mobility (Mamaqi *et al*., 2011; Sanders & De Grip, 2004). Mincer (1991) came to similar results. As the author states, the results of the effects study of vocational trainings show that the relationship between trainings and quantitative parameters (employee productivity before and after training, cost-effectiveness of training per participant) is less important (in terms of statistical significance) than qualitative parameters in terms of increased mobility opportunities, career advancement and/or professional success in general and work performance/satisfaction (Mincer, 1991). The existence of internal and absence of external mobility among employees who attended training programmes could largely be explained by the development of specific skills that are relevant to the given employer but which are not entirely transferable to similar job positions in other firms. Besides, employers will endeavor to retain workers if they have participated in the costs of their training.

The position of the unemployed persons in the labor market after attending a training was the subject of interest of numerous researchers (Arandarenko & Krstić, 2008; Bonin & Rinne, 2006; Lehmann, 2010; Marjanović, 2015; Ognjenović, 2007;). Generally speaking, the two most frequently discussed issues in the literature related to the evaluation of trainings regard the effectiveness of programmes, i.e. their performance overview when it comes to the employment of programme participants and the amount of funds that are being allocated, i.e. the cost-effectiveness of the programme.

When it comes to international evaluations, through several large meta-studies conclusions have been made about the effectiveness of the basic types of programmes. For OECD countries the results show that training as an active labor market policy measure is one of the most expensive measures, while on the other hand in terms of their effectiveness researches give different results (Lehmann, 2010). Furthermore, in the previous period a meta-study of evaluations that examined the impact of measures on the position of participants in the labor market as well as their impact on earnings was conducted. Over 150 evaluations were taken into account. The results show a positive impact on employment, but not on an overall effect on earnings (Martin & Grubb, 2001). According to the authors, even for those participants who felt positive benefits, the estimated annual income was not enough to get families out of poverty (Martin & Grubb, 2001). The results are also unfavorable when compared with other

ALMP measures, as some evaluations show that it is 40–50% more likely for evaluation studies to show positive impact of programmes such as employment assistance with sanctions (mainly related to the right to receive unemployment compensation), subsidizing earnings and self-employment assistance, than it is in the case of training programmes (Kluve, 2006).

When it comes to trainings for the labor market needs for the unemployed in the Republic of Serbia, the evaluation results also give different findings. The evaluation carried out within the EUNES 2011 project shows that the employment rate among the participants six months after the completion of trainings is 25.06% (Bjerre, Emmerich & Milosevic, 2011). On the other hand, the impact evaluation conducted at least two years after the completion of training shows that labor market trainings have a poor impact on employment but have a positive impact on further job search (Marjanović, 2015). The tendency for the number of the employed persons to decline after the completion of training is also indicated by the research of the centers for adult and continuing education (Pejatović, 2007).

Particularly interesting are the recognized non-economic effects of trainings. Despite the results of some studies suggesting that the educational experience does not necessarily lead to a subjective perception and assessment of the quality of life as higher (Tuijnam, 1990), the results of evaluations show something different. Namely, participants in trainings, compared to non-participants, on average became happier, expanded their social contacts, reported better health, had a more positive attitude regarding their perspective and more confidence in their knowledge and skills (Bonin & Rinne, 2006; Follow-up survey of the graduated FEEA participants, 2013; Marjanović, 2015; Pejatović, 2007). We can say that after the educational intervention participants were psychologically stronger, they perceived that they were better positioned in the labor market than they had been before joining the programme, that new perspectives opened up for them with regard to keeping/changing/finding a job. Thus, the educational experience had contributed to participants' better assessment of their general living situation and personal well-being.

Starting from the often contradictory results of the conducted evaluations, from their beginnings to the present day ALMP measures have had their advocates and their opponents. Advocates of the implementation of ALMP measures, including educational ones, claim that participants of measures, especially youth, acquire basic skills, get introduced into work and acquire basic work experience, which certainly influences the improvement of their position in the labor market (Kerovec, 1994). On the other hand, ALMP measures critics emphasize that they most often offer only temporary employment, that most participants return to unemployment after a certain period of time, that the results are inadequate compared to the funds invested (Kerovec, 1994), that represent to a large extent the dissipation of public funds and that any benefit for the participants is realized exclusively at the expense of other workers (Zubović, 2011). Undoubtedly, the results of evaluations show that it is extremely difficult to deal with the problems of high unemployment through ALMP measures and that it is necessary for them to be a part of a comprehensive strategy to address the unemployment problem. Furthermore, it is realistic to expect that ALMP educational measures have a much greater impact if the labor market is characterized by a mismatch between supply and demand relative to qualifications, knowledge and skills, and not if the market is characterized by a deficit of demand.

Methodological framework of the research

The subject of research

The subject of interest of our research is the relationship between the quality of short-term vocational trainings and the employment of trainees after the completion of vocational training. We tried to determine whether there is a correlation between the quality of short-term vocational trainings and the position of the individual in the labor market, that is, whether short-term vocational trainings represent a significant determinant in changing the position of an individual in the labor market in terms of higher employment. Furthermore, we searched for an answer to the question whether it is possible based on the quality of vocational trainings to predict the employment of the trainees after the completed vocational training.

For the purposes of this research, the quality of short-term vocational trainings was analyzed through four broad complexes of organization and realization of short-term vocational trainings as follows: quality of realization of short-term vocational trainings (observed through quality dimensions: Lecturers and instructors, Spatial conditions and health protection, Equipment and tools, Training process, Training organization, Location and Total quality of the realization of short-term vocational trainings), quality of the realization of career guidance and counseling services (observed through quality dimensions: Career guidance and counseling, Administrative support and Total quality of the realization of career guidance and counseling services), characteristics of short-term vocational trainings and andragogical characteristics of the trainees. When it comes to employment, within the research it was operationalized as a working engagement of the trainees (with or without contract including self-employment) within a period of six months afterthe end of the training, with special attention paid to the participants who found employment in the jobs they were trained for.

The research sample

The research was conducted on an apposite sample of 306 individuals who completed vocational training in the organization of the employment service. The gender structure of the sample is balanced (50.3% men, 49.7% women). The least represented are the highly educated with 13.7%, while non-qualified and trainees with secondary education are almost equally represented with 42.2% and 44.1% respectively. The average age of the trainees is 36 years.

Method and instrument of research

Starting from the subject of research and the characteristics of research variables, a non-experimental method was used during research, where the basic measuring instrument consists of a battery of instruments made up of several types of scales and questionnaires.

Statistical analysis

After conducting the empirical research, during the processing a number of relevant statistical procedures was applied. For the description of important parameters and depending on their nature, frequencies, percentages, mean value of the sample – arithmetic mean (M) were used. Standard Deviation (SD) was used as a measure of deviation from the average. Chi squared test was used to examine the interrelationship between two categorical variables. In addition to the Chi squared test, the result of the Likelihood Ratio test, as more adequate for a small number of subjects in the cells of cross tabulation tables, is also shown. One-factor analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used to test the differences between three and more modalities, and to test the difference between two modalities the T test for large independent samples was used. To determine whether independent variable/s explain/s a significant part of the variability of the dependent variable, the logistic regression analysis was used.

Research results

Quality of short-term vocational trainings and the employment

The results of the conducted research show that of the total number of trainees in the sample, the highest percentage of them (44.4%) is still unemployed after the completion of vocational trainings. They are followed by the employed regardless of the type of work engagement and the jobs they perform with 41.5%, that is 27.8% of the trainees that are engaged in the jobs for which they attended vocational training. Interestingly, out of the total number of respondents from the sample, after completing the training, as many as 14.1% moved (or returned) to the inactive category.

Taking into account the obtained findings, we were interested whether the position of an individual in the labor market after the completion of vocational training was determined by the quality of vocational training, that is, whether there is a statistically significant relationship between the employment of the trainee upon the completion of training and the quality of the immediate realization of short-term vocational trainings, career guidance and counseling services, the characteristics of short-term vocational trainings and andragogical characteristics of the trainees.

Quality of the realization of short-term vocational trainings and the employment

In order to determine a connection between *the quality of the realization of short-term vocational trainings* and the employment, the relationship between the identified dimensions of the quality of vocational training with the employment status upon the completion of training was examined. The results of the T test show that the employed and those trainees that did not find employment are very similar in assessing the quality of the realization of vocational trainings. The one statistically significant difference between these two categories exists when it comes to quality dimension *Training process* ($t=2.403$, $p<0.05$), where the quality of the training process is better assessed by those who are employed after the completion of training with respect to those who did not find employment. However, if we analyze the quality assessments of the trainees who found employment in the jobs for which they were trained, the results of the T test indicate the existence of statistical significance in a number of quality dimensions of the realization of vocational training. Thus, in addition to the quality of the training process ($M=-0.93$ vs. $M=-1.31$), the trainees employed in new jobs better assessed the quality of training organization ($M=-0.27$ vs. $M=-0.54$), the quality of the work of lecturers and instructors ($M=-0.39$ vs. $M=-0.57$), quality of equipment and tools ($M=-0.75$ vs. $M=-1.10$), as well as the overall quality of the realization of short-term vocational trainings ($M=-0.45$ vs. $M=-0.68$).

The existence of a statistically significant link between variables confirms that the quality of the realization of vocational trainings is a significant determinant in changing the position of the individual in the labor market, that is, it can be understood as an important factor that is in the function of the employment of the trainees upon the completion of vocational training. It is noticeable that the quality of the realization of vocational trainings gains significance when it comes to the employment of trainees in the jobs for which vocational training is organized, which is in line with expectations, since the quality of the training process ensures the acquisition of labor market relevant knowledge, skills and competences, their application and operationalization to perform concrete jobs in a real working environment with an employer.

The findings are consistent with the assertions in a number of national and international strategic documents in which the quality of vocational trainings is referred to as the basic instrument for improving the position of the individual in the labor market (European Training Foundation, 2013; European Commission, 2013). Viewed from the employment policy perspective, we can say that the research results are encouraging taking into account the role and significance of the quality of the realization of vocational trainings for the development of competence as a key comparative advantage in the labor market that ensures greater employment of an individual upon the completion of vocational training. Hence, by improving the quality of labor supply their equality in the labor market is ensured and more favorable conditions for employment are created and not only in jobs that they were trained for. The findings of the research testify that the quality of practical work based on practicing work operations in a real working environment, that is, practical mastering the "secrets" of the craft during vocational training ensures a better position in the labor market in terms of employment in numerous jobs, including those different from the jobs for which the training was organized.

Quality of realization of career guidance and counseling services and the employment

When it comes to the relationship between *the quality of career guidance and counseling services* and the employment, the results are somewhat different. The results of the T test show that the identified quality dimensions are not in a statistically significant relationship with the employment status after the completion of training, i.e. that the employed and those who did not find employment very similarly assess the quality of the provided career guidance and counseling services. On the other hand, if we analyze the quality assessments given by the trainees who found employment in the job positions they were trained for, we can notice that the trainees who are employed in new jobs, in respect to those who are not, better assess the quality of career guidance and counseling service ($M=-1.24$ vs. $M=-1.50$), administrative support ($M=-0.69$ vs. $M=-0.98$), and the overall quality of the realization of career guidance and counseling services ($M=-0.96$ vs. $M=-1.24$).

Similarly to the realization of vocational trainings, the obtained results indicate that the quality of career guidance and counseling services gains importance when it comes to the employment of a trainee in the job for which he was trained, which is in line with expectations since the provided career guidance and counseling service was useful to a greater extent when connecting with the local labor market needs at all stages of the realization of vocational training.

Viewed from the perspective of employment policy, we can say that the obtained findings are encouraging considering that, even though they cannot create jobs themselves career guidance services have a significant potential for the improvement of the position of the individual in the labor market, that is, the development of human resources that contributes to a greater efficiency in the labor market, higher employability and employment of trainees, etc. Career guidance and counseling services gain additional importance if we take into account the results of numerous evaluations that testify that these services are relatively inexpensive and that there is a general consensus that they are very effective (Arandarenko & Krstić, 2008; Lehmann, 2010).

Characteristics of short-term vocational trainings and the employment

As a part of the research we monitored *the characteristics of short-term vocational training*s through the number of hours and the type of vocational training attended. The results of the T test show that there is no statistically significant relationship between the *number of hours* of vocational training and the employment of trainees after the completion of the vocational training ($t=-0.161$, $p>0.05$), which is in line with expectations since the sample includes only short-term vocational trainings (97–360 hours), so almost all participants from the sample attended vocational trainings of similar duration. Unlike the number of hours of vocational training, the results indicate that the employment of the participants after the completion of vocational training is largely determined by the type of vocational training attended. The obtained results confirm the findings of the evaluations that ALMP measures have the highest success rate when labor market is characterized by a mismatch between supply and demand for knowledge and skills, that is, when it has the potential to absorb a competent workforce, and not if the labor market is characterized by a demand deficit (Betcherman *et al*., 2004).

Andragogical characteristics of the trainees and the employment

The andragogical characteristics of the participants of short-term vocational trainings we observed through the correspondence of work experience and formal education of participants to the jobs for which vocational training was organized and through the motivation of participants for taking part in the vocational training. We were interested in whether the characteristics of the trainees are one of the determinants of his position in the labor market after the completion of vocational training, i.e. his employment.

The research results show that, from all analyzed variables, only when it comes to the variable related to the *correspondence of work experience* and attended vocational training a statistical significance was determined both for employment in jobs that are same or similar to those for which the training was organized (χ^2=26.68, df=1, p<0.001) and the employment in general, including engagement in some other jobs (χ^2=11.08, df=1, p=0.001). The significance of other two analyzed variables comes to the fore only with the employment of the trainees in jobs that are same or similar to those for which training was organized.

The importance of work experience/formal qualifications related to vocational training attended for the employment of trainees in the jobs they were trained for can be explained by the transfer of knowledge and skills acquired through work/education, that is, by putting them in the function of new learning and employment. Viewed from the perspective of the employability concept we can say that the listed categories of trainees "entered" the training process as more employable and that their training was more of an instrument in the function of improving and perfecting their knowledge and skills, that is, their systematization and upgrading. The result is the development and improvement of competencies at a higher level, ensuring independence in the workplace on the jobs they are being trained for and better integration in the labor market. However, the transfer of knowledge and skills does not happen spontaneously, and since the processing of the previous (work/educational) experience, i.e. putting it in the function of learning requires the appropriate type of professional support and guidance (Kolb, 1984), we can say that to a certain extent the merit for their employment goes to the lecturers and instructors whose quality of work is rated with a high mark.

Analyzing the motivation of trainees to take part in vocational training, the research findings indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in the employment of trainees in the jobs for which training was organized, when taking into account various reasons for attending the training: the desire for personal improvement (χ^2=21.13, df=1, p<0.001) and the possibility of a gratuitous training (χ^2=13.98, df=1, p<0.001). The results show that the participants who were employed in jobs they were trained for were more motivated by the desire for personal improvement (37.3% vs. 13.2%), that is, they put professional training in the function of personal development, improvement of their competitiveness and comparative advantage over other job seekers. At the same time, participants who did not find employment in the jobs for which they were trained to a greater extent attended the vocational training programme motivated by the possibility of a gratuitous training(34.8% vs. 14.8%), vocational trainings were put in the function of filling out free time during long-term unemployment.

The obtained results indicate that the educational and work experience and the motivation of trainees for attending vocational training can be seen important resources of an individual for his better positioning in the labor market, and that their potential should be used and put in the function of career development and learning.

Prediction of the employment of trainees upon the completion of vocational training

In addition to answering the question whether the quality of vocational training is a determinant of the employment of trainees upon the completion of vocational training, we were also interested in whether employment can be predicted, i.e. whether it is possible based on the quality of the realization of short-term vocational trainings, quality of career guidance and counseling service, characteristics of short-term vocational trainings and andragogical characteristics of trainees to predict employment.

The results of the regression analysis testify that the *Type of vocational training (work area level)* (OR: 1.05 (1.004–1.11), p=0.034) is the most important predictor of the employment of trainees after the completion of vocational training. The obtained result suggests that the existence of demand for certain knowledge and skills in the labor market, in other words the labor market's potential to absorb competent workforce, is crucial for the possibility of employment of the trainees upon completing vocational training. Therefore, in addition to the competitiveness of the workforce, the competitiveness of the "environment" is also required, the presence of economic trends that assure the potential for the employment of a competent workforce. Observed through the prism of the education system, the results point to the importance for vocational trainings to be founded on the real local labor market needs, planning of trainings, in other words, to the importance of the quality of the process of determining and foreseeing the needs of the local labor market for knowledge and skills. We can say that the quality of direct implementation of vocational trainings contributes to the integration of trainees into the world of work, but only if there is a need for knowledge and skills in the local market. Otherwise, ensuring the quality of the direct implementation is not enough for the employment of trainees.

The situation is somewhat different if we analyze the employment in the jobs for which vocational training is organized. The results of the regression analysis show that the following variables were statistically significant: *Training process* (OR: 2.19 (1.098–4.384), p<0.05), *Work experience related to vocational training* (*years*) (OR: 1.115 (1.022–1.215), p<0.05) and *Motive – desire for personal development* (OR: 0.271 (0.144–0.512), p<0.001). The obtained result indicates that the quality of the training process, that is, the quality of practical work based on practicing work operations and mastering the "secrets" of the craft through the number of hours put in the function of a training of a good quality is the key determinant of employment in jobs for which vocational training is organized. In addition to the training process itself, the results point to the relevance of quality of the selection process of the trainees, i.e. the necessity to include motivated participants with relevant work experience in short-term vocational trainings. Therefore, although the quality of career guidance and counseling services is not recognized as a predictor of employment in new job positions, we can say that its significance is visible through the predictive value of these two variables, that is, through the quality of the selection of trainees. Thus we can say that horizontal workforce mobility in a short term, which is understood as one of the strengths of vocational trainings, can be ensured by practical teaching and quality of the process of selecting trainees that takes into account the work experience and motives of trainees as one of the key resources of an individual and one of the most significant determinants in assessing an individual's "distance" from the labor market. By including trainees in vocational trainings with respect to their existing competences, through practical training of a good quality, short-term vocational trainings are put in the function of improving and perfecting existing knowledge and skills, and therefore employment in jobs for which vocational training is organized.

Final considerations

The results indicate that short-term vocational trainings have largely justified their role as one ofthe important labor market policy instruments focused on harmonizing labor market supply and demand. Although competencies and skills alone do not create jobs and are not a universal remedy for unemployment, it is beyond doubt that their development should be an important part of the reform package with a view to prepare individuals for a knowledge-based society.

When it comes to the quality of short-term vocational trainings the findings indicate that quality is a significant determinant of the change of an individual's position in the labor market, and it can be understood as an important factor in the function of the employment of trainees after completing vocational training. It is important to emphasize that the analyzed variables of the quality of vocational trainings are of importance when it comes to employment in jobs for which vocational training has been organized, and that only for a few analyzed variables a statistical significance was established for employment in general, including jobs different from those they were trained for.

The research results are largely in line with the recommendations of numerous researchers (Arandarenko & Krstic, 2008; Betcherman *et al.*, 2004; Dinkić *et al.*, 2007; Marjanović, 2015; Martin & Grubb, 2001; Ognjenović & Savčić, 2006) that after the conducted evaluative studies related to determining the economic effects of trainings, have identified the room for improvement of their effects precisely in improving (some elements) the quality of trainings. Therefore, the need for vocational trainings to be in line with the needs of the local labor market, to be market-relevant, to conduct targeted selection of trainees and to put existing trainees' competencies in the function of further learning, employment and career development in general was reaffirmed.

Viewed from the perspective of employment policy, we can say that the research results are encouraging considering the role and importance of the quality of vocational trainings has in improving the quality of the workforce supply, which ensures their equality in the labor market and creates more favorable conditions for employment, not only in jobs for which they were trained.

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WORK-BASED LEARNING FOR HIGHER LEVEL VET PROVISION[1]

Abstract

In this paper we reflect about work based learning as learning about work, learning at work and learning through work. The acquisition of knowledge, skills and competences through action-based or reflective learning in a vocational or occupational context is Work-based Learning (WBL) and is often seen as a strong energy for developing workplace skills and promoting productivity of the labour force. It is directly linked to the mission of Vocational Education and Training (VET) to help learners acquire knowledge, skills and competences which are essential in working life. Realising the potential of WBL requires companies and trainees to engage in WBL that effectively increases productivity. Creating opportunities for high-quality WBL lies at the heart of current European education and training policies. Efforts are needed to invest in expanding the offer of apprenticeships and traineeships in countries where opportunities for this type of learning remain very limited. This paper will try to show one view on understanding benefits of WBL and present why it is important to companies to provide high-quality WBL. Regional project "Master 5" is aimed to support the development and visibility of higher VET opportunities through regional partnerships between learning providers, business and social partners with a particular focus on needs for higher level VET skills at sectoral level. The specific objective is to design and implement new training framework based on WBL for higher level VET provision in craftsmanship to provide skills needs on the regional labour market, thus following the New Skills Agenda. The idea is that the major impact on both learners and business will be increased attractiveness and recognition of master craftsman vocations as providing access to employment and career advancement, as well as enabling further learning and progression to higher education based on strong WBL-basis. Views of companies participated in research in project "Master 5" will be shown in this paper as one example.

Keywords: work-based Learning, craftsmanship, "Master 5" project

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Introduction

Almost twenty years ago, by Copenhagen declaration from 2002, that is now process, directions and priorities of VET reform are set. Transparency of diplomas and qualifications as well as promotional activities, similar to Bologna process in VET is initiated (Dimov, 2007). In Copenhagen declaration role of social partners in socio-economic development is also emphasized through social dialogue and through lifelong competences and qualifications development. Special attention is dedicated to access to learning, higher VET and training, transfer and recognition of competences and qualification, aimed to support mobility within industry and mobility of citizens within labour market. To make it easier to set transparency, comparability, transfer and recognition of competences and/or qualifications referent levels are also set, general principles for certification – general rules that include implementation of credit system in VET and training. Also, it is insisted that support to development of competences and qualifications on sectoral level is improved through empowerment of cooperation and coordination with social partners. Sensitization of education system for those who are under risk of social exclusion and out of labour market – those who left education (dropouts), low qualified, migrants, people with special needs and unemployed – is emphasized as key priority in sectoral reforms.

This declaration/process almost pushed further efforts to organize non formal VET education.. The adoption of the Bruges Communiqué in December 2010 outlined a series of actions to increase the quality of vocational education and training (VET) in Europe in order to make it more accessible and relevant to the labour market. The Bruges Communiqué is the update to the Copenhagen Process for European co-operation on VET – European Quality Assurance in Vocational Education and Training EQAVET is a result of this process (EQAVET, 2019). The Bruges Communiqué, which defines the European VET strategy up to 2020, calls for an active policy to enhance the potential of VET to support smart and sustainable growth, and to turn VET across the EU into a highly attractive learning choice (Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes, 2012). European cooperation on vocational education and training (VET) has been further enhanced by the Riga Conclusions (2015). EU Member states, Candidate countries, European Economic Area Countries, social partners and European VET providers have agreed on a set of deliverables for the period 2015–2020:

– Promote work-based learning in all its forms
– Further develop quality assurance mechanisms in VET
– Enhance access to VET and qualifications for all through more flexible systems
– Further strengthen key competences in VET curricula

- Introduce systematic approaches to initial and continuous professional development of VET teachers, trainers and mentors (Riga Conclusions, 2015).

Today, the EU Commission's work on VET is supported by two agencies: European Centre for the Development of Vocational Training (Cedefop) and European Training Foundation (ETF). Financial instruments that supporting VET policy are: Erasmus+ Programme (with Erasmus+ Strategic partnerships) and European Social Fund (ESF). The Advisory Committee on Vocational training endorsed an "Opinion on the future of VET post 2020" (2018).

All these and many more steps and efforts that we did not mention at this time, are aimed on raising quality of non formal VET, and they place high expectations before vocational education and training – one of them: "VET is expected to reposition itself within the future mix of a strong foundation of basic skills, generic, soft, transversal and professional competences. It should prove its ability to prepare people not only for existing jobs, but also – for future employment and job creation. VET is expected to continue fostering democratic citizenship and European values" (Opinion on the future of VET post 2020, 2018, 5).

Work-based learning (WBL) in vocational education and training (VET)

Most people learn from experience and they do this moderately well without any educational intervention. Work-based learning has been described as the linkage of learning to a work role. Levy et al. (1989, according to Cox, p. 2005) identify three components to work-based learning which they claim provides an essential contribution to the learning, by:

- identifying and providing relevant off-the-job learning opportunities;
- structuring learning in the workplace;
- providing appropriate on-job training/learning opportunities.

Later Seagraves et al. (1996, according to Cox, p. 2005) went on to classify the three strands as: learning for work; learning at work and learning through work.

In order to understand developments in work-based learning built on partnership, Smith and Betts (2000) consider that is necessary to distinguish it from the more generic work-related learning processes "that have played their part in the historical development of linkages between learning and work" (Smith & Betts, 2000, p. 591). These authors describe them as:

- Learning *about* work – which is informational;
- Learning *at* work – which is locational;
- Learning *through* work – that is experiential.

The first of the work-related learning approaches involves the transfer of information about work and the world of work via means other than the experience of working itself. "It does not of necessity have to be located *at* work or necessarily reflect upon the direct task of the learner (the job) in the work situation, i.e. the *experience* of work" (Smith & Betts, 2000, p. 591). The second approach indicates that learning at work is always characterized by its location. But, authors indicates that "the location of a student in the workplace, either by full-time employment or temporary placement, does not, in itself, match a sophisticated definition of work-based learning alone" (Smith & Betts, 2000, p. 591). According to their point of view "work-based learning... must reflect the significant qualitative changes that are emerging in its definition, which has been made possible through the recognition of *active* partnerships. As experience of learning at work has developed in partnership between employers, students and educational providers, the locational definition has become too restrictive. We have moved closer to a locational work-based model which we believe should really be described in a more sophisticated manner: namely learning *through* the experience of work" (Smith & Betts, 2000, p. 592).

Obviously, we can somewhat agree with the opinion expressed twenty years ago – "The phrase 'work-based learning' has today become something of a slogan, which takes on different meanings according to its immediate context" (Shaw, 2000, p. 399). A universally accepted definition of Work-based Learning in VET does not exist. Cedefop (2015) offer useful definition of WBL – in Cedefop research paper, No 49 "WBL is defined as:

(a) Intended and structured non-formal learning;
(b) Being of direct relevance to the current or future tasks of the learner;
(c) Taking place in a work-based context, that means either in the workplace, in settings simulating the workplace or outside the workplace, but with specific learning tasks that must be directly applied in the workplace and reflected upon afterwards (train, apply, reflect)" (Cedefop, 2015, p. 7). In the same Paper, Cedefop indicates to definition proposed by Raelin (2008) according to which "critical elements in the WBL process is that:
    (a) Learning is acquired in the midst of action and dedicated to the task at hand;
    (b) Knowledge creation and utilization are collective activities wherein learning becomes everyone's job;
    (c) Learners demonstrate a learning-to-learn aptitude, which frees them to question underlying assumptions of practice. In this definition, self-responsibility is stressed while the work context is referred to as a source of (tacit) knowledge and possibilities to get feedback (community of practice)" (Cedefop, 2015, p. 16–17). "...Work based learn-

ing may be understood as self directed practices within specific area of expertise in which general demands of learning society are filtered and shaped through the given professional practice" (Nerland, 2012, p. 198). In this paper we reflect about work based learning as learning *about* work, learning *at work* and learning *through* work.

Work-based learning extends across all areas of education, training and employment, i.e. apprentices with the day to day requirements of their job with related learning, adult learners in the labor market, taking part in continuous learning and skills development, young people and adults gaining occupational and soft skills through activity in a workplace or in the work environment (Grazia Violi et al., n. d.). "In terms of delivery, Work-based Learning can take place onsite, in a company or organization, or within a more traditional learning environment such is a training centre, targeting learning that is vocationally or occupationally relevant and which centres on meeting the needs or expectations of a particular industry or profession" (What is Work-based Learning?, n. d.). To ensure needed delivery, Work-based Learning involves a wide variety of participants: employed, unemployed, teachers and trainers, tutors, mentors, classroom assistants, managers, business owners, human resources personnel; individual staff taking the role of advisors etc. "Work-based Learning is a fundamental aspect of vocational training – it is directly linked to the mission of VET to help learners acquire knowledge, skills and competences which are essential in working life" (Work-Based Learning (WBL), n. d.).

Despite the major benefits that Work-based Learning in VET can offer, still many obstacles hinder its development and widespread implementation (Grazia Violi et al., n. d.). We are of the opinion that work-based learning in VET can overcome some disadvantages of VET training indicated by some authors (Atkinson, 2016): VET provision sometimes fails to develop relevant skills, and, instead, provides training that is too general and not enterprise-specific enough, or lacks a focus on practical skills training.

"From a strategic perspective, the provision of high-quality Work-based Learning lies at the heart of current education and training policy, with education – industry collaboration regularly prioritized (at all levels) and work-based learning increasingly recognized as a means of ensuring that learners of all ages are provided with the competencies required by a labor market" ("What is Work-based Learning?", n. d.). So, it is part of lifelong learning that "is a very promising project: it foresees great potential in learning and in the necessity of learning as part of the contemporary societal transformations" (Kopecký, 2011, p. 246). We agree with Nerland (2012) that the way in which knowledge is organized and collectively dealt with in professional work form mechanisms that route actions and modes of perception in certain ways – "in the perspective of Michel Foucault these processes are understood in terms of formative and mobilizing relations of power/knowledge" (Nerland, 2012, p. 197). Through this concept, knowledge and power circulate together and form coalitions of energies that allow thoughts and actions to come into being while, in the same time, guiding them in certain directions – knowledge is understood in terms of "active dynamism that enable us to look at, understand and engage with world in particular ways" (Nerland, 2012, p. 197).

VET and education sectors have examples of positive partnerships between education and training institutions and workplaces. While many of these programs and partnerships are successful, "large businesses are more likely to have the resources and impetus to support these programs: they can demonstrate a commitment to work-based learning because they see its value to their businesses, and work-based learning is often supported by the senior executive leadership" (Atkinson, 2016, p. 18). On the other hand, small to medium enterprises (SMEs) can struggle to find the resources, time and effort required to supervise programs. "This is where education and training providers and intermediaries can play a vital role — in promoting work-based learning to SMEs and supporting them to engage in work-based learning" (Atkinson, 2016, p. 18).

The entrepreneurial spirit and entrepreneurship competencies, training and business and entrepreneurial aptitudes and skills are key competences for lifelong learning and that, in response to low economic growth and high unemployment, more decisive short-term and medium-term measures are needed to promote and enable entrepreneurship, especially among young people (Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan, 2013). It is stated that education should be brought to life through practical experiential learning models and experience of real-world entrepreneurs. Partnerships with businesses can ensure that education and training curricula are relevant to the real world. Education institutions should be encouraged to become more entrepreneurial in their wider approach, to ensure that they develop and live a culture of entrepreneurship and innovation through their missions, leadership, stakeholder engagement, curricula and learning outcomes. Small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) dominate the European economy; according to Directorate-General Enterprise of the EU Commission, they account for more than 99% of all firms; SMEs are generally recognised as a cradle of innovation, industrial restructuring and experimentation; providing them with support in the present hard times is considered a necessity; SMEs are characterised by their adaptability to economic change, flexible working and opportunities to improve skills and qualifications; however they tend to carry out little training (Cedefop, 2010).

SMEs face particular challenges in engaging with WBL, given their smaller workforces, limited resources and lack of familiarity with the WBL regulatory and administrative framework. Their engagement can be encouraged by intermediary organisations that offer expertise, information and help to support and motivate employers participating in WBL. Intermediary bodies can relieve employers from the administrative burdens that are often associated with different forms of WBL provision and assist them in locating information, for example advice on tax incentives to train young people. Intermediary organisations can, for example, provide advice to SMEs on curricula or on how to organise different forms of WBL. Countries should therefore support networks of companies and empower intermediary bodies such as Chambers to facilitate high-quality WBL, notably involving SMEs. "The monitoring activities highlighted the fact that cooperation and support for SMEs involving education and coaching targeting training supervisors at the companies and focusing on labour market legislation, pedagogical skills, soft skills and behavioural psychology aspects may overcome SMEs reluctance to employ trainees" (Grazia Violi et al., n. d., p. 10).

In many forms of WBL, learners are required to take responsibility for identifying and securing work placements. In preparing learners for their transition to the workplace, there are key issues to consider in relation to how learners are being prepared, particularly in terms of acquiring and developing the skills demanded by employers today. This is particularly important given that employers often complain about the level of basic skills and key competences learners have when they enter the workplace. As such, ensuring appropriate selection criteria is in place provides one such approach to ensure that learners are allocated to placements that give them the potential to grow and develop. Placing dedicated personnel in charge of recruitment/placement procedures, though resource intensive is another approach to ensure learners are placed appropriately. A key issue in relation to finding suitable placements for learners is the extent to which the placement matches the expectations from the perspective of the learner and the employer. Matching expectations is important so as to avoid a negative learning experience for the learner and to avoid situations where employers feel they are not able to support the needs of the learner or are no longer willing to provide work placements in the future. "With respect to placements offered by SMEs, a number of barriers arise, in particular that:

a) SMEs may not have the structures in place to take on apprentices;
b) The value proposition is not always clear for the SMEs;
c) Educational Institutions are not always suited to mass-market their supply of students for placements, and to operate them at scale with large numbers of SMEs" (SAPS – Support for Small and Medium Sized Enterprises Engaging in Apprenticeships, 2017).

Considering that VET can provide the skills, knowledge and competences needed in the labour market (Opinion of the Advisory Committee on Vocational Training on the Future of Vocational Education and Training Post 2020, 2018), "evidence from Cedefop shows that with the growing weight of VET specific content in parallel with key competences, learning provision is expected to become more hybrid – in terms of blurring borders in institutional profile, target group, curricula and learning environment between VET and general education, between IVET (Initial vocational education and training), higher VET and CVET (Continuing vocational education and training), between VET and higher education... Emerging new technologies and work organisation formats are expected to be captured faster through skills anticipation systems and translated to VET provision in terms of needed skills, curricula and qualifications. VET systems are expected to develop 'fast response' mechanisms of both stable quality assured core qualifications/skills pathways and flexible formats of adding new or higher-level skills, requiring strong governance involving social partners, both employers and trade unions" (Opinion of the Advisory Committee on Vocational Training on the Future of Vocational Education and Training Post 2020, 2018: 5). VET would need to combine and balance a process-oriented, input and supply driven model with a result and outcome-oriented approach, in view of meeting expectations of learners in terms of adequate skills, of employers in terms of skills needs and productivity gains and of society in view of a contribution to growth and social cohesion. In that way, maybe, "within the concept of governance as self-governance, people identify with the requirement of self-optimization. The needs of organizations are connected (or even identified) with the needs of individuals" (Kopecký, 2011, p. 252).

WBL for higher level VET provision in craftsmanship – "Master 5" Project

The project *Development of Master School Model through Regional VET-Business Partnerships* (Master 5) is realized in partnership between organizations from Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia: Območna obrtno-podjetniška zbornica Krško, Šolski center Krško-Sevnica, Hrvatska obrtnička komora, Obrtničko učilište – ustanova za obrazovanje odraslih, Regional Development Agency Backa, Kroatische Wirtschaftsvereinigung e.V. within *ERASMUS+ KA3 VET-Business Partnerships on Apprenticeships/Work-based learning*. The goal of regional Project "Master 5" was to support the development and visibility of higher VET opportunities through regional partnerships between learning providers, business and social partners with a particular focus on needs for higher level VET skills at sectoral level, as it is one of the recommendations "A New Skills Agenda For Europe – Working together to strengthen human capital, employability and competitiveness" (2016). The specific objective was to design and implement new training framework based on WBL for higher level VET provision in craftsmanship to provide skills needs on the regional labour market (Educational baseline of Master 5, 2018). The major impact on both learners and business is in increased attractiveness and recognition of master vocations as providing access to employment and career advancement, as well as enabling further learning and progression to higher education based on strong WBL-basis. By connecting VET providers and SMEs the project outcomes should be relevant and entail an impact on the VET and crafts' sector, through:

- Providing SMEs with skilled labour force with relevant skills gained through WBL.
- Enhanced employment possibilities and possibilities of widening business offers through employment of skilled labour forced which is lacking, especially in craftsmanship.
- Strengthened collaboration between VET providers and businesses through active participation in development of educational programmes.
- Increased awareness of WBL as key element of successful acquisition of practical occupational skills.
- Increased awareness of responsibility of SMEs as WBL providers.
- Increased possibility of inter-regional work.
- Increased competitiveness of SMEs because of enhanced quality and employability of future labour force (Qualitative comparative analysis of Master 5, 2018).

Project targeted SMEs with a focus on craftsman as one of the key pillars of the Slovenia – Posavje Region, Croatia – Zagreb County and Serbia – Backa regional economies. Crafts and SME representatives were involved in all segments of the project implementation. Within the project survey was conducted as a quantitative basis for the surveys of real-business and educational background. The target group is craftsmen and entrepreneurs as the key pillars of organizing successful WBL in VET. In every region 30 entrepreneurs answered questions regarding their companies, employees and their skills needs, cooperation with educational sector. In the view of WBL, VET and HVET we find results interesting as one observation of possibilities for work based learning, training institutions involvement in skills development of employees and involvement of stakeholders such are ministries, public employment services, trade unions etc. As adult learning in the workplace is covered by different policy fields, a certain degree of coordination is needed for effective implementation: institutions – companies – providers. Once again it was shown that "a national governance and regulatory framework involving all relevant actors is perceived as a necessary precondition to effectively implement work-based learning opportunities. Nevertheless fostering the dialogue between all relevant stakeholders could help overcoming several obstacles highlighted, such as financial and resource constraints, lack of professionals to support the trainees, the challenges related to the effective development of integrated curricula as well as the transparency and recognition issues" (Grazia Violi et al., n. d., p. 34). It is the coordination (or in some cases lack of it) between companies and educational sector that is visible in survey results of the forenamed project.

Results of the survey conducted as a part of the project show that over 80% of companies that participated are SME's. In companies in Serbia most of the employees are with secondary education and/or VET (54%), and mainly from 1–10 years of work experience (48%). In Croatia most of the employees are with HVET (upper secondary education, specialized VET) – 55%, and in 46% of cases they have 10–20 years of work experience, while in Slovenia most of employees in companies that participated in survey, have secondary education and/or VET (38%) and they have 10–20 years of work experience mostly (37%). Most of the companies in the survey do not have specific organizational units that are involved in human resources (Serbia 79%, Croatia 89%, Slovenia 82%), they do not have specific HR development plans mostly (Serbia 62%, Croatia 69%, Slovenia 86%), nor do they do specific training needs surveys (Serbia 59%, Croatia 56%, Slovenia 75%). Such results are understandable since participants in the survey are mainly SME's and entrepreneurs (Qualitative comparative analysis of Master 5, 2018).

Regardless the fact that there are no specific organizational units for human resources or no training needs surveys, all companies expressed their needs for human resources development. To ensure the quality of WBL increasing learners' engagement in/for workplaces, enterprises' engagement with learners, or individual employers' engagement is important, so such reflection is understandable. Companies that participated in project survey mainly lack employees with specific competencies for work and as main reasons why workers with required competencies cannot be found on the labour markets, entrepreneurs state (Qualitative comparative analysis of Master 5, 2018):

- Underdevelopment of industry sector of enterprise, workers leave market and work abroad, lack of possibilities for practice and experience, education system that doesn't teach young workers to work, deficiency of qualifications.
- No knowledge that companies need, no educated labor force and interest for profession, decreased number of available qualified workers, obsolete school programs, not enough practice, no learning motivation, workers not interested to work, young people that come from schools are not ready for labor market.
- Deficiency of practice for non monitored work in production, no interest in industry sector, lack of workers in labour market and VET programs in education system, workers not interested to work.

Competencies that are assessed as most important are categorized into 5 groups: theoretical knowledge, practical competencies, licences, motivation for further learning and improvement in the field and innovations. In all countries, practical competencies and motivation for further learning and improvement in the field are assessed as the most important. In Serbia most of the companies that participated in survey did not cooperate with educational institutions as a way to suit needs for competent workforce (54%), whilst in Croatia and Slovenia cooperation is much higher (74% in Croatia and 71% in Slovenia). In all three countries cooperation was mainly through engagement of companies in conducting professional practice (Serbia 55%, Croatia 83%, and Slovenia 63%). Main obstacles for more efficient cooperation with educational institutions are estimated in lack of quality candidates that come from education system (motivation to work, lack of theoretical knowledge etc.). It is possible that the reason is what is estimated as a second obstacle – compatibility of education programs and plans, curriculum, with companies business needs. Not being able to influence on curriculum and content of professional practice is third obstacle (Qualitative comparative analysis of Master 5, 2018).

Entrepreneurs from all three countries suggest similar activities that could contribute to improvement of efficiency in cooperation with education sector:

- More and longer professional practices, improve cooperation between business and education sectors, development of education profiles that business need, constant training/education of workers, harmonization of theoretical and practical education (20% of theory and 80% of practice), more frequent conversing with employers about their needs for workers, increasing the offer of education sector for cooperation with educational institutions (Serbia)
- Provide incentives for retraining, provide revisions of curriculums, more impact and longer professional practices, modernization of theoretical and practical work with students and modernization of curriculums, expert gatherings with open discussions, the presence of masters in practice, student scholarship, more practice hours (Croatia)
- Co-financing by the state, more practice and practical training, adapting the program to the demands of the profession and the demands of businessmen, training mentors, theoretical and practical training of personnel, harmonizing the needs of businesses and educational institutions, better cooperation between business and education sectors (Slovenia) (Qualitative comparative analysis of Master 5, 2018).

Suggestions made for work based learning improvement (in cooperation with educational sector) and benefiting from, arouse from experiences and day-to-day operation of entrepreneurs that participated in survey and who emphasize importance of workplaces in which employees constantly learn new skills and new ways of doing things tend to be more productive and more profitable. We have to mention that "the individual's prospects on the labour market as well as on other markets are determined by the amount of capital that individual holds. Investment in education represents postponed consumption; it is an investment with reliable revenue, which forms the basis of the competitive ability of individuals as well as entire countries" (Kopecký, 2011, p. 253–254). Workers feeling a sense of loyalty are more likely to stay with the same employer; for the company, this means a higher rate of staff retention. Additionally, "in economies adult learning in the workplace helps employees adapt to new processes or machinery, reduces breakdown rates (of machinery), reduce incidents at work, speeds up the induction of newly hired personnel, facilitates direct assessments of the training's impact on functioning of the enterprise and allows for combining sustained production with the promotion of training and professional development of employees" (Qualitative comparative analysis of Master 5, 2018, p. 28). They are key resources and main capital in every economy, but it must be noted that they are their own key resource and main capital.

This research on needs for specific occupations in all three countries where Project was conducted, lead to development of program for education of auto mechanic (master craftsman, level 5). This program is non formal education. Total duration is 1800 hours and consists of five modules: training "one-on-one", law, entrepreneurship, materials, auto mechanics and work based learning. The aim of the master school is to specialize the experts who will have competences for independent management of craft / entrepreneurial shop, shop management / enterprise, taking over tasks in the field of engineering, management and development of human resources, implementation of practice (dual education and training of future masters) and independent implementation of business competencies and adapting them to new requirements in those areas. Quality management is the basis for organization in modern operational procedures. In the plant, they determine and optimize workflows, distribute work assignments to professional staff, lead employees, coordinate work and are responsible for the readiness of the plant for work and the rational use of work equipment, such as machines, appliances and materials. When performing all these works, they assume control and guidance functions.

When making bids and executing orders, they also calculate commercial and technical calculations. As a contact person for clients, they ensure timely and professional execution of tasks and their invoicing. In addition, they carry out professional tasks, which require special knowledge and years of experience, and in smaller plants, mostly all professional tasks.

After having mastered the program of specialist or master craftsman training, adults take the specialist or master exam. The Master exam tests occupation-specific skills and general education, as well as law. Upon completion of the master craftsman school and passing the master craftsman exam, the student acquires a master craftsman degree, which in the European Union and the Republic of Serbia can prove that he/she has all the competencies for independent professional work, running a business or opening his own entrepreneurial shop.

The entire project led to multilateral sector cooperation and to create mutually recognizable qualifications. Future activities are directed towards the development of compatible training programs for non-formal adult education in those occupations that are considered most needed.

Instead of a conclusion

The development of innovative solutions supporting the modernization of VET systems significantly contributed to the integration of non-formal and Work-based Learning in traditional qualification pathways, to the development of models supporting the transparency of competences acquired within non-formal learning contexts. "VET should include a strong work-based dimension, whenever possible coupled with an international experience" (A New Skills Agenda for Europe, 2016, p. 195). "To ensure the best match of skills, people should acquire a combination of transversal (i.e. communication, citizenship, community etc) skills and specific skills needed for a job and then develop their skills further throughout life. This also requires employers to better use the skills and talents of their employees and to stimulate people's development. The overall aim is to make work-based learning more effective so that it results in a win-win situation for both learners and for the enterprises" (Finnegan, 2016, p. 56).

Understanding the dynamics of the costs and benefits of work base learning and ensuring that those are reflected in the design of various schemes is essential to ensure that firms provide high-quality WBL and trainees perceive learning as an attractive option. "This calls for a rebalancing of the various sectors of education and training in order to make sure that sufficient resources, both public and private, are allocated to empowering that is taking place beyond initial education and training, to support the multiple transitions in the labour market that people will be facing (Promoting adult learning in the workplace, 2018, p. 15). Adult education therefore must be aimed on empowering adult learners through different educational contexts; work based one of them.

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DRAWBACKS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF REFLECTION-CENTERED CONCEPTS FOR THE FURTHER EDUCATION OF TEACHING PROFESSIONALS[1]

Summary

This paper introduces the results of an evaluative study of a further education offer for teachers on the issue of "Professional behavior in dealing with heterogeneous learning groups – analyze, promote, and continue to develop your own teaching behavior". The further training measure was developed as part of the "Further Education for Teachers" sub-project of the Tübingen School of Education (TüSE) in the adult education/further education department in cooperation with the General Pedagogy faculty with a focus on inclusion, heterogeneity, and diversity. The central question of the accompanying evaluation was the extent to which the selected further training concept, based on a difference theoretical approach, is suitable for encouraging teaching behavior that is sensitive to heterogeneity. To answer this question, written reflective tasks completed by participants and participatory observation of the further education meetings were evaluated by means of qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2015) and the results triangulated. This allowed a range of characteristics of the two central categories, *awareness of one's own practice of observation and action* and *willingness to refine one's own practice of observation and action*, to be developed. Therefore, this article relates and examines characteristics of a sensitive handling with heterogeneous learning groups.

Keywords: teacher professionalization, further education for teachers, (self-)reflection, heterogeneity and inclusion, professionalization based on a difference theoretical approach

1 A shorter version of this articleis to be published in German (Baust & Pachner [submitted]).

Introduction

In the difference theoretical approach, professional behavior, including teaching behavior, is characterized by the ability to deal with conflicting perspectives and requirements for action in a manner that is constructive and appropriate to the situation (Nittel, 2000; Pachner, 2018; Schön, 1987). The term "difference theoretical" refers to these different – if not contradictory – requirements e.g. acting based on a professional knowledge base AND according to the requirements of the individual educational situation (Maier-Gutheil & Hof, 2011). The appropriate handlings depend upon a reflective and self-reflective analysis of these conflicting perspectives and requirements, i.e. the so-called antinomies. Such reflection can be encouraged by analysis of case studies from actual practice, including practice in schools (Helsper, 2016; Müller, 1998; Nittel, 2000; Pachner, 2013). Reflection-centered and case-study-based learning environments in which experiences from practical teaching situations can be reflected upon jointly with colleagues and instructors are especially well-suited to professionalization courses that parallel teaching employment (Hof, 2007). So far, however, we know too little about what exactly happens within the framework of these further training measures and how interaction and learning processes within the teacher-learner constellation should proceed in order to support professional development for participating teachers (Baust & Pachner, 2020).

To address this question, a further training series with the title "Professional behavior in dealing with heterogeneous learning groups – analyze, promote, and continue to develop your own teaching behavior" was implemented as part of the Tübingen School of Education's[2] "Further Education for Teachers" subproject (Baust & Pachner, 2020). The further training series was developed in cooperation with the General Pedagogy faculty with a focus on inclusion, heterogeneity, and diversity. Participant learning processes were traced as part of a supporting evaluation study of the training measure, which was implemented in two rounds. The goal of this article is to determine the extent to which the reflection-centered further training concept, which is well-founded in adult education theory, contributes to promoting sensitizing participating teachers and developing their observation and behavioral practice with respect to heterogeneity. The article is organized as follows: Section 2 deals withthe theoretical and conceptual foundations of the reflection-oriented, case-study-based further training measure. Section 3 presents the methodological design of the evaluation study, which triangulates a content analysis of the participatory observation protocols

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and the so-called reflection blogs. Section 4 relates to the study's results, and Section 5 interprets them. The article concludes with a discussion of the results and an overview of possible subsequent questions (Section 6).

Theoretical foundations

Reflection-oriented learning environments

Pedagogical professionalism, adult and otherwise, is "not a condition that can be reached or mastered, but an ephemeral professional performance that must be re-achieved in each new situation" (Nittel, 2000, p. 85). Professionalization therefore presupposes a transformation process that occurs in tandem with the exercise of the teaching profession and is focused on developing a reflective (including self-reflective), science-based attitude (Helsper, 2016; Mezirow, 1997; Pachner, 2018; Schön, 1983). The development of such an attitude can be encouraged by confronting the practitioner with cases from practical experience in classin such a manner that reflection and self-reflection play a central role (cf. Helsper, 2016; Pachner, 2018; Schön, 1983). Here, reflection and self-reflection are understood to be results-oriented activities; that is, they make up a conscious process "in which a person thinks through and explains his or her ideas or actions in a manner that relates to his or her real and ideal concept of self. Self-reflection is results-oriented when the person develops conclusions for future action or self-reflection" (Greif, 2008, p. 40). In the course of case-based learning, concrete events or situations in which teaching professionals have experienced such things as disruptions of their activities are the subject of the reflective confrontation. The goal is to develop a deepened understanding of the problems in the activity arising from the specific situation (that is, the understanding of the case) in order to restore the ability to act and, at the same time, provide insights into examples of the general structures of teaching activity (Helsper, 2016; Müller, 1998). In exchanging ideas with other teaching professionals, they gain new perspectives on their own teaching methods, question their own observations and behavior, and add to them as necessary (Siebert, 2012). If learning transfer is to be achieved, the observation and behavior alternatives gained in the exchange of ideas must be applied and tested in practice (Ho, Watkins, & Kelly, 2001; Lipowsky, 2010).

Reflection, self-reflection, and case work are central elements of *reflection-centered learning environments* (Hof, 2007) that therefore prove especially suited to promoting professional behaviour in dealing with challenges like heterogenous learning groups. As part of these learning environments, the participating teaching professionals are addressed as experts who have a great deal of experience and many behavioral options, e.g. in dealing with heterogeneous learning groups (Hof, 2007). Instructors function as moderators and counselors who arrange the teaching and learning processes. They also support participants as they assume an analytical perspective towards their own teaching behavior and in developing alternative observation and behavioral approaches (Hof, 2007; Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018; Baust & Pachner, 2020).

Mastering the challenge of heterogeneous learning groups

The necessity of dealing with heterogeneous learning groups presents teaching professionals with various diverging challenges that must be met professionally. They should give their learners the chance to develop according to their individual needs, but at the same time it is often necessary for everyone in the group to achieve a specified (standardized) educational goal. In order to be able to communicate and act during educational events and in the classroom, teachers must make distinctions, assign them pedagogical relevance, and use them for such things as classifying performance (Emmerich & Hormel, 2013; Idel, Rabenstein & Ricken, 2017). However, heterogeneity can be understood as a phenomenon that is not present until it is generated by institutional and professional distinction practices in situations involving pedagogical action (Emmerich & Hormel, 2013). Successful professional behavior in dealing with heterogeneous learning groups is therefore characterized to a particularly great degree by teachers who are *aware* of their own observation and behavioral practices and *willing* to refine them by means of critical confrontation with them in reflection (Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018; Baust & Pachner, 2020). This refinement is aimed at continuously reflecting on practices of distinction and permanently relinquishing distinctions that are categorizing (Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018; Idel et al, 2017).

A reflection-centered concept for the further education of teachers

Therefore, the goals of the training measure, that will be presented in this section, are to support participants as they become aware of their own implicit observation and behavioral practice in dealing with heterogeneity, question that practice, and develop alternatives to it (Baust & Pachner, 2020; Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018). The further teacher training "Professional behavior in dealing with heterogeneous learning groups – analyze, promote, and continue to develop your own teaching behavior" was developed in an interdisciplinary team of adult education and general pedagogy specialists with a focus on inclusion, heterogeneity, and diversity (Baust & Pachner, 2020; Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018). It is addressed to teachers at the secondary level (in Germany, this means from the fifth grade on) and encompasses three classroom sessions and two supervised online application stages.

Learning unit/topic	**LU 1**			**LU 2**			**LU 3**	
Alternating classroom and supervised online stages	C 1	O 1		C 2	O 2		C 3	
Connection of stages via reflection blogs (RBs 1-5)			RB2		RB3	RB4		RB5

Reflection blogs

1. The participants describe situations ("cases") from their own classroom instruction (RB2)
2. Based on these cases, they analyze their own observation practice and associated actions (RB2)
3. The participants determine alternative observation and behavioral approaches (RB3)
4. These alternatives are tried out in the application stage (O2) and then reflected upon based on selected cases (RB4)
5. The participants reflect on their learning process using the reflection blogs (RB5)

Figure 1. Course of the training measure (for case-based learning, see also Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018)

In the first classroom session, participants are introduced to the theoretical aspects of heterogeneity. Heterogeneity experts explain the extent to which teachers themselves construct heterogeneity and make it relevant with their observation and behavior (Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018; Baust & Pachner, 2020). The participants then try assuming an analyzing perspective with the help of external cases, focusing on the observation and behavior practiced by the teachers in those cases (C1). Reflection on the participants' own observation and behavioral practice is to be encouraged with so-called reflection blogs (RBs) in which the participants describe cases from their own classroom experience and analyze them on the basis of specified reflection questions (O1). As part of case-based learning in the second classroom session (C2), these cases are introduced for discussion and jointly analyzed. This exchange gives participants the opportunity to become familiar with new perspectives on practical classroom instruction and with alternative patterns of observation and action. Following the discussion, participants then prepare alternative observation and/or behavioral approaches to their classroom instruction (RB3). These approaches are tried out in the second application stage (O2) and reflected upon by means of another situation description (RB4). The third classroom session involves collegial advice based on participant cases in which alternative observation and behavioral approaches were applied (C3). The subsequent Reflection Blog (RB5) allows participants to reflect on their development throughout the entire training measure (Baust & Pachner, 2020; Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018).

The design of the evaluation study

The triangulative approach

In order to examine a research question from various perspectives, various qualitative data has to be triangulated (Flick, 2009). The present study pursued the goal of tracing the participants' learning processes using the following research question: To what extent can the reflection-centered further training concept contribute to promoting sensitization and refining teachers' observation and behavioral practice with respect to heterogeneity? Therefore, the triangulated data includes protocols of participatory observation (PO 1–3) of the classroom meetings and learners' reflection blogs (RB 2–5). While the participatory observationis intended to provide direct insight into the processes occurring within the further training measure and the exchange of ideas that takes place there, the reflection blogs capture the participants' self-reflection (including initiation of practice transfer) (Baust & Pachner, 2020).

Samples and material selection

Ten out of 34 teachers that participated in two rounds of the further training measure, were taken as the sample because they were particularly active in all class meetings and application stages, which is an important condition of conscious confrontation with one's own observation and behavioral practice (Ho et al, 2001; Lipowsky, 2010). For these ten teachers (five men, five women, three teaching at vocational schools, five at college-prep secondary schools, five at white-collar-prep secondary schools, and one special vocational school), there are data in both the protocols of the participatory observation and the individual reflection blogs.

Making learning processes visible: The deductive and inductive category formation

To make the teacher's development process during the course of the training measure visible, the protocols of the participatory observation and reflection blogs were assessed using qualitative content analysis (Mayring, 2015). The first step in this process was to assess whether the two primary categories deduced from the theory, *awareness of one's own practice of observation and action* and *willingness to refine one's own practice of observation and action* were present. But since not only the simple existence or development of awareness and willingness during the course of the training measure was of interest, but also what might be entailed in these two constructs, the second step was to work out the characteristics of these two categories using inductive content analysis (Mayring, 2015). This was to show what exactly the individual participants were conscious of, or became conscious of in the course of the training measure, with respect to their own observation and behavioral practice, and how this awareness may have differentiated over the course of the learning period. There was a similar interest in insights into participant willingness to refine their own practice of observation and action. An important question here was what changes in their own observation and behavioral practice the participants were trying to achieve, which of them they implemented and tried out, and what conclusions they drew from these changes for their future teaching practice.

Participant learning processes over the course of the training measure

Participant awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice

To capture the participants' *awareness of their own practice of observation and action*, an analysis was made of the sections in the material in which the participants address their own observation and/or behavioral practice orally or in writing. For instance, one participant made the following entry in Reflection Blog 2 in response to being asked what differences he/she had made among students in the situation described:

> I remembered who normally participates in class in what way – who disrupts/does not disrupt class, who learns quickly/slowly – and then related that information to today (Participant 4, RB2, line 14).

Discussion also plays a decisive role in participants reflecting their own observation and behavioral practice. For instance, alternative observation and behavioral approaches mentioned during classroom discussion were seized on or direct reference to such discussions was made within the reflection tasks:

> The classroom discussions made me aware of viewpoints held by the other participants that I had not previously seen (Participant 1, RB5, line 43).

All participants who actively participated in the two training measure rounds exhibited an awareness of their own practice of observation and action. In order to determine what exactly individual participants became aware of with respect to their observation and behavioral practice over the course of the training measure, the material was analyzed for possible characteristics in this category.

Characteristics of participant awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice

Inductive content analysis was used to identify the following characteristics of *participant awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice*:

Reflection on one's own teaching behavior (RB2)

Participant awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice
- Knows that he/she differentiates (n=6)
- Is aware of his/her own categories of differentiation (n=8)
- Is aware of an alternative observation approach (n=2)
- Is aware of an alternative behavior (n=4)
- Is aware of the consequences of his or her observation and behavioral practice (n=6)

Development of alternatives (RB3)

Participant willingness to refine their own observation and behavioral practice
- Attributions are to be reassessed (n=5)
- Student perspectives are to be considered (n=3)
- Alternative actions are to be developed (n=9)
- Alternative observation approaches are to be developed (n=2)
- Feedback from colleagues is to be sought (n=1)
- Differentiation practice is to be reconstructed (n=1)

Reflection on alternative teaching practices (RB4)

Participant awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice
- Is aware of his/her own categories of differentiation (n=9)
- Is aware of an alternative observation approach (n=6)
- Is aware of an alternative behavior (n=10)
- Is aware of the consequences of his or her observation and behavioral practice (n=9)
- Is aware that differentiation involves valuation (n=1)
- Is aware of the students' perspectives (n=3)

Reflection on the learning process (RB5)

Participant awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice
- Knows that he/she differentiates (n=7)
- Is aware of his/her own categories of differentiation (n=9)
- Is aware of an alternative observation approach (n=9)
- Is aware of an alternative behavior (n=10)
- Is aware of the consequences of his or her observation and behavioral practice (n=9)
- Is aware that differentiation involves valuation (n=2)
- Is aware of the students' perspectives (n=4)

Participant willingness to refine their own observation and behavioral practice
- Attributions are to be abandoned (n=5)
- Alternative behaviors are to be implemented (n=10)
- Observation and behavioral practice are to be continuously reflected upon and refined (n=9)

Figure 2. Results of the qualitative content analysis (n=10) (own representation)

The characteristic "Is aware that he/she differentiates" describes teachers who know that they themselves construct differences among students:

> At first, I thought that I was not practicing differentiation, but, upon hearing the [audio] recording, I noticed that I was (Participant 2, PO1, line 43).

Some of the participants could name one or more differentiating categories upon which their observation and action was based:

> Because the spectrum of knowledge varies widely, it is often difficult to serve all students well. I have realized that I tend to focus more on the "loud" students (Participant 20, RB2, line 38).

It becomes clear that some participants are conscious of the consequences arising from their observation and behavioral practice (for instance, that differentiation practice favors students who are perceived to need an especially large amount of help – cf. Participant 13, RB2). Moreover, awareness of alternative observation and/or behavioral approaches can be discerned:

> Of course, there was no need to distinguish between slow and fast. I could have assigned two task types with different levels of difficulty. (Participant 14, RB2, line 20).

As the training measure proceeds, some participants notice that their own practice of differentiation involves evaluative attributions (differentiation between "good" and "poor" students, for instance). Some participants were also able to empathize with the students and understand the reasons for those students' behavior (cf. Participant 13, Po2, line 85).

What can be observed with respect to the development of these characteristics over the course of the training measure is that the characteristics mentioned for *awareness of one's own practice of observation and action* are not all evident as early as Reflection Blog 2; some do not appear until RB4 or RB5. At the same time, the number of participants who exhibit such characteristics rises over the course of the training measure (see the frequencies listed in Figure 2).

Participant willingness to refine their own observation and behavioral approaches

Willingness to refine one's own practice of observation and action is evident when, in the course of the training measure, participants clearly show that they intend to evaluate or change their own observation and behavior in the future. As an example, this willingness can be detected during planning of observation and behavioral alternatives in Reflection Blog 3:

> In the more unruly classes, I intend to encourage those that I have categorized as "reserved" to become active in class (Participant 2, RB3, line 31).

This willingness to develop further also becomes evident during reflection on the participant's own learning development in Reflection Blog 5. That is where participants summarize what they have changed during the course of the training measure and/or wish to practice in the future:

> I am spending much more time revisiting the attributions I have made to students. I am also trying to get away from the idea that there is a single right answer. Overall, I was greatly influenced by the term "behavioral option" (Participant 14, RB5, line 52).

All participants in the training measure exhibit *willingness to refine their own practice of observation and action.* This category is most noticeable in the reflection blogs, although reference there is often made to classroom discussions. For instance, observation and behavioral alternatives discussed in the previous classroom session are incorporated into planning of alternative observation and behavioral approaches (RB3).

Characteristics of willingness to refine one's own practice of observation and action

Inductive content analysis allows moving beyond the mere existence of the *willingness* category to identify and describe in the form of specific variations, and in a more differentiated manner, the ways in which the participants refine or intend to refine their own observation and behavioral practice. That is why Figure 2 shows, in addition to thecharacteristics of *participant awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice,* the characteristics of *willingness to develop further.* In the course of planning alternative observation and behavioral approaches (RB3), all participants specifically express what they want to do differently in the second application stage. Some, for instance, intend to evaluate the attributions they make to students:

> I want to be careful of the "drawers" in my mind. Do I really know my students as well as I think I do? Or do they behave differently when I treat them or challenge them differently? (Participant 2, RB3, line 29).

Others want to take their students' points of view in order to understand their behavior better. Two other characteristics are participants´endeavors to observe differently and / or to act differently.

Individual participants also indicated that they like to seek feedback from colleagues or intend to reconstruct their own practice of differentiation (cf. Participant 20, RB3, line 54 and PO2, line 489). As part of reflecting on their own learning development in RB5, the participants provide a summary description of what they have learned in the training measure and would intend to apply in their future classroom practice. All participants identify specific action alternatives. Some also express an intention to abandon their previous attributions, since those attributions are inaccurate or unhelpful.

> I will try to be more unbiased and impartial in approaching each lesson and to refrain from developing a preconceived idea of each student. I have learned that even some disruptions arise from the fact that I have placed too much emphasis on supporting some students and have neglected others (cf. Participant 13, RB5, line 56).

A central theme for many participants is also the reflective approach to their own observation and behavioral practice:

> I will try to keep viewing them "neutrally": "Let's see how things are going today". I can't do that all the time, but I can keep going back to it in certain situations. It has helped me become conscious of progress the students have made. I won't always think "This person is a certain way", but instead: "Look, this is how it is today" (Participant 4, RB5, line 49).

Summary interpretation

The participants' learning processes could be traced over the course of the training. All teachers actively participating in the training measure developed a range of characteristics of both *awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice* and *willingness to refine their own practice of observation and action*. Given the fact that, over the course of the training measure, participant *awareness of their observation and behavioral practice* become increasingly differentiated and the number of teachers showing the individual characteristics is growing, it can be concluded that this *awareness* develops during participating in the further training measure. The training also encouraged participant *willingness to refine their own observation and behavioral approaches*. The participants try out and reflect on alternative observation and behavioral approaches in their teaching styles (RB3 and RB4) that they also want to adopt for future classroom instruction (RB5). Participants plan to abandon on attributions – that is, distinctions, which categorize (Emmerich & Goldmann, 2018; Idel et al, 2017) – and to continuously reflect on and refine their own observation and behavioral practice (RB5). This may indicate the development or refinement of a "reflexive habitus" (Helsper, 2016) and thus transformative learning (Mezirow, 1997) as the following statement by one of the teachers shows:

> Once you get a feel for it and become sensitized, it is impossible to return to the state you were in before. You take these new perspectives with you into your classroom. (PO3, line 345).

This should be qualified with the observation that this remark was made with respect to the teacher's intentions for designing future classroom instruction. However, there was no assessment or follow-up questions within the study to establish whether the observation and behavioral practice changed in the long-term (Baust & Pachner, 2019).

Given the results, it is reasonable to conclude that the reflection-oriented further training concept is able to stimulate and support sensitization and refinement of the participants' own observation and behavioral practice and thus teaching styles that are sensitive to heterogeneity (Baust & Pachner, 2019). The results clearly show the extent to which participants develop and refine their approaches during the individual training measure stages. The targeted suggestions for practical reflection, including self-reflection (Greif, 2008; Pachner, 2013, 2014; Schön, 1983), the case-based learning (Müller, 1998; Helsper, 2016), the discussions designed to intertwine and expand perspectives (Siebert, 2007), and the application stages (Ho et al, 2001; Lipowsky, 2010) each fulfill different functions for participant learning development: The case-based reflection tasks support the participants as they reflect on their own observation and behavior during classroom instruction and in this way develop an awareness of them. The case-based discussions provide practical feedback on individual observation and behavioral practices and familiarize participants with new alternative observation and behavioral approaches. The application stages are necessary to put alternative observation and behavioral approaches into practice, try them out, and critically reflect on them in application. On the other hand, there were some participantswho were not ready to participate actively in the entire training series. This could be named as a drawback of this relatively work-intensive further training series.

Drawbacks, opportunities and further perspectives

Earlier empirical studies showed, that reflection "plays an important role in adult´s learning" and enables "learners to question their actions, values and assumptions" (Chang, 2019, p. 104; Eyler, Giles, & Schmiede, 1996). In addition, this evaluation study provided initial insights into the successful learning process within a reflection-centered learning environment. The presented scientifically-based, reflection-oriented further training concept proved fundamentally suited to develop the teachers awareness of their own observation and behavioral practice in dealing with heterogeneous learning groups and their willingness to refine the corresponding elements of their teaching styles (Baust & Pachner, 2020). Therefore, the study not only provides evidence of the development of the teacher's perceptions, but also of the way in which they are transformed into changed behavior. This is considered as a key research gap so far (Guthrie & Jones, 2012). The ways in which the individual elements of the training measure support the participants were also demonstrated. However, one precondition for its success is active participation in this relatively work-intensive further training series, which requires of participants great dedication and willingness to engage with this concept (Baust & Pachner, 2019).This finding goes hand in hand with other studies on reflexive learning (Brendel, 2018; Eyler et al, 1996; Ho et al, 2001; Lipowsky, 2010).This could be a major drawback of reflection-centered learning environments. The questions remain open, to which extent less active participants benefited from the training measure, whether and how such participants could fundamentally be motivated to participate more actively, and what impeded their participation. In addition to the data already available, a subsequent survey of these less active participants could be informative as to their motivational orientation for example.

The development of the spectrum of characteristics of awareness of one's own practice of observation and action and willingness to refine them suggests the conclusion that an educational and transformation process (Baust & Pachner, 2020; Mezirow, 1997) which, "if it succeeds, one will have become a different person thereafter" (Helsper, 2016, p. 104) could be encouraged. The next step would be to evaluate the extent to which the awareness of one's own practice of observation and action and willingness to refine them are noticeable in the teacher's classroom instruction (including in the long term). To this end, an interview study, ideally combined with participant observation in their school classes could be added.

The special achievement of this study is the identification and development of initial characteristics of the two central elements of teaching practice that is sensitive to heterogeneity: *awareness of one's own practice of observationand action* and *willingness to refine one's own practice of observation and action.* It also highlighted the potential of reflection-oriented learning environments. In the future, it will be important to develop and offer diverse science-based professionalization measures that are grounded in adult education and that encourage (self-) reflection in order to provide a response to the current challenges of professional pedagogical practice.

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CONCEPT OF DYNAMIC CAREERS FROM STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVES – I WILL TRY IT BY MYSELF, BUT DON'T LEAVE ME ALONE

Abstract

The concept of dynamic career is extremely present in the field of theoretical and scientific debates related to the career development of adults. These careers, seen as a consequence of the society in which we live, are characterized by numerous specificities, and their consequences range from a continuously positive to highly negative ones. While our career development today is increasingly delivering more complex tasks, which are often only one part of complex tasks that we face on a daily basis, paradoxically, in career guidance policies, state in which individuals should independently deal with these tasks is more and more legitimized. This paves the way to the lack of programs, which will help individuals in solving issues related to their career development. One such program and its participants, were part of the research, which was conducted with the aim to examine how students of the University of Belgrade determine their careers, as well as what kind of help they expect from courses designed to support their career development. The research included 204 students of the final years of Bachelor studies at the University of Belgrade who participanted in the Belgrade University Center for Students' Career Development in the course entitled Career Management Skills. The research results show that students perceive a career in extremely different ways, from something that can almost be equated with life, something that represents a significant aspect of life, an important part of professional identity; through understanding their careers in relation to the tasks they are assigned to, and understanding their careers only as an instrument for achieving something related to some other aspect of their life. When it comes to support they need, research results show that students need help to better connect with the world of work, but, more importantly, they need a great help in dealing with issues concerning deeper understanding of themselves in today's world of work, in creating a real image of themselves, in creating a relationship with their own career. In that sense, it is noticed

that students should not be left alone in the pursuit of their careers, but more than that, programs of support must only be part of continuous and systematic assistance to individuals. This raises important issues of responsibility, where "fighting alone" is only possible on paper, but more importantly, where "fight alone" is maybe a strong call for all of us to struggle together.

Keywords: dynamic careers, career development, students, career guidance and counseling.

Introduction

We live in the time in which the concept of career is understood in a quite different way than some decades ago and today we are living dynamic careers on a much larger scale. According to the authors Pejatović and Mihajlović, "by looking at perceptions of a career in an international context, it seems to us that they have gone from equalising a career with one job to equalising a career with (almost the whole) life" (Pejatović & Mihajlović, 2017, p. 71). Having in mind that notions of career are set so broad, at the same time they are being defined by many subjective and objective features.

If we try to characterize all broad notions of career, we could find some common crossing spot – there is a thin line between professional and other aspects of our lives, careers are characterized by different jobs, activities, periods which are delivering us different professional tasks and which needs to be managed. This statement highlights the question of support of career development. If career tasks are becoming more complex, it is logical to expect that design and provision of career support, as well as nature and type of support should be much more specified and comprehensive. On the other side, we can withess that resolving of career development task is more and more shifting towards individuals. This raises a question of discovering a "real image" and a realistic domain of career support.

It would be hard to find a target group, which is not feeling consequences of dynamic career. We have decided to specify these questions to the group of young adults – students. There are several reasons for this decision, but in general, we consider that raised questions are a bit more challenging when talking about this group. Increased challenges when considering this group can be noticed in:

a) The young adults are a group characterized by an extremely complex phase of career development, most often accompanied with numerous career tasks (details in: Osipow, 1973; Guzina, 1986; Oljača & Kosanović, 1987; Herr & Cramer, 1992; McDaniels & Gysbers, 1992; Zunker, 2012; Athanasou, & Van Esbroeck, 2008; Patton & McMahon, 2006) and young adults are in the hard phase of building their career identity and understanding of their career. At the same time, they are also located between the education and the world of work, and most often the world of work is just being anticipated.

b) The interest for this group of young adults arises also from the complexity in terms of their position on a labor marker and high hopes set on them. Some thoughts, which are illustrating this group and their position, can go under "youth unemployment" "high risk of unemployment or of precarious job contracts" (Carneiro et al. 2015, p. 1), "skill gap which remains an important topic..." (Carneiro et al. 2015, p. 2) and a group which stands out "in international and national documents, then according to statistical indicators, based on research, as well as in the studies of different authors ". (Pejatović & Mihajlović, 2019, p. 10). Also, data obtained from Serbia, from different projects and researches targeting this group (CONGRAD, 2014, Marjanović, 2016) are good ilustrators of how fragile is this position.

c) Finally, our practical experience derived from working with this group through this course and through Multiphase model of career support for students (Pejatović et al. 2014), gave us a precious insight in setting a scene for our research. The fact that we have conducted our empirical research on a group of participants of Career Management Skills course, (which is an elective course), gave us the opportunity to obtain data from those who have already, by making a decision to participate in the course, showed (what is often expected from all of us today), a proactive attitude and an active role in one's own career development.

Our intention was to find out from them how they understand a career and what type of support they expect from courses that are designed to support their career development. However, in order to answer this question, it is necessary to clarify what we mean by career support, but also to present in more details an example of a course that reflects that support – at the same time the course whose participants formed a sample of this research.

Career support for students

Bearing in mind already mentioned complexities of careers and career development, today we are witnessing different types of career support, which are most often placed under the term career guidance and counseling. This wide syntagm covers a range of activities, and its often hard to translate it to a "research language", so we have decided to consider several elements which will help us specify it for our research.

As authors Pejatović and Mihajlović (2019) are noticing a "process of career guidance and counseling is being more and more designed as a context of learning". As they have stated, this is being noticeable in the following directions:

"a) Diversification of career guidance and counseling activities, starting from information, through counseling, to clear separation of education and educational programs.
b) An increasing number of programs for development of career management competency, which should be a result of career guidance and counseling activities.
c) Increasing efforts aimed at specifying educational programs for the acquisition of career management skills, in line with the needs of extremely heterogeneous groups of beneficiaries of career guidance and counseling programs" (Pejatović & Mihajlović, 2019, p. 13). Having in mind this, as well as purpose of our research, we have decided to narrow the notion of career support to one of its component, to the educational one.

Another important element, which specifies career support, is that career support for students is often being placed under the scope of higher education. Some characteristics of this are well explained by Boffo & Gioli (2016), which are stating "higner education plays a role in preparing the professional identity and the inclination of students to be active in the search for a job. Finding work – especially work that is coherent with the study – is not only an urgency that students feel at the end of the academic pathway but has to be cultivated over time. Universities have to prepare students to the transition before they leave..." (Boffo & Gioli, 2016, p. 62). The program which we have choosen is an University program, open for all students, students of all faculties of the University of Belgrade and it prepares students, in a well known settings, to manage their further professional challenges.

Finally, another reason for operationalizing career support in this way, through a representation of one course, is that we see that this course (by its different ellements) can respond to mayority of tasks of career guidance for this group. As stated, "however, generally speaking, the most common tasks of career guidance and counseling related to this group are: career information, employability skills development, prevention of prolonged waiting for the first job, preparation for the world of work, increase in uptake of user numbers..." (Pejatović & Mihajlović, 2016, p. 77). For this research, we have considered career support for students through the course *Career management skill*, which is being realized at the University of Belgrade.

The goal of the course *Career management skills* is enabling students for career management, for their inclusion in the labor market, and supporting students in taking responsibilities and an active role in their future career development.

The course is elective and it is made for students of final years of BA, MA and PhD studies.

Upon successful completion of the Career Management Skills course, students will be able to:

- Use different sources of information on the contemporary labor market
- Research and identify their interests, needs, knowledge, skills and abilities and relate them to the demands of the modern labor market
- Decide on their careers, set goals and create a career plan
- Apply different job search methods and strategies
- Prepare an effective job application – CV, cover letter and select the form and content that is relevant to the competition
- Successfully present themselves to the employer for a job or internship interview[1]

By analyzing this course, it can be noticed that its outcomes are focused on a comprehensive support to students. Thus, we see a group of outcomes that is focused on continuous research of the labor market, but also on the acquisition of knowledge and skills that should support students throughout the various stages of their career development. Finally, this course is, partially, aimed at enhancing knowledge and skills about one's own characteristics.

Research methodology and research results

The aim of this research was to examine how students of final years of BA studies, participants of the Career Management Skills (CMS) course perceive a career, as well as what kind of support they expect from courses designed to support their career development. The research included 204 students of the final year of BA studies from different faculties of the University of Belgrade (participants of the course Career Management Skills). Research data were collected at the beginning of every new course, on several occasions between year 2017, 2018 and 2019. Research instrument contained open-ended questions which let our participants explain their notion of career and their expectations regarding career support they need. We have asked students to explain what career means to them, how they would define it. This question was important for us, having in mind how today it is becoming more and more difficult to explain a career through objective characteristics such as salary, position, prestige, etc. Some of the responces are listed in Table 1. The second question was related to career support they expect.

1 Detailed information about this course can be found at the website of the Centre for Career development of students of the University of Belgrade http://www.razvojkarijere.bg.ac.rs/vuk

Data analysis was conducted using the sequential analysis technique: each of the three co-authors of the paper, based on the initial agreement, conducted a separate, independent analysis whose results were later mutually discussed and additionally adjusted. Key-words indicating a new occurrence that students directly linked to the term *career*, were sequentially separated, that is their clarification was initialized. Thus, expectations related to career support were analysed. In both cases, not rarely have students stated several occurrences (constructs) for which they connect their understanding of career, as well as a number of expectations from organized support for carer development. While conducting the analyses, we had in mind our former research, which was conducted during the year 2016 with 66 students of final years of BA studies, from various faculties (Pejatović & Mihajlović, 2016), in which we have established some categories of answers. This categorization was a valuable tool for this analysis.

During the work on establishing results of separate analysis, some small differences among results were noticed. They were discussed within set theoretical frame of this research, and as a final result, we have established 10 categories of answers. Based on frequencies (f) the following rank-list, with the description of the basic answers characteristics withing the categories, was created.

Career is a success (f=62): Most of our respondents defined career as success or promotion. Thus, as can be seen in the answers of our respondents, career is synonymous with success, and those who are successful, those who are progressing in their jobs, possess career. This understanding is close to the traditional career understandings, where career is most often determined with many objective indicators – position, high financial benefits, selected individuals. The common words in these definitions are success, progression, improvement, progress, achievement, ambition, climbing.

Career is a job (f=33): One part of our respondents defined careers as jobs. This notion was present in some early notions of career. Later, career started being seen as a sequence of different jobs and something more close to the professional path of an individual. Returning to definitions of our respondents, their answers in this cathegory were clear, unambiguous, without additional attributes assigned to careers. All the answers in this category were: career is a job.

Career is a job with certain characteristics (f=32): Unlike the previous category, in which career is defined as a job, unambiguously, without adding any attributes to that job, this category sees career as a job, but as a job that has certain qualities. Most often it is a job that is well paid, or a job that is meaningful to an individual, or one in which the individual can progress. Also, it is a job that brings pleasure, or which makes us happy. In addition, respondents in this group defined careers as a series of different jobs, which is really close to modern notion of careers.

Career – methaforical meaning (f=30*):* One part of our respondents used metaphor to define and explain their notion of careers. A career in this category is most commonly defined as a journey, a trajectory, a path, an interesting journey.

Career is a life or aspect of life (f=29): In this category of answers, career has a quite broad meaning, and it is equal to life or one aspect of life. In this sense, some of the answers we encountered implied that career is life or a significant part of life, but also career is everything that we do. In addition to these answers, there are also answers that a career is only one aspect of life, one that is dedicated to work and that allows an individual some development in the professional domain of life.

Career is a combination of success and failure (f=27): Unlike one of the previous categories of responces, which defines a career as synonymous with success, constant progression, this group of definitions includes those that view career as a constant replacement of success and failure. This definition is closer to the concept of modern careers by which careers are precisely those shifts of different periods – both success and failure, horizontal progression, periods of short or long-term unemployment and different working modalities.

Career is a field of learning and development (f=24): Extremely interesting definitions of careers are placed in this category of response. Career is defined as an extremely important area of learning and development of the individual. Thus, our respondents stated that a career is a space for the development or acquisition of knowledge and skills, but also a field for learning.

Career is a result of... (f=19): In this category of answers, a career is viewed as the result of something, as something that comes after an effort has been put into it, which indicates the activity of a person who wants to pursue a career. Thus, respondents said that career was a result of an effort, result of dedication, engagement, dedication, sacrifice, commitment, and ability.

Career is an identity (f=16): One part of our respondents defined career as an individual's identity, that is, a significant part of an individual's identity. This is a very interesting category because career is perceived as something that determines a person, something that determines him/her for their whole life, and it is a strong part of professional identity and belonging, but also something that represents a person's "identity card".

Career is an instrument for... (f=13): As our respondents indicated in their answers, career is an instrument for accomplishing some important goals and, through careers, some significant aspect of life is being realized. Thus, respondents stated that their career is an instrument for achieving other, more specific, important goals in life.

Table 1.
Examples of responces to a question what career is...

Career is success.
Career is a job.
Career is a job which makes us happy.
Career is a good paid job.
Career is an interesting journey.
Career is an identity.
Career is a professional success.

Analyzing these categories, it can be seen that the respondents' answers were extremely varied; both in terms of how they define careers and in terms of what characteristics they give to a career. Although in most of the responses career equates to success, the other categories are fairly evenly distributed. Thus, the answers range on a continuum, from the fact that career is merely an instrument for something, a less important aspect of life, or that career is merely a job, to those in which career itself is an important goal, an important area of personality realization, an important area of personality development. All these notions are extremely important for the design of educational programs of career support. We think it is crutial to further analyze these answers and investigate what characteristics of our respondents are associated with them. Having in mind the research settings and scope of this work, this analysis will be the subject of some future papers.

Another important part of this research was an examination of what students expect from a program aimed at supporting their career development. In the initial analysis of the answers we have found 6 categories of answers of our respondents:

1) *Gaining technical skills* (f=98)
2) *Making connection with the world of work* (f=86)
3) *Compass for the world of work* (f=40)
4) *Building professional identity* (f=38)
5) *"Me" dimension* (f=50)
6) *Career management skills* (f=26)

Following this categorization, further analysis of the responses revealed that several subcategories could be found within these six categories.

Gaining technical skills

This set of expectations refers to the knowledge and skills required to prepare job application documentation, that is, the knowledge and skills required to write CVs and supporting materials (motivation, cover letter). As we have further observed, the answers within this category can be classified into two groups, and the criterion for this categorization is the quality of job application documentation. Thus, a large number of students in their responses indicated that they needed assistance in acquiring skills to develop a CV, a motivational or cover letter, or a letter of recommendation. Although today there are many ways to acquire these skills, they still express an extremely high need to acquire these skills. When we further analyzie the answers in this category, it is observed that students on the one hand expect to learn to compile, produce CVs, and on the other hand, they expect to learn to produce CVs that have higher qualities than others, that is, to master this skill. In this sense, they often stated that they needed to write a CV that would "set them apart from others" that would present them in the best possible way, which would be of high quality and which will differ them from others.

Making connection with the world of work – handling the transition

The second category of answers to the question what kind of help they expect from this course is placed in the category of making connection with the world of work and labor market. Here, students emphasized that they need help to connect with the world of work, to find themselves in the world of work, that is, to master all ways of active job search, and then to easily overcome the gap between the world of education and the world of work. In addition, the students emphasized that they needed help with informing process, that is, they needed help to acquire information skills about the world of work, about the modern labor market. Namely, they need help not only with how to get information on labor market trends or information related to the labor market, vacancies, but, as they emphasize, they need help with learning on how to inform themselves, how to identify and obtain relevant, accurate information on the labor market.

Compass for the world of work

One interesting category of answers are answers related to finding the place in the world of work, labor market or sometimes within the working organization itself. In this sense, these responses can be described as students' need for support in their first steps within the world of work. Unlike the previous category of answers where students need help in coping with the potential role of the unemployed, this category would address the need for students to cope with the role of the employee. Some of the answers included assistance in communication within the organization, assistance in communication with colleagues and superiors. As typical examples of these responces we have chosen "I want to know how to work in the organization" and "I need help to learn how to communicate with colleagues".

Building of professional identity

Building of professional identity is another response category that we have identified as a significant area of support that students expect. This category of responses does not imply expectations related to the world of work in general, but rather expectations aimed at supporting inclusion in the profession, that is, becoming a member of the professional community of the profession for which they are preparing. It seems to us that the answers of respondents in this category can also be placed in two categories. On the one hand, students need support to become members of that community, or to better connect with the professional community, very often to find a job in the profession. They also pointed out that they would like to network with leading experts in the field. On the other hand, part of the respondents stated that they needed help to connect with the professional community, but to gain knowledge about the profession, about the values and principles of the profession.

This means that support programs should be based on establishing cooperation with professional communities at different stages of program creation. We believe that their involvement is also important at the stage of program creation, especially those related to the labor market, during the actual implementation of the program, but perhaps even after the program is completed. This would make the program more meaningful for users. Examples of answers for this category: "I need support in becoming a member of my professional community"; "I need support in making better connection with the experts in the field"; "I need support in getting knowledge related to the values of my profession".

"Me" dimension

An extremely interesting category of answers regarding what kind of support young adults expect from this course is the "*Me*" *dimension.* The answers that fall into this category far exceed the answers related to presenting oneself for job interview or getting to know the job market, managing career, and the like. As can be seen in the answers that fall into this category, students need help in some more complex aspects of finding themselves, building a realistic picture of themselves, building self-esteem and self-confidence, identifying and discovering their interests, needs, skills and abilities, and recognizing their potential. This finding indicates the importance of incorporating content that is relevant to the "Me" dimension into support programs for young adults. It means that programs should have one broader basis and should support students even in some aspects, which are often being "taken for granted" in this age. In this regard, we believe it is extremely important, through some further research, to examine how programs can respond to these requirements and what educational content is best to incorporate to address this type of need. Typical examples of responces in this category are: "I need to find myself"; "I need to create a realistic image of myself"; "I need help to build self esteem"; "It will give me stronger self respect"; "I want to recognize my interests, needs, skills, abilities"; "I want to recognize my potentials".

Career management skills

The last category of expectations belongs to the category of managing one's career. Students still need help with how to set career goals, how to learn to develop a career plan, and how to further manage their careers. This answer category is perhaps the most complex one because it is not tied to one moment in a students' career, but involves equipping students with the knowledge and skills that students will use throughout their lives. The complexity is being increased by the fact that setting career tracks is not an isolated process. This is very well illustrated by "as people try to establish a career path, it is important for them to understand their skills, interests, values and personal style" (Amundson et al., 2010, p. 70).

It is required from support programs to teach students not only how to build a plan, but how to learn to constantly gather, update and evaluate information about themselves and about the world of work.

Table 2.
An overview of some answers to the question what kind of support you expect from such courses

To get instructions on how to best represent myself and my knowledge and skills, both through CV and job interview.
To find out where I can apply for a job, who to contact after graduation and most importantly, to find a job which is in line with affinities.
That we will learn a little more about what a career is and how to influence the development of our own careers.
To be able to learn the best way how to plan our "career plan" goal, and to interpret it.
To get acquainted with how and where we can find important information related to our professions, jobs.
To learn to use different sources of information on the contemporary labor market, to identify my interests, needs, skills and abilities and to relate them to the requirements of the modern labor market.
I expect to learn how to write CV, motivation letter and recommendation letter which will fit the requirements of a particular job.
To be provided with information related to methods and strategies of active job search, to become more familiar with writing a CV and a motivation letter and to learn to avoid common mistakes, that is, to show me the most common mistakes in writing a CV and a letter of motivation. Also, I want to get acquainted with the job interview, how it works, how I should behave at the job interview itself for the best self-promotion.

To gain enough knowledge on how to write my CV and motivation letter as well as possible, which will set me apart from one of the other candidates. To learn how to act on a job interview. What I need to say and how to highlight my skills and qualities.

To learn how to get different information related to my profession. How to get a job search or professional development.

To build my own self-esteem and to become more confident in myself.

To instruct me what sources of information to use when looking for a job, how to write a CV and motivation letter, how to behave and how to present myself in the best light when interviewed for a job.

Getting the information you need to further manage your career. Gaining more confidence in your qualities, simulating job interviews.

To master a job interview, to learn how to present myself in the best way without going far from a realistic picture of me. To see what job opportunities are available, what options are offered, and which ones I find myself in.

To improve communication, to increase interest in actively finding the sphere of work I will be dealing with

To teach me how to gather more information about potential employment, how to improve myself professionally and improve my knowledge and strategy in employment.

To learn the rules of composing a biography.

To acquire the skills of finding a job, coping with job interviews, learning how to write a motivation letter and CV, hearing the experiences of successful business people on their most successful path to success.

To learn how to present myself most effectively at a job interview, how to find a job vacancy, how to communicate in a working place, with teammates and superiors, how to improve, or where and how to find ways and resources to learn something new from my field of work; how to choose what I am best at.

Getting to know the modern way of finding a job. I also expect that the course will give me a new insight into employment and career development opportunities, as well as that it will encourage me to improve and supplement the necessary knowledge and skills...

By analizing these categories, the least surprising category was the response category related to the *acquisition of technical skills*. This actually involves supporting students in mastering how to make the documentation necessary to apply for jobs, internships, scholarships. This is usually the most prevalent content in this type courses. Although the number and quality of resources that should support the acquisition of these skills has increased in recent years, students still expect such content to be found here. Bearing in mind that the answers were divided into two subcategories, we think that when designing such courses, it is important to keep in mind that there are students with a low level of knowledge in this field, so they need basic technical skills, but also that there are students who already have background in this field, but they are interested in how to make more quality documentation.

Analyzing the expectations that students have raised within the category *Making connection with the world of work* as the second cathegory of answers, indicates that students perceive themselves as vulnerable during school to work transition. Thus, it is noted that there is a great amount of information about the world of work that is unknown to them. Therefore, students need support to learn how to explore the world of work that they will soon step into. The third group of answers *Compass for the world of work* indicated to us that students feel vulnerable not only during the transition from the world of education to the world of work, but also in the first steps in the world of work. Specifically, they need support in how they can learn the role of a new employee. These answers correspond a lot with Barbara Okun's integrative model for career development of adults (in Hayes, 2000) and the importance of continuing support in working organizations must be considered.

Comparing the group of answers in the second and third category indicates differences in "how far the course should go". For someone, expectations only reach finding the first job, but for some, they go in providing support and employment. This means that when designing and delivering such courses, it is important to focus attention on these diverse student needs. Also, this may indicate that such courses could be organized through a modular structure. One of the more interesting categories of responses was that students needed support in building a professional identity and support for making a better connection with the professional community. This means that both, general characteristics of the labor market, and the specificities of different professions should be considered in such courses. In addition, these courses should include elements of understanding of different professional cultures. The last two categories, the "*Me*" *category* and the *Career management skill category*, may perhaps best illustrate what the basis of the courses should be, but also what the course effects should be. Students need skills that will empower them to manage their professional development, which means that courses should not be designed in response to urgent problems and current developmental tasks, but should also contain parts that will empower students to cope with all those things that they cannot so easily anticipate.

Conclusions – So don't leave me alone

The tasks of professional development are being more and more complex, and support for career development becomes our responsibility. This does not means that career support programs are lacking, but we must keep raising the question of whether they adequately meet the needs produced by the complexity of today's professional development. When taking into account a specific group of individuals we were addressing in this paper – young adults – students, situation becomes a bit more challenging because they are in a complex stage of career development, handling transition between the education and the world of work, and the data on their perspectives on the labor market are extremely complex.

Starting from the concept of dynamic careers, the intent of our research was to discover how students, participants of the course Career Management Skills define career and what kind of support they expect from courses designed to support their career development.

The results of our research have shown that students are defining a career in very diverse ways. Career notions range from those in which a career is perceived as a job, or a job with certain characteristics, through those in which a career is seen as one of the instruments that help us achieve some other, most important goals in life, to those responses that view the career as one important part of life or almost like life itself.

The fact that these determinations differ to such an extent that they almost represent two points on a continuum, suggests that these differences should be taken into account when creating support programs. Also, we think it is extremely important to determine why these differences exist and whether and how they are related to the type and intensity of support students expect. This will be the subject of further research.

The second part of our research focused on discovering what kind of support the course participants expect. The first analysis of the answers showed that the answers could be placed in 6 main categories. These categories are: *Gaining technical skills*; *Making connection with the world of work; Compass for the world of work; Building professional identity; Me; Career management skills.* Further analysis of the responses revealed that subcategories could be identified within almost all categories. Main findings showed that students have a whole range of needs related to career support, but that we can talk about different levels of their expectations. All these should be the basis for the design and realization of further programs of career support and for thinking about how the support will be delivered to them when they leave higher education settings.

The fact that our respondents are students of the Career Management Skills University course, it seems to us that by their decision to enroll in the course, they showed a certain activity, involvement in pursuing their own career development. In that sense, they have already made an attempt themselves. If we look at how they see their own role in this course, we can see that they do not expect ready-made solutions, but show willingness and activity. On the other hand, analyzing what kind of support they need, it is often not something that can be answered by short-term career guidance and counseling activities. Of course, there are respondents who need this type of assistance quite well at this point in their career development, but they should, by no means, be left alone when it comes to supporting their career development. Opposite, the results of our research seem to indicate again that we need to speak about a career guidance and counseling system, centered on an individual with their own developmental needs.

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THE MOST IMPORTANT CHARACTERISTICS OF ADULT LEARNING PROFESSIONALS IN SERBIA: RESEARCH IN PROGRESS REPORT

Abstract

In the last few years significant changes have taken place in adult education in Serbia, thanks to international and national efforts. Firstly, the European integration and the homogenization, also the national effort for social and economic development affected the modification of the system of adult education. Based on the national documents (strategies and laws), the main tasks of adult education are ensuring the access to education and lifelong learning for all, and to subserve for citizens to acquire new competencies and skills in favor of personal and professional progression. Moreover the adult education has to promote the employment and participation in social life, and all these tasks form the basis for a knowledge-based society and state. The adult education system got the regulated form when the first Law on adult education came into force in 2014. We should say that the sub-system is still in progress – countless good practices form the past – which is shaped by the features of the national and international environment. The success and effectiveness of adult education system depends on the quality of educational process. The quality and quality development is gaining increasing attention at national and international level, and in this process the adult learning professionals have an important role with their varying backgrounds, expertise and qualifications. These professionals have to possess the basis of current, permanently renewable and developing knowledge and competences that correspond with the demands of the environment. In the opinion of the European Commission, the professional progress of an employee in adult education critically determines the learning quality in adulthood.

The aims of my research are to explore the ways of professionalization and the basis of competence of adult learning professionals in formal and non-formal adult education in Serbia. During my research I explore the profession of adult learning professionals, the identity, the current situation of adult educators, their professional and methodological preparation, the developmental opportunities, the roles and tasks at the organisation where they are employed. I had used interviewing and half-structured survey methods.

The relevance of the theme is that the necessary knowledge of adult educators is becoming more and more non-specific in their workplace and work-tasks, which is constantly changing along with the social and economic changes. The essential role of an adult educator is to provide developer and mentoring tasks with actual demands, to which the innovations of the changing environment need to be adapted.

Keywords: professionalization, adult education, adult learning professionals, Serbia

Introduction

The idea of lifelong and life-wide learning has drawn the attention to the importance of learning process in adulthood, which can occur at a later stage in an individual's life, at any time and any place, as a wilful or spontaneous activity. The adult education system, its effectiveness and quality, are the cornerstones of the dynamic development and competitiveness of the nation-state. Besides, the functions of the system are changing continuously, according to the current environmental demands (Durkó, 1999; Farkas, 2004). The adult education professionals are determined in the realization of adult education, they actively participate in the organized adult learning process, as coordinators, trainers, managers, mentors or educators. Researchers agree that the acquired professional knowledge and skills of these adult learning professionals are the basic determinants of quality of adult education provision (Broek, 2010; Sava & Lupou, 2009; Sava, 2011; European Commission, 2006). We can discover countless conflicts related to the experts in this filed, caused by the changeable atmosphere of adult learning activities and systems (Nuissl & Lattke, 2008). Adult learning professionals are affected by national and international education policy trends and directions. Besides, the national demography, economy, technology, political, legal and socio-cultural environments (Halász, 2013; Nagy, 2013), the institutions in adult education, the value judgement of learning, the features of the labor market, the qualification opportunities of experts all have an impact too. Because of this, it is important to investigate the direct environmental features of daily activities of adult learning professionals. The research of adult education system is an important part of my complex research on the topic of The main characteristics of adult learning professionals in Serbia. I believe that the direct surroundings of adult education are shaping the activities of adult learning professionals in the field, and that we can't leave aside.

Therefore, I participated in a student exchange program from September 2018 to August 2019 at the University of Belgrade, at the Group of Andragogy. The mobility program was supported by the Visegrad Foundation in the first 9 months, and by the Hungarian Eötvös State Scholarship in the subsequent 3 months. The purpose of my exchange program was the investigation of the main features of adult education system in Serbia. In the first part of my mobility I conducted content-analysis of relevant education policy documents, that I completed with a semi-structured empirical research in the second part of my mobility program. This means that after the processing of relevant literature and educational policy documents, I started expert interviewing to actualize information and to gain more practical experience about the functionalization of the adult education system. An important motivation for me was to see how experts think about the practical realization of the legal regulation in the field of adult education, and how they evaluate the functioning of adult education system in Serbia.

The information extracted from the interviews illustrates the same results as the literature and document analysis. In this paper, I am presenting the details of my empirical research.

The research background

The Serbian education policy went into significant transformation in the last two decades. This is caused by the national efforts and the direct and indirect impacts of the international education policy. In 2000, the ongoing modernization process in the field of education, turned up in every educational subsystem. The success of modernization was expected to reflected in the social and economic development (Medić & Popović, 2006; Medić et al., 2008), however these initiatives mostly ended in failure, due to a lack of real willingness for implementation by the country's leadership, the changing political parties had different plans, or the financial background for implementation was missing (Radó, 2010; Strategija razvoja obrazovanja u Srbiji do 2020. godine, no. 107/12; Despotović & Popović, 2014). Nevertheless, the spirit of international efforts becoming more and more visible in the Serbian education policy, education, as a tool and an investment, can serve as a solution for social and economic problems (Strategija razvoja obrazovanja u Srbiji do 2020. godine, no. 107/12). We can observe the driving forces for investments from two points of view. Firstly, Serbia has officially started the accession process to the European Union in 2012, and the harmonization of legal regulation resulted in basic changes in the country. Besides, the accession to the mutual international market, the creation of a common labor market, the idea of workforce mobility and the recognition of good international practices result equal expectations of knowledge and competencies from the workforce. This led to the homogenization of adult education systems (Polónyi, 2008). On the other hand, the rapid economic and technological changes (4.0 digitalization, robotization) forced the country to make changes (Szalavetz, 2018; Arntz, 2016). The key to economic success was the up-to-date knowledge and competences of citizens. The radical innovation of education helps to reduce the negative economic and social features, like the high percentage of unemployment, the low educational attainment, etc. From this point of view, the political transformation in education is a national effort. We can say that both viewpoints play a key role in changing the Serbian education policy. This modernization process started in 2000, when the regime reform happened, and it is still ongoing.

After 2000, there were many attempts to regulate the field of adult education. For example, two strategies were prepared for developing the adult education system, first in 2001, then in 2006. The action plans for actualization of the strategic goals didn't come into effect. The last strategy referred to the adult education published in 2012, namely the *Strategy for development of the education system in Serbia 2020* document. A huge part of this strategy contains the necessary steps for development of the adult education sub-system (Strategija razvoja obrazovanja u Srbiji do 2020. godine, no. 107/12). In addition, the Second Chance project for redefinition and systematization of the functional basic adult education resulted in substantial successes (Medić, Milanović, Popović and Despotović, 2009). However, one of the most important milestones was the appearance of the first Law on adult education, which came into force in 2014 (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013). This law resulted in multi-faceted changes in the country, such as adult education providers having an opportunity to accredit their training courses by the state for the first time in the history of adult education in the modern independent Serbia. It means that providers need to fulfil quality regulations according to the training program, training place, necessary equipment and personal conditions. On the other hand, this process adds value to the role of non-formal adult education, since adult participants can acquire qualifications not only in the formal systems but in non-formal ones too. With the Law on adult education, the compulsory professionalization of adult education professionals was introduced for those trainers who are working on a state-recognized training[1] or a Second Chance program. This means that this law defines a new trend of professionalization of adult educators in Serbia. However, the andragogical and didactic-methodological preparation of adult education experts was necessary in functional basic adult education before this Law. In addition to the Law on adult education, the Law on national qualification framework, published in 2018, has had an impact on the field of adult education too (Zakon o nacionalnom okviru kvalifikacija Republike Srbije, 2018).

Serbia distinguishes between formal and non-formal adult education. The formal adult education contains the primary and secondary adult education. The Law on adult education doesn't include the higher adult education, and this subsystem is not open to adult participants who want to learn alongside work and family obligations. In the basic adult education, the training lasts for 3 years, and contains 3 training cycles. In the last cycle, the participants are prepared for concrete and simple work tasks (Medić et al., 2009). In 2018, 64 primary adult education school were in operation with 5950 participants. Secondary adult education lasts for 2–3 years and mostly consists of personal consultations with the adult participants. In 299 secondary schools, retraining and further education were conducted in 2018 (Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja, 2019).

There is a lack of information about providers and participants in non-formal adult education, because of missing information systems. Non-formal adult education can happen in both private and public institutions. Within the non-formal providers, we can distinguish two groups. The first group of providers

1 In Serbian: JPOA status (Javno priznatog organizatora aktivnosti obrazovanja odraslih).

have the clearance to organize state-recognized adult education training courses and this group is regulated by the Law on adult education. According to the database of the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Developments, 203 training programs acquired a state-recognized status up to the present (Ministarstvo prosvete, nauke i tehnološkog razvoja, 2020). The second group doesn't have this status, and practically no law applies to their operation. Of course, this doesn't mean that they organize bad-quality training courses. According to the Adult Education Survey, the participation rate increased 3,3% in 2016 compared to the results of Adult Education Survey in 2011. The latest survey shows that the participation rate in age group 25–64 was 19,8% in 2016 (Republički zavod za statistiku, 2018). In contrast, the Strategy of educational development denotes a 4% participation rate, and the targets set for 2020 are at a 7% participation rate (Strategija razvoja obrazovanja u Srbiji do 2020. godine, br. 107/2012).

Methodological background

The short introduction above shows that the adult education system came under control in Serbia after several years of unsuccessful development attempts. Related to this, my question was how the adult learner professionals see the changes in adult education system and the practical realization of adult education activities. Those who can answer this question have several years of work experience in this field, and are not just participants in adult education, but also in the decision-making processes behind. After the detailed analysis of this exploratory affection, I decided to examine this question with semi-structured personal interviews. According to the topic, I divided the research question into 3 subgroups:

1. What are the current main features of adult education system? The regulatory environment, institutional system and participation are placed in this subgroup.
2. How do adult education professionals characterize the realization of the adult education system after 2000? This subgroup contains topics such as the impact of the European Union and the features before the appearance of the Law on adult education.
3. What is necessary for the development of the adult education system? What are the advantages and disadvantages in functioning of the adult education system, according to the experts?

I decided on semi-structural interviewing, because this research method gives the opportunity for the interviewing process to proceed along pre-determined criteria, but it gives enough space to the interviewee to shape the interview topic and dynamic beside their interest and stories (Fylan, 2005). Based on my research topic, I chose the type of expert interview. In this case the expert is the holder of special knowledge (Bogner & Menz, 2009).

I had the following viewpoint in selecting of the target group: the experts' educational attainment is andragogic education (1), has several years of work experience in the field (2), and is a holder of specialized knowledge in the field of occupation (3). The method of selection for the experts was the snowball method, and according to the criteria the sample of my research was six respondents.

Table 1.
Presentation of the date of interviewees

No. of interviewee	Working place	Professional qualification	Work experience in adult education
1.	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology Development	Andragogue	More than 20 years
2.	Ministry of Education, Science and Technology Development	Andragogue	More than 10 years
3.	Interviewee no. 3	Andragogue	More than 20 years
4.	National Employment Office	Andragogue	More than 20 years
5.	University of Belgrade, Group of Andragogy	Andragogue	More than 20 years
6.	University of Belgrade, Group of Andragogy	Andragogue	More than 20 years

The interview plan contained 30 questions that I classified into three topics as the present, past and future of the adult education system. The duration of the interviews was between 60 and 120 minutes, depending on the available time of the interview respondents. I recorded the interviews by voice recorder, and I transcribed them word for word. The interviewing process was in Serbian, so the text corpus was verified by a native speaker professor. The transcribed interviews' length was 60 pages in Word format. I conducted the qualitative content analysis with the Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis program.

Analysis of the research results

I carried out the content analyses of interviews by the inductive coding logic, in which I used open coding techniques (Saldana, 2009). To enhance the responsibility of analyses I did the coding twice, the second time after 3 days. During the encoding process I established 27 codes. I grouped the codes into six main-groups, which were the following: conditions for realization of adult education (1), users of the adult education (2), actual features of adult education system (3), legal background (4), environments of past and present (5) and the respondents (6). The respondents' groups contain the work experience and workplace information about the interview respondents. The frequency rate of code groups shows that 39% of the coded content directed to the actual features of adult education system, 19% to the conditions for realization of adult education and 19% to the legal background. The codes among actual features of adult education were:

- purposes
- the general demonstration of adult education system
- negative impressions
- positive impressions
- professionals in adult education
- professionalization.

The highest frequency rate of answers belongs to the *negative impressions* code. This confirms the experts attitude I perceived during the interviews, notably the high rate of dissatisfaction of respondents about the features of adult education system in Serbia. I must observe that every respondent showed belief in the development of the field of adult education. In this study, I am presenting the main results of my research in a descriptive way.

The main traits of realization of adult education system

To summarize the answers about the past of adult education in Serbia, the respondents agree that there were a dynamic and stormy period before 2000 with economic crises and wars, which contributed to the breakdown of the country. In the period from 2000 onward, the dialogue surrounded the decision about whether adult education is a basic part of the education system or not. When the decision-makers agreed that adult education and lifelong learning are an integral part of the whole education system, they started to prepare the Law on Adult Education. The preparation of Law took more than 5 years. One respondent said: "There was no continuity in adult education, everything depended on the person who came to the top of the country, what Minister came to power. What is most important now? The system has been set up so it cannot be undone" (Int. no. 1.). According to the respondents, there were no system-level regulations before the Law on Adult Education (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013).

The answer about the impact of the European Union shows differences. One part of the interviewees claimed that the European Union has an important effect on the development of adult education, mostly on the institutions and the legal background.

> If we hadn't started the accession process, the return of adult education wouldn't have happened for a long time. The Union has had a huge effect on the preparation of the Law on Adult Education. They clearly said that we can't be a member country if we don't have a legal background in the field. So everything that happened in Serbia wouldn't have been enough for the development if the Union hadn't said that it is compulsory for us (Int. no. 1.).

According to the experts, every law, strategy, rule in the field of adult education has a European and national tendency. Additionally, countless projects were realized with the support of the Union. For example, the national qualification framework, the Second Chance project, adult education strategies, establishment of official bodies, etc. One interviewee maintained that the Union doesn't have a visible outcome in the country, other one said that it has a formal effect rather than elementary influence. She added that the main driving force of real development is economic and social development. She believes that the initiatives by the European Union haven't led to elementary changes in the practice. The respondents confirmed that there is an obvious progress in adult education since the regime transition, but the process of change is very long and complex.

According to the experts, the purpose of the Serbian adult education system is the development and modification of the legal background, the development of the whole adult education system, particularly the non-formal adult education, to increase transparency and access to the training courses and the quality assurance, including professionalization. The research results show disparate opinions about the characteristics of the adult education system. For this question, experts used expressions such as "under development", "rather undeveloped", "not sufficiently developed", "stagnant", and "evolving backwards", "developed in the level of private initiatives, but not on the national level", "better than before the Law on Adult Education". In connection with this, one respondent noted that "we have established a framework, and within this framework most of our aims can be realized. Of course, we lack some elements from this framework" (Int. no. 1.).

After these answers it is worth establishing which factors impacted the respondents' negative impressions the most. Using the Atlas.ti program, it is possible to demonstrate which codes correlate with the negative impressions code. This analysis shows exact factors that are in close relationship with other topics. Based on the research results, the experts negative attitude is in relationship with the legal regulations, with the accreditation process, with the non-formal, secondary and higher adult education, with the institution system, with the reverse factors in the realization of adult education, with the quality assurance and the professionals and professionalization.

Firstly, the legal background has an impact on the accreditation process, on quality assurance, on the adult education sub-systems and on employment conditions of the adult learning professionals. The non-formal adult education is regulated by the Law on Adult Education and by complementary regulations

(Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013). The formal adult education is regulated by the Law on General Education and Upbringing (Zakon o osnovama sistema obrazovanja i vaspitanja, 2017) by the Law on Adult education and by complementary regulations (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013). The respondents' observations about the legal background of adult education applied solely on the Law on Adult Education, without exception. Experts' opinions about this law were that the implementation of the law is very slow and some necessary regulations have not yet been implemented. One respondent said that:

> We have to modify the law as soon as possible, in order to make it relevant not only to formal compliance, but also to the basic aspects. The law doesn't affect the functioning of the system even if the purpose of the law is quality assurance (Int. no 2.).

Some interviewees think that the law is a braking force, because it prescribes too many conditions for training providers. She noted that it is impossible to adapt to every requirement. On a related note, the estimations of quality assurance are negative. The respondents think that the law provides formalities but doesn't result in quality improvement in the adult education practice. Other interviewees note that the law regulates formal adult education rather than nonformal training courses. I noted that the law prescribes the necessary conditions for the accreditation process, verified by the ministry body during the accreditation request process. One interviewee said that it is not enough if the ministry simply verifies the important conditions in the beginning of request process, but not during the mandatory state-required training of 5 years. Who follows the training realization in practice then? The respondents agree that there are two parallel systems. It is because some providers have the state-recognized training status, but other institutions are not planning to start it at all. According to the experts, the number of providers that have received this status until now is very low. The National Employment Service regularly announces tenders for organizing training programs for accredited providers, however due to the low number of training institutions, the Service can't enlist enough state-recognized training courses. I note that the institution and training accreditation is not obligatory. The accreditation process is voluntary, and the motivation for this can be the state-recognized certificates for participants, or the professional inspection of the training programs and the training conditions. This should provide advantages on the labor market, but the interviewees think that without strong quality assurance these advantages can't be realized.

In accordance with legal regulations, direct and indirect professionals participate in the realization of adult education programs. The group of direct executors includes trainers, educators, instructors, leaders, and teachers (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013. 49.§). The second group consists of professional supporting personnel, such as andragogues, psychologists and librarians. The employment of this personnel is obligatory in every adult training organization.

According to the law, there is an exception for employment of all three professional groups, but these cases are not specified (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013. 50.§). The third group is a group of other personnel who secure the quality of the training process, such as technicians (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013. 51.§). Pedagogue assistants and andragogue assistants belong to the fourth group (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013. 52.§). As stipulated by the law, professional development is mandatory for every adult learning professional who participates in the realization of any state-recognized training program. The andragogical-didactical-methodological professional development consists of eight modules. One module takes 16 hours, 8 of which requires attendance in person. The other 8 hours comprise individual homework in the area of the module. Professionals have 6 months for the completion of objectives after obtaining state-recognized status. The themes of these modules are:

- Basic principles, characteristics and styles of adult learning
- The learning motivation of adults
- Planning, organizing and assessment in adult education
- Methods and techniques in the interactive adult education
- Leadership of adult groups
- The methods and techniques of performance assessment of adult participants
- Individualization in adult education
- Program development in adult education

According to some interviewees, these eight modules aren't enough to prepare dispensers for dealing with adults. They suggest a longer period for professional development. Until now, the only provider for this professional training is the University of Belgrade. According to the respondents, the latter can't train professionals at a sufficient rate required by law and claim that adult training providers can't complete professional development within six months. Other respondents said that it is not acceptable that professional development starts after being granted permission for the organization of adult training, because it means that training may involve adults without any knowledge about adult teaching for the following six months. Experts agree that there is a lack of professionals in the country who would adequately perform adult education activities. They note that andragogue assistants should be allowed to work with adults after completing secondary education and further training. They agree, however, that it doesn't prepare them entirely for this occupation, such as developing a training program. On the other hand, some experts claim that andragogue assistants also means competition for andragogues themselves, who have completed higher education and invested more energy and time in their professional preparation.

Regarding the accreditation process, the respondents said that it is a major financial burden for training organizations and can delay initiatives for obtaining state-recognized status. According to the respondents, only a few providers can cover the requisite amount. One interviewee drew the attention to huge shortcomings, like the obsolete content of training courses, the obsolete qualification register, a lack of qualification standards and occupational register. The adult education providers need to plan and organize their training courses in accordance with these lists and registers. According to one interviewee:

We are speaking about program planning and learning outcomes, but we don't have qualification standards. We are speaking about qualification standards, but we don't have occupational standards. Moreover, if we want to see the end, that we have a qualified workforce and efficient employers and training providers, who assure good-quality workforce, we realize that we don't know what are the conditions in that occupation (Int. no 2.).

Besides that, most respondents claimed that the information system is missing and probably it has a negative effect on the participation rate. There is a lack of a coherent database that includes every active adult education provider and additional information about where they organize training courses, for whom and when. In Serbia there are several databases in ministries, non-profit organizations and other bodies, but they don't offer enough information. The training offered often doesn't reach the adult population, it is possible that they don't know where they can find information. One interviewee noted that the general tendency is that it's mostly adults with higher educational qualification that participate in adult education who find it easier to discover the necessary details. The largest problem is to involve population with lower qualification and motivation, and the missing information means a bigger barrier in engagement of these people. According to the availability of training courses, the theme of unequal coverage of providers across the country came up. According to the experts, the training services work intensively in the bigger settlements and we can find good functioning education centers for adults there. But adult training courses are realized less in smaller cities, mostly due to the lack of training providers.

Most respondents think that the basic adult education is functioning the best of all adult education sub-systems. This is due to the Second Chance project, which introduced a new model in the basic adult education. The new model adjusts to the special demands of adults. According to the interviewees, the secondary adult education does not accommodate the demands of the labor market and of the adult generation, since even in higher education adults are largely invisible. One expert noted that adult learning centers do exist in higher education, but they are attainable only for workers at the university. For ordinary adults, who have recently stepped into the world of work but want to acquire a degree or just to participate in a shorter training program at the university, it is impossible to engage in training courses because of inflexible expectations about compulsory attendance.

Besides the negative opinions about the adult education system in Serbia, every respondent emphasized that the adult education system nevertheless provides opportunities for adults to participate in training courses and to learn and develop themselves. Additionally, the employers have benefits in developing their employees and promoting the realization of lifelong learning conception. The adult education system adds value to adult education as a profession and gives a chance to distinguish adults from the young age group. "Everything that is happening in this field is an advancement for the individual, institutions and the society on the whole" (Int. no. 4.*)*. Another respondent highlighted that "the adult education has been uplifted to the national level", and with legal regulations "the adult education became an important part of the whole education system" (Int. no. 1.). According to some interviewees, the adult education system is well positioned inside the education system and they agree that the most important factor is that we now have a law on adult education, because it is the first step in development. The positive opinions about training accreditation is that adults can acquire qualification in the non-formal adult education, which can result in better reputation for the providers and certificates on the labor market. General estimations about participants in adult education are that citizens have a positive attitude to learning. Every expert considers the role of adult education professionals important, while andragogues bring huge benefits and advantages to the field.

The professionals in adult education

The Law on Adult Education prescribes the necessary educational and professional qualification of adult education professionals, the obligatory employment of andragogues, psychologists and librarians, and the compulsory professional development. The respondents agree that the regulation of educational and professional qualifications was essential, because this is a professional field that cannot accommodate everyone.

> It is important to regulate who is entering into the profession. Somebody can develop skills in professional training at the third qualification level, if he/she is an expert in that occupation. But he/she must know that he/she participates in the process of skill development. Mostly people say it is not a hard profession, you just develop skills, everyone knows that (Int. no. 5.).

Another respondent said that adult learning professionals must be prepared with more andragogical competences, but it isn't typical in many cases. For these professionals it's important to distinguish the adult generation from young people and to be able to confirm to the special needs of adults.

Every interviewee highlighted that Serbia has a strong base of experts in adult education, thanks to the andragogy studies at the University of Belgrade. One respondent said "The individual is the key, these andragogues participate and solve consequential questions and problems, and they contribute to the professionalization of adult education. These people train the adults and coordinate various training courses" (Int. no. 6.). Another interviewee noted that there is not enough applicants for the andragogical studies to secure the supply of experts in the field. Although the employment of andragogues is binding for state-recognized providers, in many places it's pedagogues, psychologists, lawyers and economists fill in this position. The respondents were unsure about the practical inclusion of andragogues, whether they are included at all. According to experts, andragogues work in part-time and fixed-term contracts. They believe that it is impossible to properly perform the tasks related to this occupation as a 4-hour part-time job. It is possible that these professionals are formally employed, and they don't participate in practical realization.

> Everyone can work in adult education. It doesn't matter what formal education he has. They call experts people who only finished secondary school, and it is inadmissible. According to this, we are wrong because we completed higher education. Or maybe we don't have the proper knowledge and skills that we can use in the practice. It is why the professionalization is important. Furthermore, we, andragogues have been put aside, but we won't give up because we believe that adult education must develop (Int. no. 4.).

According to the Law on Adult Education, one andragogue should be responsible for three adult training programs (Zakon o obrazovanju odraslih, 2013). Experts said that it provides security for andragogues, because some providers organize more than ten adult training courses and one professional can't be responsible for all of them. On the other hand, respondents noted that there is not enough andragogues in Serbia, and it is difficult for every provider to employ more than one professional if necessary.

Professionalization

According to the traditional approaches, the academic education is one of the basic conditions of professionalization of a profession (Egetenmayer, 2019). That means that the academic education is a milestone in the professional development of experts (Savićević, 1991). The terms of professionalization and professionalism are in close relationship, firstly because professionalism is a precondition for good-quality practice, secondly because the professionalization leads to professionalism (Milana and Larson, 2011). The qualification system of adult learning professionals depends on the national education policy and institutional system, the social, economic and traditional features (Jõgi and Gross, 2009). According to this, the qualification systems are different across nation states. We can find different solutions for this problem in European countries, and there is no unique, transparent and traceable preparation of professionals in the field of adult education. In Serbia, bachelor, master and PhD studies exist at the University of Belgrade, at the Group of Andragogy. We can find other universities that organize courses on the topic of adult education, but it is minimal. Besides the academic preparation, professional development exists in non-formal education, in functional basic adult education and in other non-formal adult education systems, related to the state-recognized training status.

Based on the interviews, the necessary, 8 modules long professional development of adult learning professionals caused significant indignation. One respondent claims that the initiative for changing the regulation here is on a daily basis. Adult educators and other professionals who have several years of working experience in education don't approve of the professional guidelines in the training courses. One interviewee said:

> I understand that everyone does everything in a best way. But the fact is that adult education involved such a gray economy in the past. It was impossible to know who was providing what, what training and what certification they were giving. This shouldn't be allowed again (Int. no. 4.).

Another expert confirmed that participants generally close the professional development with positive attitude, and they use the acquired knowledge and competences not just in the adult education, but in the education of younger generations too. There was a negative opinion about these training courses too – according to the interviewee, the length of developmental training isn't enough, and it doesn't provide proper didactic and methodological knowledge for the work in adult education.

Based on the respondents, the fluctuation of adult educators is very frequent in primary adult education. These educators often transferred to adult education as a workforce surplus of the formal education system or they are involved in adult education alongside their regular work. Besides, the position in basic adult education doesn't provide workplace security, because we can't know ahead how many adult participants will enroll in education. However, this has an impact on the number of employed educators and professionals in adult education. According to the respondents, it is hard to retain the workforce and the demand for professional development is permanent due to the fluctuation. According to one interviewee, 70 basic adult education schools and approximately 1200 educators participated in professional development during the Second Chance program. She said that broadly 500 educators have changed in the system, and it is needed to develop their knowledge and competency. The professional development of educators wasn't constant in basic adult education system, this will be solved by funding of Tempus Foundation.

"The adult education is searching for quality. However, there is no quality without professionals" (Int. no. 6.)

The conditions of realization of adult education

I asked the interviewees during the research to summarize what factors affect the realization of adult education. Several respondents highlighted the social partnership and activity and decision-making of ministries and other important partners. One interviewee said:

> I hope that the president wakes up one day and says the adult education is important to us. Because every day, when he wakes up, we have other important things in the country... and it is impossible for adult education to become as important as those. A well-qualified workforce is a central topic in preparing for foreign investments. Then if we look at this more closely, a well-qualified workforce needs further training to adapt to the needs of the labor market (Int. no. 1.).

Respondents consider that the political will, support and financial backing are crucial in the realization of adult education. Besides, professionals and professionalization are also key factors in successful actualization. The experts think that the economic situation, migration, the country's history, the European Union and the legal regulation of the field influence learning needs too. One interviewee commented that the economic power of adults also has a huge impact, because they carefully analyze what is worth investing in and what results you get after the process.

According to the interview answers, I conducted a SWOT analysis, that shows comprehensively how the adult learning professionals think about strengths and weaknesses, threats and opportunities in the Serbian adult education.

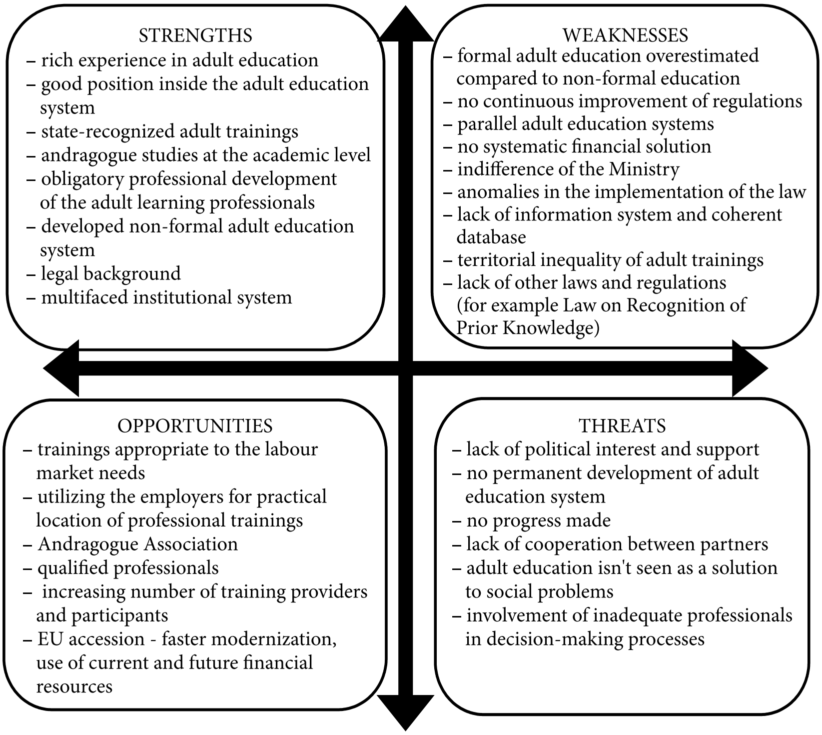

Figure 1. Strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats of adult education system in Serbia

Conclusion

During my student mobility program at the University of Belgrade, I have analyzed the relevant literature and education policy documents to understand better the main features of the environment of adult education professionals in Serbia. To gain more practical experience about the functionalization of the adult education system, I carried out a semi-structure expert interview to see how the adult learner professionals perceive the changes in adult education system and the practical realization of adult education activities. The results showed that the experts have different opinions about the practical functioning of the adult education system. First, they claim that there is an important development process since 2000, when the regime transition happened, and the country changed in every way. The main change was the appearance of the first Law on Adult Education (2013). The interviewees agree that the legal regulation of adult education was necessary; however, there is some dissatisfaction among experts about functioning and the speed of realization. Overall, we can say that there is a will for development of the adult education system, and the developmental activities show higher tendencies than before the Law on adult education was promulgated. The experts agree that the key to success is the professionals in the field, and their professional development is a precondition of the quality assurance of adult education activities in Serbia. Most interviewees claimed that the new process for accreditation hasn't resulted in qualitative improvements in adult education practice. That is very important, according to Farkas (2017), because:

> The quality of adult education should be secured through the training programs and not at the system level. The quality depends on a professionally deliberated program that is adapted to the needs of adults, the secured conditions of realization, from the implemented methodology and from the professionals' competences (Farkas, 2017, p. 432.).

In this case the legal regulation offers a framework for adult education activity, but the quality of training programs and the realization and success of the adult education system depend only on the providers' and their employees' knowledge and preconditions for organizing appropriate, up-to-date adult training courses, that are suited to the labor market, adults' and technological and economic needs.

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INVISIBLE PROFESSION: FACTS AND TENDENCIES ABOUT 30 YEARS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN HUNGARY

Abstract

In my study I would like to introduce the developmental trajectory of the adult education system in the past 30 years, and what processes provided a basis for the development of the current system, how the political and economic environment in Hungary changed, as a result of which the adult education system took its present form. I divided the time period between 1989 and 2019 into three analytical phases (before 2001, between 2001 and 2013, after 2013) according to the main tendencies during this period. Based on statistical data, I present the evolution of participation in adult education and the major trends in the funding of adult education.

Another focus of the study is the analysis of the situation and training system of adult learning professionals in Hungary. Despite the fact that the qualities of adult learning professionals basically determine the effectiveness of adult learning, the Hungarian government does not consider the training of adult learning professionals as a key issue. While we can see the valorisation of adult learning by the Hungarian government at the rhetorical level, in reality – based on political decisions – training adult learning professionals at higher educational level (andragogy BSc, teachers of andragogy) was terminated by the Government in 2016, along with the financial and professional promotion of andragogical research.

Keywords: adult education system, adult learning professionals, financing, Hungary

The development of the adult education system between the changes in the political regime (1989) and the adoption of the first act on adult education (2001)

The changes following the transformation of the political regime at the end of the 1980s and at the beginning of the 1990s brought about fundamental alterations in the political system and the ownership structures in Hungary. The shift to market economy resulted in significant quantitative and structural changes in the labour market, among which the most conspicuous phenomena were the radical quantitative decrease in the employment rate, the appearance of mass unemployment and the re-grouping of the labour force in various branches in the economy. The largest shock that affected the labour market happened between 1989 and 1992, during which period 1,174,000 jobs were terminated (KSH, 2018). 95% of the new businesses that replaced the large state-owned companies that terminated operation were small enterprises employing fewer than 10 employees so they were unable to "absorb" people who remained jobless (KSH, 2017).

The political administration alleviated the significant social consequences of the changed in the economic system in two ways. On the one hand it made it possible for larger groups in society to claim social insurance benefits as a result of which a significant number of people were withdrawn from the labour market (approx. 640,000 persons between 1990 and 2000). The explosive growth of the unemployment rate was attempted to be moderated by making it possible for people to take early retirement also in Hungary. Between 1991 and 2000 the number of persons receiving pensions or pension-like benefits increased by 23%, and the amounts paid in the form of pensions increased fivefold.

Another solution was to increase the term of school education. Regarding this, an important educational policy decision was to raise the age limit for compulsory education to 18 years of age as well as the extension of the age limit for free education to 23 years of age within the formal school system providing state recognised vocational qualifications (Act LXVIII of 1998). These measures served the purpose to develop the general knowledge and competences of youths to a higher level and to postpone their entry to the labour market. As a result of the measures aiming to "artificially" decrease economic activity, a significant ratio of the population at employable age became economically inactive. This brought about results on the side of data relating to the unemployment rate however a negative side was the fact that the 74.9 activity rate in 1990 decreased to 51.6 by 1998 (Farkas, 2013).

The economic and social changes inevitably entailed changes also in the education system. The year 1993 marked a milestone in educational policy in Hungary. Every education sub-system underwent regulation. The new acts[1] set forth detailed legal frames for public education, vocational education and higher education. During this period adult education was not yet deemed as socially important as the other educational sectors, therefore the regulation of adult education came out almost a decade later than the acts mentioned before.

During this period the organisation of adult education training courses was not regulated by a separate legal provision. The result of this was that more and more private businesses launched adult educational programmes alongside with the state-owned adult educational institutes that were developed between 1991

1 Act LXXVII of 1993 on Vocational Education and Training; Act LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education; Act LXXX of 1993 on Higher Education.

and 1997. Due to the increased activity in adult education it was necessary to introduce legal regulations in this sector. As a result of this the Ministry of Labour issued Order 2/1997 on the conditions of the commencement and continuation of vocational education and the registration of vocational training institutes. It was the first time that activities in the area of adult education and the official registration of these were directly regulated after the changes in the political regime (Farkas, 2013).

Data are available, which can be regarded realistic about the institutes participating in the operation of the adult education system and the activities in adult education since the second half of the 1990s. Participation in adult education permanently increased between 1995 and 1999. Due to legislative changes within the formal school system participation in adult education decreased in 2000, then from 2001 it started to increase again slowly (Figure 1). Adults mainly (80% of them) participated in courses providing state recognised qualifications.

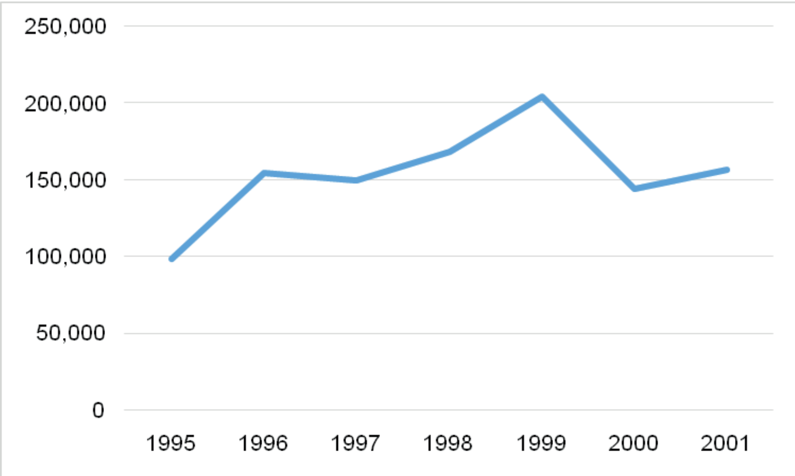

Figure 1. Number of persons participating in adult education between 1995 and 2001.
Source: OSAP[2], author's own edition.

Between 1998 and 2001 the distribution of cost bearers of non-formal courses was rather balanced among funders (the state, employers, and individuals) (Figure 2). In the second half of the 1990s state resources (National Labour Fund) were still significant (32% in 2001), which later gradually decreased (23% in 2001). Employers (29% in 1998) and individuals (29% in 1998) invested significant amounts in the development of "human knowledge as capital" even in the 1990s.

2 Országos Statisztikai Adatgyűjtési Program (National Statistical Data Provision Programme)

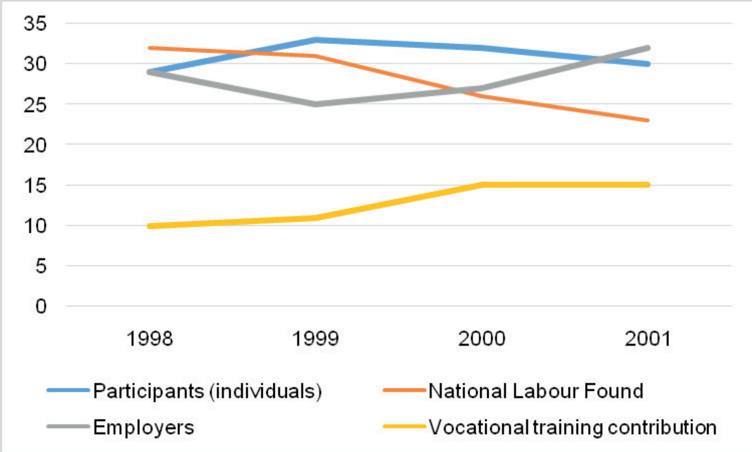

Figure 2. Number of participants in adult education according to the distribution of cost bearers between 1998 and 2001;
Source: OSAP, author's own edition.

As a result of the improvement of economic performance and the increase of the general educational level of the population the employment rate permanently grew after 1988. By 2000 the number of unemployed persons decreased to 50% of those in 1993. At the same time, in spite of creating new jobs, long-term unemployment was still present, and unemployment in the group of youths became one of the most significant problems in society. Since educating adults attracted enormous social attention in the whole of Europe, it had to be recognised also in Hungary that adult education had a special role in resolving the issues relating to employment.

In 1998 a Government programme was adopted with the aim to conceptually prepare an act on adult education. Although during the period under review Hungary was not a member of the European Union, the educational policy efforts taken in the EU had an effect on the relating goals also in Hungary. The preparation for the act on adult education was a two-year process, which was based on broad social co-ordination. The act on adult education was adopted in December 2001. It was then that a new development phase of the adult educational system was launched.

Features of the adult educational system between the adoption of the first act on adult education (2001) and the reregulation on adult education (2013)

During the period under review extraordinarily low activity became a characteristic feature of the labour market (64.3% in 2012) and the employment rate (57.3% in 2012), which appeared alongside with an average rate of unemployment (10.9% in 2012) (KSH, 2019). Employment indicators remained unchanged at the beginning and at the end of that decade however, as a result of the crisis in 2008, they deteriorated significantly together with the unemployment indicators. As of 2010 public employment somewhat helped with the resolution of problems relating to the general employment situation.

During the period under review a serious problem was the increasing unemployment rate in the group of young adults (28.2% in 2012), long-term unemployment (persons unemployed for over 24 months) (21% in 2012) and the high rate of economically inactive persons (35% in 2012). There was also a high ratio of young adults (20.9%) between 15–34 years of age, who were neither in employment nor in education and training (Eurostat, 2019).

It was a positive trend however that the growth of the educational level of the general population continued. Compared to data from 2001, there was a significant decrease in the ratio of persons, who did not complete primary education and also in the ratio of those, who completed primary education only. The ratio of persons with secondary grammar school leaving examination, vocational qualifications and higher education qualification increased. At the same time it became more and more obvious that the new, rising generation cannot be taught all the knowledge that was needed throughout a lifetime, and that the main phase of learning was shifted to the age of adulthood. The growth and necessity of the prestige of education after school age were also urged by economic processes and labour market trends.

The first act on adult education (Act CI of 2001) laid the foundation for the elaboration of a uniform educational system in which life-long learning was made possible. It set forth appropriately structured regulations that focussed on the management of adult education, its set of institutions, content requirements and support system that could also adjust well to the European mainstream. The act did not focus on training courses relating to the labour market only. Its scope also covered training courses that brought about results in respect of the cultural and social development of course participants. The scope of the act covered courses delivered outside the formal educational institutes only. It determined the professional background and documentation system of the operation of adult education activities, and created the supporting and financing system for adult education. With the introduction of the accreditation of the adult educational institutions the act created guarantees that ensured high quality and sound education for the course participants. As set out in Act CI of 2001, the aim of the accreditation of the institutions was to ensure that such institutions should conduct adult educational activities according to their promotions in compliance with higher quality requirements as contained in a separate law on accreditation. By achieving this, Hungary became one of the European Union member states where the quality assurance for adult education was implemented (Gyula, 2010). While every institute providing adult education courses was obliged to register itself, accreditation was conducted on a voluntary basis. However state subsidies were provided for accredited institutions only. Based on OSAP database approximately 15% (1,500) registered institutes gained accreditation by the end of that decade. The organisation of training courses was not exclusively conducted by state institutes. The majority of the training courses were launched by for-profit adult educational enterprises and not-for-profit organisations.

There was a significant decrease in the number of persons enrolling adult education courses in 2003, after which this number increased permanently (Figure 3). The next change – in a positive sense – happened in 2007 and 2008. The reason for this significant increase was that a high number of programmes were initiated and supported by the European Union, in which a significant number of persons participated. The global economic and financial crisis that broke out in 2008 resulted in a 6.9% decrease of the GDP. In the aftermath of the economic recession the number of unemployed persons increased, the employment rate declined together with the standard of living of the general population. In spite of all this the number of participants in adult education increased by almost 200,000 persons between 2008 and 2010. The demand for adult education increased in spite of the fact that during the period under review the educational terms the young generations spent in the school system grew, and the qualification level of young people grew significantly. Until 2007 every year the most populous courses were those that provided state recognized vocational qualifications. As of 2008 however advanced vocational training courses organised by employers took the lead. This indicated that corporate training activity grew.

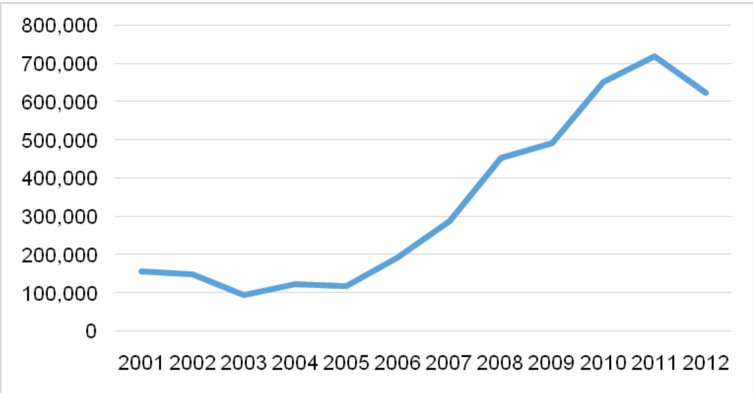

Figure 3. Number of persons participating in adult education between 2001 and 2012.
Source: OSAP, author's own edition.

Apart from the three core actors in funding adult education – the state, the employers and the individuals – the European Union became a significant player in this area after 2004 (Figure 4). The analysis of the cost bearing actors indicates that the state undertook a less significant role in funding adult education. On the other hand corporate activity grew significantly; employers financed the costs of training for fifty per cent of training participants (for 47% in 2012) (OSAP database). The employers mainly used their own revenues for covering the training costs provided for their employees, and also the part that they could use for training their own employees of the vocational training contribution they were obliged to pay to the central budget. The compulsory vocational training contribution the corporations were obliged to pay amounted to 1.5% of the gross salaries. The small and medium sized companies could use 60%, while large corporations one third of this for training their own employees. This option was terminated in 2011 (Act CLV of 2011). In December 2012 the relevant law was modified again, as a result of which the former support system was reinstated albeit with significant restrictions.

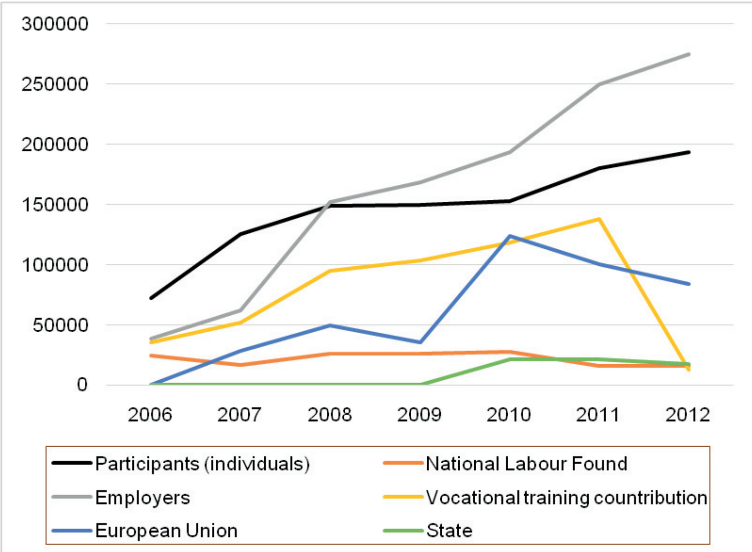

Figure 4. Number of participants in adult education according to the distribution of cost bearers between 2006 and 2012. Source: OSAP, author's own edition.

Individuals who recognised their long-term interests to enrol adult education courses were the second largest financers of participation in adult education. During this period state resources were rather limited. At the same time however, following Hungary's access to the European Union, unprecedented financial resources became available for the country. Training and integration programmes were conducted by way of using European Union resources, which aimed to develop the competences and improve the employability of multiply disadvantaged groups that were mostly excluded from the labour market. In 2011 13%, while in 2012 14% of individuals participating in adult education conducted their studies by using European Union resources. Following a peak in 2010, the use of EU resources significantly declined (OSAP database). The reason for this was the change of Government in 2010. Following this change structural transformations and changes in the trends of professional policy resulted in the largest halt in this program period (Századvég Gazdaságkutató Zrt, 2016).

Between 2007 and 2013 the use of European Union resources for the purpose of adult education was tied to Priority 2 of the Social Renewal Operational Programme (SROP). These measures aimed to improve the adaptability of persons to labour market processes with the aim of employability. The focal points of this priority (vocational and adult education, life-long learning, supporting adaptability) were in harmony with the domestic and European Union goals relating to employment. Large projects were launched such as the SROP 2.1.6 project, which aimed to train persons in public employment. Within the frame of the SROP 2.1.2. project, unconditional foreign language education was made available for adults to increase their chances for finding employment in the labour market. Due to the lack of individual data collection, only general information is available about the target groups that were involved in these projects. Based on this, during the entire period of the programming cycle, altogether 707,074 persons were involved in the training courses. Most target groups were comprised of persons in employment, at the same time however several inactive persons (42% of the members of the target groups) also participated in the courses. The implementation of the projects yielded mixed results. Apart from training courses providing vocational qualifications, a large number of courses were organised for persons in public employment with the aim to develop basic competences that were difficult to utilise in the labour market. These in many cases did not really satisfactorily foster the preparation of the members of these groups for the open labour market (Századvég Gazdaságkutató Zrt, 2016).

In summary it can be said that the legal, management, institutional and financial conditions were created during the decade between 2002 and 2012, and a significant number of institutions and adults participated in the operation of this system. The intent of legislators articulated in 2001 was forward-looking and innovative, and it adjusted to the economic and political conditions in Hungary and to the European trends. There were challenges in the implementation, but the adult education system was stable and operable. A significant achievement during this period was that the National Office of Adult Education, the professional agency for adult education was established. A professional periodical entitled “Felnőttképzés” (Adult Education) was created, a tax relief for participants in adult education was introduced, research activities commenced in the area of adult education, and in 2006 university-level education was launched to train professionals in adult education. At the same time it was a problem that the quality and effectiveness of the adult educational system could not be adequately assessed. There was no national scale, standardised information database available for actors taking a decisive role in shaping the processes in the labour market, which could describe how adult training can be utilised in the economy of the country. The methods used were inadequate to demonstrate the results of adult education in employment. Among various other factors, these were the reasons why the adult education system was reregulated.

Features of the adult education system after 2013

As a result of structural measures taken after the change of Government in 2010, there was a growth turnaround in the area of macro-economic competitiveness in Hungary. Economic and employment indicators improved spectacularly. The employment rate in the age group of 15–64 years grew to 70.2% by the second quarter of 2019, which exceeded the average rate (69%) in the European Union (OECD, 2019). Parallel with this, the unemployment rate decreased from 10% at the end of 2010 to a record low rate of 3.6%.

These indicators cannot be attributed to the effectiveness of participation in adult education, but rather to tightening measures the Government enacted in some policy areas such as raising retirement age, the revision of disability pensions, the reduction of the age limit for compulsory education from 18 years to 16 years of age, the introduction of public employment, etc.

The Government argued that a second act on adult education in 2013 was necessitated by the quality-related problems of the former system. The earlier regulations, the market mechanisms, the adults involved and even the examination system could not enforce high quality education even in the case of supported courses. The arguments for changes were understandable however it was a problem that the transformation of the adult education system and the preparation of the new act were started without profound analysis of the situation. Since the social partners were less involved in the consultation, the decisions relating to the reregulation of adult education were made without meaningful professional and social discussions and consensus.

The act of 2001 on adult education set forth regulations that covered the whole spectrum of adult education. Act LXXVII of 2013, which was adopted in 2013 and which is in effect up to this day, contains regulations only on state recognised vocational qualifications and on training courses organised on European Union resources that provide professional, foreign language and general competences. As of 2013 such training courses could only be conducted with an official licence issued by the competent authorities under strict conditions. Official licences had to be applied not for institutes, but for training programmes. The act set forth strict operational conditions for institutes that conduct courses under the scope of the act. The state however did not guarantee the quality of and access to courses regarding areas of adult education outside the scope of the act. If an individual pursues self-financed or employee-financed studies, it remains unrecognised by the state, in other words individually financed studies are not regulated by the state. The state wanted to regulate only those adult learning programmes, for which the state takes professional guarantees and financial responsibility. Other adult learning programmes can be organized as free market services. This is problematic since fewer than 50% of individuals participating in the non-formal school system participate in licensed courses that are under the scope of the act on adult education (Figure 5).

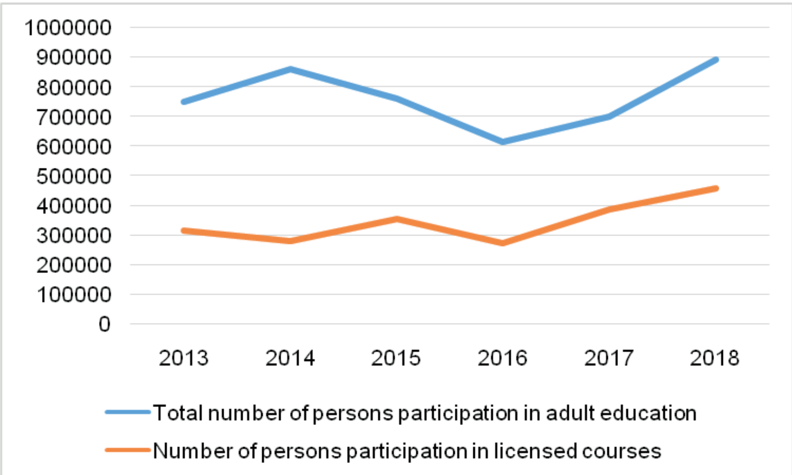

Figure 5. Total number of persons participating in adult education and number of persons participating in licensed courses under the scope of the act on adult education between 2013 and 2018.

The adult educational institutes adapted well to the change in legislation therefore there were no significant bottlenecks in the operation of the system. There were no significant changes in the type and number of institutes either, the demand for adult education is still satisfied mainly (65%) by for-profit adult educational enterprises.

A significant ratio of adults (19% in 2018) participated mainly in training courses providing state recognised vocational qualifications, which also had prestige in the labour market (Table 1). In spite of the measures taken for extending vocational training within the formal school system (for example the opportunity to acquire a second vocational qualification in adult education free of charge) nearly three times more individuals acquire state recognised vocational qualifications outside the formal school system than within the formal school system such as in vocational schools. (In 2017 138,822 adults acquired state recognised vocational qualifications compared to 49,535 students completing their studies within the formal vocational school system.) (Figure 6)

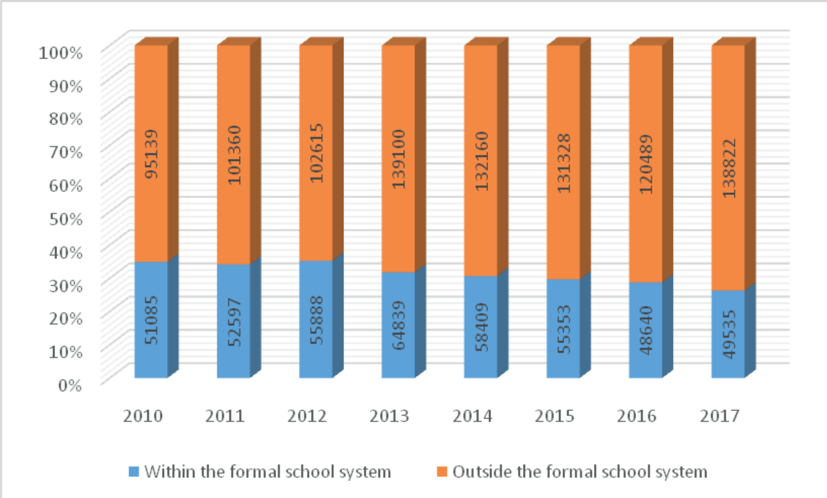

Figure 6. Number of adults, who acquired state recognised vocational qualifications within and outside the formal school system between 2010 and 2017. Source: OSAP and Ministry of Human Resources, 2017, author's own edition.

The number of individuals participating in adult education is significantly influenced by the availability of European Union resources. There was recognisable decline in adult educational activity in 2016 (Table 1). By that time the resources of the former budget period were exhausted, and the new resources from the 2014–2020 budgetary period were not yet effective. This is clearly demonstrated also by data relating to funding (Figure 7). The adults participating in information technology training courses that aimed to train individuals with low qualifications and in public employment and to mitigate the digital gap implemented within the framework of the Economic Development and Innovation Operational Programme spectacularly enhanced the data relating to the number of participants in general and in information technology training in 2018.

Table 1.
Number of persons participating in adult education and ratio according to types of training

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Training providing vocational qualifications listed in the NVQR[3]	152017 (20%)	142051 (17%)	140745 (18%)	133118 (22%)	154160 (22%)	169550 (19%)
General adult education[4]	85602 (11%)	120765 (14%)	152763 (20%)	118186 (19%)	101539 (14%)	212592 (24%)
Training for supporting finding a job and start-up businesses	8904 (1%)	16501 (2%)	5573 (1%)	2796 (0%)	4508 (1%)	6160 (1%)
Training for qualifications necessary in public authority functions (eg. transport, communication and water sector)	51256 (7%)	49161 (6%)	55612 (7%)	73849 (12%)	63893 (9%)	76531 (9%)
Catch up programes for disadvantaged persons	5019 (1%)	36823 (4%)	8433 (1%)	1572 (0%)	5868 (1%)	11699 (1%)
Training providing qualifications for specific jobs or occupations, not listed in NVQR	56594 (8%)	81771 (10%)	84601 (11%)	51889 (8%)	50926 (7%)	50141 (6%)
Foreign language training	128219 (17%)	100018 (12%)	60737 (8%)	54116 (9%)	50651 (7%)	52957 (6%)
Training for supporting to start vocational training	4851 (1%)	7373 (1%)	4312 (1%)	3914 (1%)	6125 (1%)	4854 (1%)
Information Technology training	46308 (6%)	61549 (7%)	35674 (5%)	24031 (4%)	105632 (15%)	127461 (14%)
Vocational further training	208505 (28%)	239665 (28%)	209561 (28%)	142325 (23%)	156848 (22%)	177521 (20%)
Other training	1687 (0%)	4606 (1%)	3258 (0%)	8917 (1%)	1233 (0%)	2846 (0%)
Total	748962 (100%)	860283 (100%)	761269 (100%)	614713 (100%)	701383 (100%)	892312 (100%)

Source: OSAP, author's own edition

3 National Vocational Qualification Register contains those qualifications which are recognized by the state. Today 774 vocational qualifications can be found inthe NVQR.

4 Training performed with the purpose of enhancing the level of general education, the development of competences, which are not linked to a specific vocational qualification or occupation or language skill, and which contributes to the personality development of adults and creates competences in the areas of social equality and citizenship.

There were three actors in the financing system after 2013: they were the adult participants, the employers and the European Union (Figure 7). The state resources were almost terminated, and the number of training courses funded by the vocational training contribution decreased to a minimum due to the restrictive measures introduced in 2012. The developments sponsored by the European Union aimed to gradually replace the domestic resources not only in the area of adult education, but also elsewhere.

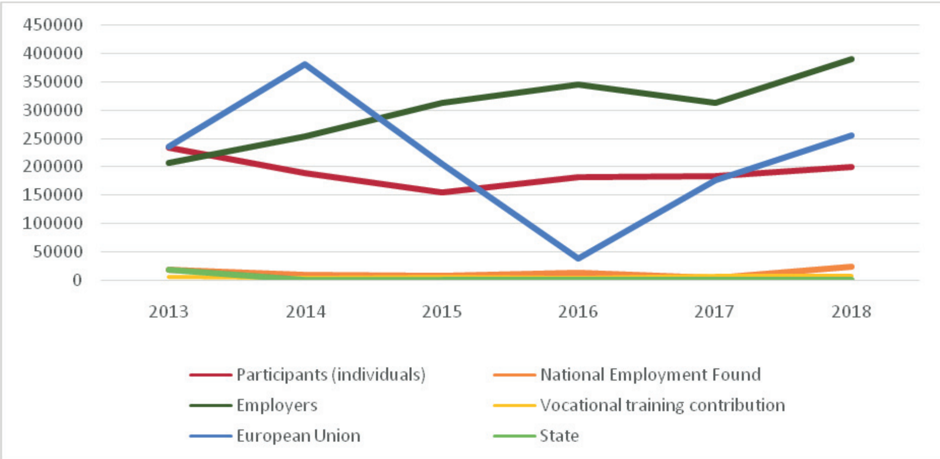

Figure 7. Number of participants in adult education according to the distribution of cost bearers between 2013 and 2018.

As of 2012 there are no exact data available on the funding of adult education in open access databases. Thus the exact volume of resources turned to adult education and, within this, the relating European Union resources, cannot be determined. Based on statistical data relating to adult education – according to my own calculations – the volume spent on adult education annually is approx. HuF 100 billion (~EUR 313 million). Due to the deficiencies of data provision however this volume may be much higher.

In 2013 the Government argued that the transformation and reregulation of the system of adult education were necessitated because problems relating to quality and effectiveness. In the earlier system of adult education (prior to 2013) the various resources could not be harmonised at an appropriate rate. As a result, it was impossible to demonstrate the effectiveness and utilisation in the labour market of the resources provided by the state and the European Union. There are no reliable data available on these features even today. During the past few years the Government has launched several projects for educating adults. In most cases however the goals and tasks have not been determined exactly, there has been no planning and co-ordination, there has been no co-operation and co-ordination among the actors involved, and the effectiveness of these projects has not been measured. Therefore the rate of effectiveness and efficiency of the project aiming to deliver training during the past few years have been extraordinarily low. This was recognised also by the Government in a strategy published in April 2019 entitled 'Vocational training 4.0: "The system of adult education is first of all based on the educational supply of trainers, and it does not respond with appropriate flexibility to the demands of the labour market in the economy. The problem in the current system of adult education is that it is impossible to objectively measure efficiency". (Innovációs és Technológiai Minisztérium, 2019, p.7). Thus it seems that there has been no improvement in developing appropriate measurement methodologies to demonstrate the effectiveness of adult learning programs. The negative balance however is further deteriorated by the fact that the one and only independent periodical on adult education has been terminated, no research activities have been initiated during the past few years, and the university level training for adult educational professionals has also been terminated by the Government.

However it is indeed adult education that will create a chance for acquiring jobs and living a better life for a significant number of individuals also in the future. We have now entered the age of Industry 4.0. which will make core changes in our lives, work and relationships. It will transform the labour market and the work performed in existing workplaces (See: CEDEFOP, 2018; McKinsey & Company, 2018; World Economic Forum, 2018). New knowledge areas will develop and, as a result, continuous renewal of abilities will be necessary. Thus knowledge will have an ever increasingly important role. Therefore learning will be key in the adaptation to accelerated technical development, and that true life-long learning will gain more genuine importance than ever before. The changes caused by the fourth industrial revolution will have an effect not only on the labour market, but also on every area in life. This transformation shall entail the deepest possible effects in society. These may result in a shock similar to the radical changes in the aftermath of the transformation of the political regime in 1989.

In relation to this issue, the OECD called its member states to urgently modernise their adult education systems in order that they could prepare within the possibly shortest period of time for the challenges posed by the new technologies. The fact whether the society in a country enjoys the advantages of digitalisation and automation, or suffers from these, among other factors depends on to what extent the system of adult education in a given country is prepared to sustain and develop the abilities and knowledge of its employees.

The OECD has developed the Priorities for Adult Learning (PAL) dashboard and the report Getting Skills Right: Future-Ready Adult Learning Systems in 2019, which assess along seven dimensions how ready adult learning systems are to address these challenges[5] (OECD, 2019a). Among others, the OECD in its recommendation called its member states for providing targeted support for the groups of individuals with low qualifications, to unemployed persons, immigrants and senior citizens. Besides all these, they should adjust better the training programmes to the labour market demands, and improve the quality and effectiveness of the training courses. They should also ensure adequate state funding for adult education, and create incentives for employers by tax policy measures to enable them to provide contributions, and urge individuals to learn by providing them with financial support and paid holidays (OECD, 2019a). Based on the assessment performed by OECD experts, Hungary is one of its member states in which the system of adult education is in urgent need for improvement, and where more resources must be allocated for adult education together with the involvement of a higher number of individuals in adult education. A question is whether these goals can be achieved without professionally qualified experts and adult educators.

The situation of professionals in adult education in Hungary

In Hungary today there is a peculiar legal situation in which the relevant laws in this area do not contain standard requirements concerning teachers working in adult education. It is not a requirement the teachers possess special knowledge and maybe qualifications or competences acquired in non-formal circumstances certified probably within the framework of validation procedures about adults, their psychological characteristics, motivation and learning methods.

In the system of public education it is not even a question whether teachers need pedagogical and methodological knowledge. Every actor in the system deems it natural. Then why is it possible that anybody, without any special andragogical knowledge can work and teach during the organisation and implementation of adult educational programmes that involve an annual volume of several hundreds of thousands individuals with an extraordinarily heterogeneous distribution?

It has been a practice during the past few years that the professionals in adult education are not trained but spontaneously selected. Experts in many cases attain the competences necessary for dealing with adults by way of acquiring experience outside institutional training and education. At the same time however in respect of quality and professionalism it is of utmost importance that those, who work in the area of adult education should acquire professional qualifications. This can be self-attained knowledge, but it is absolutely necessary to know

5 According to the PAL dashboard data Hungary's performance is the worst in three dimensions: coverage, flexibility and guidance, and financing. Hungary however performs well in the dimensions such as urgency, alignment and the perceived impact (OECD Dashboard, 2019b).

that basics of the theory and methodology of this area. Since some adult educators possess significant professional experience, the acquisition of adult educator "qualifications" could also be realised during the course of validation processes. The summary of and making visible the experience and knowledge as well as the recognition of these could also contribute to the process of professionalization. But in Hungary there is no validation system for the assessment and recognition of empirical knowledge. However it seemed that the issue of training professionals for adult education as an independent disciple was resolved between 2006 and 2016 by the introduction of andragogy in higher education at basic and master level. However the issue of training adult educators was not clarified even during that period. It was a significant result of the transformation of the teacher training system that as of September 2009 a university training course was launched aimed at providing the qualification of teacher of andragogy as a second teaching degree. During this training course teacher trainees were prepared for professionally dealing with individuals, who participated in learning activities in adulthood, and for the application of learning and teaching strategies and methodologies that could be used effectively and efficiently in educating adults. This was a quality step forward in the area of enhancing the professional prestige of adult education and training since it was not possible to acquire a university degree in adult education. The fact that there were conditions contained in a relevant law on how individuals could attain a degree andragogy educators, reinforced the position that the organisation and implementation of educating adults was regarded as a profession, and that professional preparation and qualification were necessary for educating adults (Farkas, 2013). This period however did not last long since the subject of andragogy at basic level and that of teacher of andragogy were terminated by the Government in 2015. This was clearly a political decision, and not a professional one based on facts. It was a priority in the programme of the government, which took office in 2010 (and has been in power ever since), to transfer the vocational training system and to introduce a dual vocational training system in order to create competitive vocational education and training. The reasoning behind this was understandable and generally known: the lack of well-trained workforce was one of the major obstacles in the way of the establishment of large foreign companies and also the development of domestic small and medium-sized businesses in Hungary. As a result of the transformation processes the decentralised vocational system that functioned earlier was replaced by a highly centralised management and financing mechanism and an institutional system operated predominantly by the state. Acquiring the first two vocational qualifications in the state-subsidized, school-system vocational education and training system is free, the second vocational qualification (from 2015) can only be obtained in school-system adult education (after 25 years of age individual can take part only in adult education). Thus, adult vocational training has been integrated into school-based VET, where VET teachers teach adults as well.

The government wants to strengthen school-based vocational and adult education. The measures show that the quality of adult education programs can only be guaranteed if they are implemented within the school system and on the basis of a strictly regulated curriculum. And despite the fact, that adult education outside the school system creates a number of values, the meaningful value-added work of the adult learning professionals remain hidden and invisible. The reason for all these also is that although the practice of learning in adulthood has a long history, the profession of adult educator has not been able to develop to be a profession in a classical sense, and has never been able to be proactive. This profession has no particular characteristic features, identity and the professional self-organisation of the branch of adult education is at a very initial stage even today. It has always been determined by interests, thus its regulatory pillars have not been developed by professionals, on the contrary, the professional pillars were developed by regulations. It is the commonly known and painful reality that that social support for andragogy, adult education and training professionals in andragogy continues to decline significantly.

At present the system of adult education is in the process of revision. During the period of writing this study (August 2019) the steps of transformation are still not clear. There is an idea that the independent legal regulation of adult education will be terminated, and the provisions on adult education will be contained in the act on vocational education. The process of transforming the system of adult education and the modification of the relating legislation is being conducted without meaningful professional and social discussion and co-ordination also at present.

Conclusion

The ideal of life-long learning appears as a goal in every democratic country. The European Union makes efforts in order to provide significant funds for its citizens' learning activities to enable them to remain competitive in the globalised competition in the labour market and to preserve their freedom also in an economic and mental sense. At the level of rhetoric and professional policy documents it is a priority goal to educate adults also in Hungary. The reality however is that as a result of a kind of distorted logic expressed by the Government today adult education is in an extraordinarily peripheral situation and is exposed to the subjective value judgement of a small group of decision makers. The social and political environment at present is not favourable for initiatives that aim at elevating adult education in Hungary to a European level, and individuals, who are willing to do so, are forced to pursue such activities facing significant headwind. However it is indeed (adult) learning that will create a chance for acquiring jobs and living a better life for a significant number of individuals also in the future. I consider learning necessary because I believe that it leads to the development of a freer, more democratic, healthier, richer, all in all a happier society in Hungary. We, professionals of adult education, bear responsibility for teaching individuals to think! For opening a window to the rest of the world. For making individuals recognise that they are capable of doing better and achieving more! For making the members of society understand that knowledge creates chances, alleviates poverty, helplessness and tyranny. I am aware that adult education and training alone cannot change society. But it is the main tool to start changes in the right direction.

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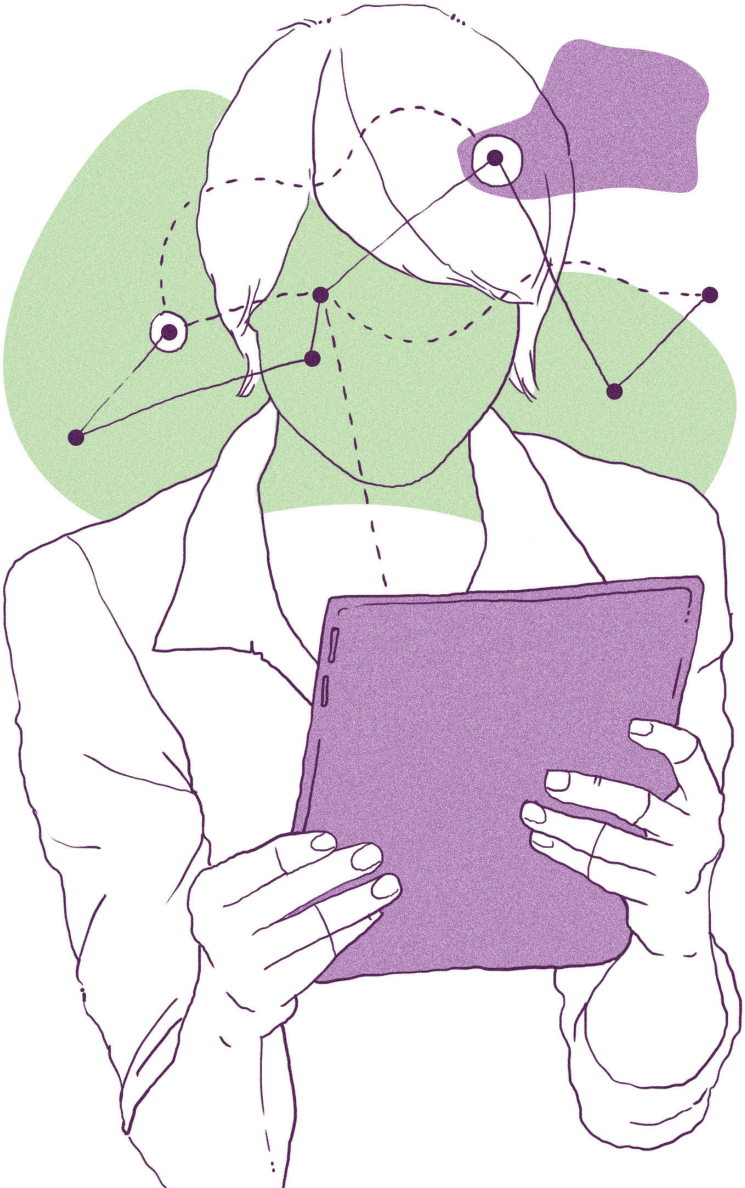

THE ROADS OF DIGITALIZATION — SOFTWARE TECHNOLOGY AND DATA IN DIFFERENT CONTEXTS OF ADULT EDUCATION

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DIGITAL RESEARCH AS A RESOURCE FOR REIMAGINING FURTHER EDUCATION

Abstract

This paper draws on the project *Further Education in England: transforming lives and communities*[1]. Data – comprising a series of narratives from learners, teachers, employers and learners' family members – were video recorded and shared via a project website; an inter-related and multi-faceted digital platform. This catalysed what we describe as virtually enhanced engagement and constituted a 'thirdspace' (Soja, 1996) i.e. a space in which further and adult education could be reimagined, through a collective dialogical interaction of practitioners and students as more than the quantitatively–defined abstract space that current policy discourse reifies.

Keywords: digital research, further education,

Introduction

Further education in the UK comprises a broad range of courses and educational experiences for 16–18 school leavers but also for adults who are returning to learn. Over the last quarter century, policies that have fostered neoliberalisation with its focus on de– and re-regulation, economic competitiveness (both national and institutional) all framed by (so-called) 'free market' competition have had a significant impact on the colleges that provide further education, disrupting their role and function in local ecologies of communities and employers and local democratic structures and instead positioning them instrumentally as a sorting house through which the population is processed in order to provide human capital (Becker 1993).

This has tended to consolidate a 'classed' two tier (academic versus vocational) system which, following the funding cuts imposed as part of austerity

1 http://transforminglives.web.ucu.org.uk/

has created a system of structural disadvantage. In this way, colleges educating young people and adults are structurally positioned as providers with a responsibility to supply human capital to fulfil the 'skills needs' of employers.

While neoliberal educational policy often pays lip-service to social justice through the discursive vehicle of 'social inclusion', behind this promise of social mobility through educational attainment is a skills discourse that depends upon the objectification of students and their stratification within an intractable structure that perpetuates divisions between 'academic' and 'vocational' pathways. With reduced funds to adult learning (around 40% since 2010 according to AoC 2016), it also appears that the age-staged tyranny of compulsory education presents the main or only opportunity for individuals to transcend their family's social background (if that is what we take social mobility to mean). If nothing else this reaffirms governmental complacency in the face of ongoing social divisions. What remains of the 'social mobility' dimension of the policy rests on a reliance on supply-side intervention in the labour market (Keep 2006) while largely ignoring measures to adjust employer demand. Underpinning the whole approach is an ever less convincing fable about economic growth and the classic neoliberal assumption about social benefits accruing from a 'trickle-down' as a result of 'wealth creation' activities on the part of employers (Harvey 2005, p. 64–65).

This paper presents findings from a collaborative research project into how, against a challenging landscape constrained by the pressures of marketisation and funding, further education continues to offer a 'differential space' (Lefebvre, 1991) in which adult learners who have often had negative experiences of schooling, supported by critical pedagogy, are able to experience education as transformative (Mezirow 2000; Duckworth 2013; Duckworth & Ade-Ojo 2016; Duckworth & Smith 2017, 2018b).

In England, the ideological effect of the Further and Higher Education Act of 1992 was to conjure into being and consolidate what has become known as 'the Further Education Sector' – a generalised and 'abstract' space (Lefebvre, 1991) that has facilitated policy making at a distance and systematically superimposed a centralised drive to address economic and skills concerns over local 'ecologies' of teaching and learning. Marketisation requires colleges to generate performance data: 'metrics' – measurable phenomena – which have come to shape and dominate college cultures by imposing on them a regime of (primarily quantitative) knowledge production. These pressures have resulted in a sectoral habitus, a way of doing and seeing things in colleges /providers that values and promotes the production by teachers and managers of favourable performance data detached from and distorting the lived experiences of teaching and learning.

Travelling against the grain of this linear, rigidly systematised and systematising mode of knowledge production – designed and functioning to facilitate arm's-length control by the State – our research project chose to utilise digital media to foreground the narratives of students, teachers about the individual and social benefits of learning. Our use of digital media was designed expressly as a de-centred way of sharing the research. Also unlike the knowledge production regime enforced by marketization, our sharing of data was dialogical – inviting as it did, its audience to comment and contribute.

The project data was published via the internet to provide a qualitative, textured and critical picture: a nuanced picture we would argue that creatively represents perspectives that, in their granular, irreducibly qualitative nature are typically ignored as 'too complex' and contextual within marketised settings. As a project that sought methodologically to bring values and practices from critical pedagogy (Freire, 1995) to research practice, we viewed the cycle of research as enhancing the agency of the participants by foregrounding their stories and offering an alternative set of narratives that crossed institutional boundaries and challenged reductive discourses that permeate discourse about the FE 'sector'.

In contrast to the highly constrained and performative knowledge production practices that incorporation has brought into being within colleges, this project has collected counter-metric narratives in video form: stories told in the voices of students and teachers and others that fall outside of what is deemed to be measurable. In this way the project provided a collaborative and democratic space for the sharing and celebration of participants' stories; their voices were validated. The website was a key facilitating factor in this. We will focus in particular on the project's creative use of digital tools to: i) extend engagement with and dissemination of the project findings and ii) enrich the research through the establishment of discursive *fora* and a virtual space in which ideas and narratives related to transformative teaching and learning could be shared. The chapter concludes by theorising the connection between a digital research methodology and critical pedagogy in an attempt to model a democratic and dialogical approach to knowledge production that that acts as a counterforce to work against the grain of current neo-liberal hegemonic discourses.

Working through a research methodology

The methodological approach adopted in this research project sought to be forward-looking: to endorse newly established learning identities and to share in a collective imagining of future plans. We drew on participatory methodologies where the oppressive qualities of the 'researcher' and the 'researched' relationship were challenged, this cohered with our intention to position social justice at the core of the undertaking. As such we strove then to convene research discussions in a safe space, a space moreover that shared some characteristics with critical pedagogical space. Underpinning this was a sense of research as a social practice (Herndl & Nahrwold 2000) i.e. not divorced from everyday relations or having any 'mystique' that might in any way make participants feel like 'subjects'. Instead, just as education can be experienced as a socially embedded process that is to a greater or lesser degree conditioned by the social forces and structures that shape our society, so as researchers we were aware of how research can reduce to a limited and convention-ridden exchange between people who do not enjoy an equal social footing (Duckworth and Smith, 2019). As such, the methodological approach adopted for the study was closely aligned to critical pedagogy (Freire 1995, Breunig, 2005) and extended a number of its underpinning principles.

The research project: *FE in England: transforming lives and communities*[2], sponsored by the University and Colleges' Union, utilised a digitally embedded research methodology to gather, explore and share project data. The data comprised a series of narratives from learners, teachers, employers and learners' family members. These were collected through video recorded interviews which were then shared via a project website. A Youtube channel[3] and twitter account (@FEtransforms) were further features of an inter-related and multi-faceted digital platform that were used to build a project audience and an interactive critical space which garnered further contributions in the form of written narratives, photographs and artefacts. This digital platform was used to grow a wider project audience to participate in a collaborative way by contributing to the data. The Transforming Lives project has gained considerable traction nationally and internationally. To date, the virtual UCU Transforming Lives website has had 23,775 sessions, 14,000+ users and more than 93,000 page views (Wordpress Google analytics). The project twitter account has 1736 followers (as of September 2019).

The aim of hosting the data on a website was to catalyse what we describe as *virtually enhanced engagement* in order to constitute a 'thirdspace' (Soja, 1996) i.e. a space in which FE could effectively be reimagined, through a collective dialogical interaction of practitioners and students as *more than* the quantitatively–defined abstract space that current FE policy discourse reifies. This interactive dimension extended the influence of the project and constructed new and alternative meanings in the public domain. It also facilitated engagement with policy makers and led to additional opportunities for public dissemination and speaking back and to the development of policy.

The research methodology brought together aspects from a range of different approaches. For us, life history and biography provided important entry points into our research (Goodson & Sikes 2004; Duckworth, 2013). The life stories of the researchers are closely bound up with FE and this provided a crucial frame of authenticity when meeting and speaking with participants. Reciprocity in telling our stories while asking participants to share their own was an impor-

2 http://transforminglives.web.ucu.org.uk/
3 https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCkDeirtGCmeBs361BgibXnA

tant principle in the collaborative practice of gathering the data. Goodley et al. (2004, p. 167) comment that:

Researching life stories offers opportunities for drawing on our own and others' narratives in ways that can illuminate key theoretical, policy and practice considerations.

Listening to participants' life stories provided insights into the transformative impact of FE for them and on their lives; it also illuminated the ripple impact on family and community. This often also involved us listening to participants recounting negative experiences of schooling. These research conversations were collaborative in the sense that not only were stories shared, but new understandings were generated for everyone involved. For the research team, participants' stories provided important insights into the factors that facilitated transformative teaching and learning. For participants, these dialogical research conversations involved a re-telling that culminated in a shedding of spoilt identities (for example through the symbolic violence of being labelled) and an affirmation of the new learner identities based on agency and self-respect. The discussions also, more broadly, fostered a growing awareness of social and historical factors that had shaped their experience of education to date (Duckworth & Smith, 2018a). Participants' sense that they belonged to a dispersed community that they could connect with through the project made possible a broadening of individual horizons.

This dialogical approach not only fed into a methodological position that sees research as a social practice (Duckworth & Smith, 2019) rather than as a separate, technical exercise in extracting information while remaining neutral and distant. As we explain below, we felt the nature of the narratives we were gathering demanded that we step outside of the rush and tumult of 'the present' and into a space of reflection in which we aimed to summon up a greater level of 'presence' (Lefebvre, 2004). Lefebvre (2004) uses the term 'presence' – counterposed against 'the present' – to critique 'everyday life which he sees as ideologically imbued with marketised relations. In contrast with the present which for him is "a fact and an effect of commerce":

> (W)ith presence there is dialogue, the use of time, speech and action.... presence situates itself in the poetic: value, creation, situation in the world and not only in the relations of exchange. (Lefebvre 2004, p. 47)

In this way, the research was reflexive as it recognised its own potential impact as social interaction. That consciousness made it important for us to draw on our understanding of critical pedagogy and to attempt to produce an egalitarian space for research conversations to take place in. Creating an atmosphere of informality, sharing our own stories, helped to rupture hierarchical relations; we aimed to position participants on an equal footing with us as researchers. Our narratives were woven into the research conversations as a way of de-mystifying research and ourselves as researchers.

Life history has the sensitizing potential "to enable voices to be heard that are usually silent" (Plummer, 2001, p. 248). This allowed the researchers not just to view the respondents' world picture but enables a mutual engagement with each other's narratives to open them up for discussion and meaning making. Throughout, we remained highly sensitive to the importance of the language we used as we wanted to explore the issues without labelling and stigmatising the participants. That said, the experiences they have are not neutral, they are lived experiences which demonstrate the inequalities which impact on their lives.

Involving teachers and students in the project

The project paid particular attention to the ethical issues associated with using a digital platform which included video. Anonymisation was offered to all participants but, as the focus was on the transformative qualities of their educational experiences, most were happy for their real names to be used. Recruiting participants to the project happened organically: starting with the existing professional networks and contacts of the researchers, it gradually spanned out across the UK and beyond. This momentum grew through an ongoing programme of virtual and actual dissemination. The researchers began presenting data from the project to audiences at local, national and international conferences within six months of it starting. These audiences included HE researchers, further education teachers but also policymakers and members of the public. This fed into participation naturally; those listening to presentations about the project were invited to contribute to the project website. We distributed postcards with images of participants and links to the website asking audiences to share their stories of transformative teaching and learning. This often then led to audience members contributing directly to the website. Once these new accounts had been written into the website under a tab labelled: *Share your story*, we were able to tweet the link out to the growing digital audience for the project.

In this way, the collection of project data was punctuated by specific social events that sought to promote a shared understanding of transformative teaching and learning and that generated further data gathering opportunities. At the same time, the research was digitally live and publically accessible as it developed.

The retelling of the participants' narratives was not without difficulties. To offer validity to the narratives, it was important to include our own life histories and to write ourselves into the knowledge (Stanley & Wise, 1993). This approach came with emotional challenges. The difficulty for us was feeling at times impotent as details surfaced within participants' narratives that spoke of deprivation, poverty and struggle. As comparatively privileged academics, we were sharing experiences with people who had often come from (or were still in) very different circumstances.

Maintaining the dignity of participants who talked about freeing themselves from drug dependency, abusive relationships, spending time in prison, episodes of clinical depression and similar experiences was paramount. This required a careful and judicious editing of the data that we thought it appropriate to include. Very personal and sensitive information (e.g. details of drug dependency or of family trauma) while often very significant were omitted to preserve participants' dignity and where there was a potential for impact on other family members.

Videography

The project positioned the use of video centrally as a medium for presenting participants' narrative voices. The immediacy of video and its ability to communicate participants' stories as told by them was one reason for this choice of medium. Also, we were keen to avoid or at least limit the kind of imposition of meanings onto their stories that is rendered largely invisible when snippets of transcript are presented on a page. A key finding of the research related to participants' experience of symbolic violence in their educational histories (Duckworth & Smith, 2018b, 2019) in which some were positioned in deficit terms as learners and labelled as 'thick'.

The critical and reflexive research methodology that we sought to utilise was conscious of the potential for our research interactions to embody symbolic violence in the same way. We asked ourselves what meanings we were reinforcing and imposing. By bringing a collaborative dimension to the research we sought to avoid transforming the project participants into passive research subjects. In the context of using video as part of ethnographic research, Pink (2007) suggests that visual knowledge should be presented in a contextualised way as forming part of a broader picture rather than simply being translated into written, knowledge during analysis.

By directing a critical gaze at the participant / researcher relationship, we repositioned ourselves as co-producers of meaning. While it is true that we were still responsible for the editing process, each video was shown first to the participant for approval. Additional edits were made at the participants' request. This was not surprising as many of the narratives were of an intensely personal nature and, indeed, the lens provided learners, teachers, family members and their communities with the opportunity to tell their stories through voicing their experiences and trajectories in education and the impact of this in the personal and public domains of their lives; each narrative exposed the distinctiveness and power of FE. The narratives also expose how transformation and the construction of positive educational identities allow for the reclaiming of spoilt identities based on agency and hope.

We converted video data to a format that could be embedded into visual or multi-media presentations while also uploading videos to YouTube. Digitisation facilitated posting and sharing across the public domain and disciplines. The emphasis throughout was on maintaining the dignity of participants as people who are able to tell their own stories.

The research allowed us to understand participants' life-worlds and their situated practices and lived local realities. Some of our participants have gone on to develop their technical skills into digital literacies.

In a digital age, learners need to practise and experiment with different ways of enacting their identities, and adopt subject positions thorough different social technologies and media. These opportunities can only be supported by academic staff who are themselves engaged in digital practices and questioning their own relationships with knowledge. (Beetham & Oliver, 2010, p. 167).

The digitalisation of data does not necessarily make it more comprehensive or more 'accurate'. An example of this comes from our experience of video recording research conversations with participants. It is important to acknowledge that however hard we tried as researchers to create an informal setting, the switching on and off the video camera somehow changed the atmosphere. While many participants were comfortable with the use of videoing on phones and with the notion of a lens capturing images, still the camera sometimes seemed to interpose itself between us and participants. A consequence of this was that often, the moment the interview ended and the camera was switched off, some participants would then seem to relax and the sense of suspended formality would trigger new comments and rich, important insights. A number of participants at this point related an experience or perspective that we wished we had captured as data. On at least one occasion, we switched the camera back on and asked for the story to be repeated. On other occasions, the data was off the record and while relevant, was judged to be too personal to be included. It was vital that the conversations captured were organic and followed the participants' flow of thoughts; they controlled what they wanted to disclose or not. The aim was to retain sensitivity and remain mindful of not exploiting their conversations in a voyeuristic way.

The project website

Figure 1. Project website landing page.

The use of a digital platform to present and disseminate the research responds to the rapid development of new and emerging technologies which impact on people's experiences of space and time. Within this context, the project utilised a research methodology with the reach and power to engage, inspire, entertain, enrich and connect. This meant taking account of a non-linear approach to accessing and navigating information sources; constant and instant online communication and connectivity sharing information culture (see for example, Prensky, 2001).

The project participants spanned different generations: the youngest being 16, the oldest in her fifties. A number of participants in our study lacked digital literacy skills and the project became a platform for them to develop these. For example, some learners set up accounts in order to watch their videos, or set up twitter accounts and engaged with an online community for the first time as a result of involvement in the project. In this case, digitally mediated research, drawing on technologies such as laptops, tablet computers and smartphones, provided access to and engagement with research across social media networks and at times and locations that were convenient to the social media users.

Our use of digital tools was geared towards the facilitating the expression of stories of individual caught up in 'the present' and hidden by the corporate narratives engender by marketisation. We would argue that these project narratives, free from the distortion of the funding and market-driven cultures that have come to dominate FE settings, instead present a human picture of lived experience and social reality. In addition, they are orientated towards future development for the individuals concerned but also for FE itself.

The website produces a "thirdspace" (Soja, 1996) in the sense that it actively seeks to represent aspects of transformative teaching and learning in particular ways through featuring narratives about different aspects of FE. The uses of digital media here became a way of addressing:

> the realisation that it is space now more than time that hides things from us, that the demystification of spatiality and its veiled instrumentality of power is the key to making practical, political and theoretical sense of the contemporary era. (Soja, 1989, p. 61)

If we accept Soja's claims about spatiality, then the internet is a crucial development with the potential to reveal 'the hidden' and spread locally produced knowledge across networks at previously unimaginable speeds. As such, the project is disruptive of the notion of a 'FE sector' that disguises the huge breadth in socio-economic contexts in which adult and further education happens across the country. One effect of this notion, at an ideological level, is that it encourages the imagining of further and adult education as some kind of homogeneous whole. This is certainly how policy makers view it and project policies onto it. In fact, further and adult education exists within local ecologies and the imposition of centrally prescribed policy directives is likely to be inappropriate and to have unforeseen consequences. This 'sectoral' discourse has a broader and more insidious effect as it promotes an instrumental and economised skills discourse as part of a national picture in ways that over-ride the social benefits that further and adult education provides. Where these two purposes are in tension, there is a likelihood that the social justice purposing that is articulated (more or less) by most providers will be marginalised and or undermined. When that happens, further and adult education is in danger of becoming a structural force for the replication of inequality and thereby social injustice.

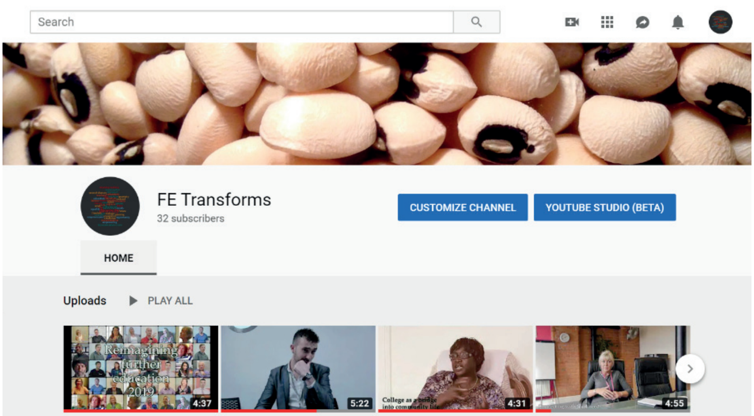

Figure 2. The Project Youtube Channel.

While it is curated by the researchers, both students and teachers of FE are free to contribute their narratives. The website thus becomes an attempt to assert what is relevant and what is meaningful in the work carried out in FE settings. These are not just 'stories from below' that only present lived experience of practitioners, learners and others; instead they include commentaries about wider policy, funding and artefacts focusing on specific perspectives (e.g. women and transformative learning or employers' perspectives). In that sense then, the website is an attempt to create a space that makes dialogue possible between sometimes conflicting views on the purposes, meanings, achievements and problems of FE.

We were excited to see how some videos became stimulus materials for teachers that generated further narratives for an online project audience. One example of this was Adam's video. Adam was a student who had been excluded from school for anger management issues that seemed rooted in a frustration at being labelled. At college, he (re)discovered a positive learning identity. Another project participant, a teacher who ran classes similar to those Adam attended, used his video as stimulus material. The students in her class recognised different aspects of Adam's account and were able to relate this to their own educational experiences in a constructive way. One of the students produced a piece of writing that illustrates this empathy and the beginnings of reflection. This was shared on the project website.

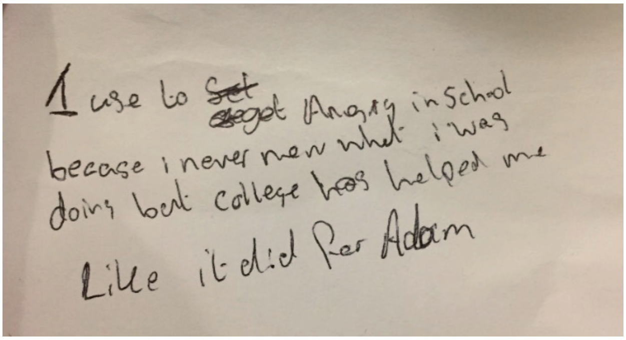

Figure 3. The use of stories of TTL in classroom settings

Broadly, the project-dedicated website was driven by dissemination and public engagement. However, it was more than this; it provided a platform to validate and celebrate the narratives of learners. The research approach itself became a part of the affirmative practice that aided the transformative learning that participants had often experienced.

In that sense, taking part in the research reinforced the positive learning identities that the participants talk about having achieved.

Social media

Figure 4. Twitter project homepage.

The project made extensive use of Twitter (@FEtransforms). Linked to website content in the form of videos but also text-based participant contributions, tweets helped us develop the sense of a new space of communication in which participants' experiences could be shared and affirmed. The use of Twitter helped establish and build an audience for the research and required an investment of time: at least half an hour or an hour every evening and weekend. This took account of participants and communities more widely going online at various times and in various spaces, e.g. on trains, in meeting rooms, at conferences *inter alia*.

The 140 character limit (for the first eighteen months of the project) of the Twitter format led to additional developments in our creative use of media. We established a standard format of providing a headline about a new participant with a link to the video underneath. But we felt more variety was needed so we also produced collages of photos of participants from stills exported from the video data. These were used to link to the reports produced at different stages of the project. In addition, we used free websites to make GIFs that functioned in the same way as the collages: providing an artefact to attract a larger audience.

Finally, we also organised the video data in different ways. While the majority of videos present individual narratives, we developed a number that drew snippets from across the dataset to create themed videos. For example, a video was produced that focused on the transformative educational experience of women; another video focused on adult literacy. These were essentially a reframing of the data. Sometimes they included new segments from the research discussions, sometimes, they were a montage of extracts from videos that had already been published. The targeting of specific events, like International Women's day made a real difference to the impact of these tweets that magnified the interactive potential of the data.

In this digitised and accessible form, the project data has the potential to reach across geographic borders reasserting a particular meaning for adult and further education that has been obscured by the nihilist objectification of the neoliberal project.

Concluding thoughts

The project website acted as the digital core of the project. Emanating from it, in addition to the twitter feed and the Youtube channel, themed blog posts were produced for different organisations and websites; eighteen months into the project a conference was convened, bringing together many of the participants as well as HE academics and FE practitioners, policy-makers and others. The focus of the conference was to reimagine FE through the lens of transformative teaching and learning. In this way, all the different aspects of the project acted together to assert a heterogeneous picture of FE. The intention was to disrupt the 'abstract' and dominated space crafted by neoliberal policy-making and displace this with a 'differential' space (Lefebvre, 1991). In this space, the individual transformative narratives are sovereign. They are not narratives that tell the story of the inner workings of a 'sector', rather they are stories about how people's lives have been changed by a social (and often political) process in which they have shrugged off their spoilt learner identities and rediscovered an ability to learn, harnessing this to agency and hope for the future.

The research has an ethic of respect for the individual and their communities. In this, it is working against the grain of the marketised cultures that have taken root in FE that, typically, objectify students (Duckworth & Smith, 2018b). This is perhaps the key difference between research which can claim to be socially just and research undertaken within other frameworks and paradigms where although there may be a focus on social justice, the research itself falls into the deficit-reinforcing position of using approaches and processes which reify participants' passivity. We would argue that digital technologies are not neutral tools – they can produce spaces where stories can be reclaimed that unsettle the hegemony of inequality and objectification.

Our research has illustrated how digital technologies can offer a way of communicating a reimagination of further education: one that is infused with emancipatory power. The use of the website, youtube channel and social media in conjunction with each other allows for a reaching out to an audience and a breaching of the boundaries that divide scholarly and local communities. The virtual platform has developed an energy locally, nationally and globally. Traditional research cultures may have resistant attitudes to digital technologies, however, we would argue that digital literacy and practices are a necessary part of research training to meet the needs of participants in the 21st Century. Certainly, failing to use them amounts to missing an important opportunity to share data and involve the research audience in meaning-making and knowledge production. Marketisation and the current funding regime have resulted in an ideological reimagining of a 'sector' that has had a significantly negative impact on the local agency of teachers and learners – whose voices within the corporate, competitive institutions have been silenced as well. The *Transforming Lives* project, through harnessing critical digital platforms, has sought to create a new shared understanding of FE that offers an exciting and hope-filled alternative; an alternative that can contribute to the resources of hope that are vital in this age of austerity.

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THE WORK-RELATED USAGE OF INFORMATIONAL COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGY AND THE LEARNING OF EMPLOYEES

Abstract

This mixed methods research was aimed to explore the relationship between the work-related usage of informational communication technology and the learning of employees. To foster deeper understandings in research of this relationship, we applied explanatory sequential design using nested samples for the quantitative and qualitative components. In the quantitative component, data were obtained with scales, and analyzed from 483 employees in different companies in Serbia, while for qualitative component semi-structured interviews were conducted with 35 respondents from the same sample. In the first component the collected data were subjected to a few common (frequencies, std. deviation, means, etc.) and more complex statistical proceedings (canonical correlation analysis), while in the second component data were subjected to the qualitative content analysis. The results obtained in the both components of research indicate very complex interaction: two groups of distinctive relations are derived, one that explain organizations that views ICT merely as a tool for work-related learning with potential for enhancing organizational performance, and another that views ICT merely as a tool for improving performance.

Keywords: work-related learning of employees, informational communication technology, andragogical interventions, mixed methods research

Problem statement

Learning in organization is a complex set of differentiated forms and activities of learning, diverse in content, quality, goals and outcomes, context specific, that are realized at the individual, group or organization level, encouraged by various andragogical interventions usually aimed to improve work-related activities at the individual level through the development of capacity for change and adaptation and developing opportunities for team and organizational learning (Ovesni, 2019). It can take place as "a reproductive process (knowledge acquisition, repetition, exercise) and as a fully productive and interactive process of discovering, sharing and individually searching for meaning and understanding (where the final form is internalization and self-construction of reality" (Despotović, 2010, p. 81). Learning in organization is a complex interrelationship between people, their activities, symbols, and processes in the organization (Schwandt & Marquardt, 1999).

The work-related learning of employees is the group/collective phenomena and organizational process that drives development of the new knowledge or new insights that could influence changes in behavior at the individual, group, or organizational levels. The work-related learning is a comprehensive term that embraces different types of creation and dissemination of the work-related knowledge through learning, training, and education activities at the workplace.

Employees usually learn in the workplace through interactions with others in their daily work environments (working context) when they need to learn (Marsick, & Watkins, 2015). The basic characteristic of this type of learning is its focus on obtaining and/or development of the work-related knowledge and skills or on solving problems inseparable from the work process (Brandenburg & Ellinger, 2003). Three key factors affect work-related learning: (1) engagement in everyday work tasks, (2) direct guidance from co-workers, and (3) indirect guidance provided by the workplace itself and others in the workplace (Billett, 2001).

Changes in work-related learning can be viewed from different perspectives. On the one hand, they are particularly influenced by globalization, business diversification, increased competitiveness and intense market changes, the usage of modern technologies, and increased demands for quick profits and achieving optimal or improving existing performance. The effects of these influences are reflected in changes in the "meaning of work", an increase in "intellectual capital", changes in organization, career redefinition, transition of traditional forms of work into the domain of "virtual jobs", and the requirements of employees for just-in-time learning (Brandenburg & Ellinger, 2003; Short, Brandenburg, May, & Bierema, 2002).

Accordingly, organizations are expected to gain knowledge of how to progress and how to respond to a range of changes. To cope with this task successfully organizations need learning that will equip them with the ability to acquire new skills, information, knowledge to adapt to change" (Savićević, 2007, p. 193). That kind of strategic orientation toward the work-related learning is a combination of different elements of knowledge that enable improvement or preservation of existing performance while developing the critical capacity of an organization to cope with change, and constitutive element of the process of shaping, protecting, and maintaining organizational advantage (Garavan, Shanahan, Carbery, & Watson, 2016; Gilley, Callahan, & Bierema, 2003).

Until recently, the learning environment for employees was planned and organized according to the capabilities and intentions of the implementers and planners, usually outside the organization or outside the workplace. Such an understanding is today abandoned as andragogically unfounded, ineffective, inefficient and economically unjustified because "the new corporate reality is that managers and employees demand critical information to be available immediately when they need it, at or near their job site" (Jones, 2001, p. 482). In this context, technology-enhanced learning in organization, and especially just-in-time learning is an "evolutionary response to the demands of a knowledge-driven and speed-oriented marketplace" (Brandenburg & Ellinger, 2003, p. 311). This type of learning is a sublimation of the strategic gaining of the competitive advantage of an organization as it enables the rapid acquisition of the necessary knowledge and the timely transfer of learned through all organizational components (Poell, 2017).

The common activities of non-formal and informal workplace learning through interactions with others are project work (that emphasizes teamwork and shared decision making), meetings, interaction with product/service users, supervision, mentorship, adjusting to changes, communication with co-workers, different kind of on-the-job or off-the-job trainings, inquiry, documenting, job performance, visits to different locations, etc.

The information and communication technology (ICT) support different kinds of learning of employees as a tool that help them not only in the processes of non-formal and informal work-related education and learning, but also in the related processes of knowledge sharing, transfer, feedback, regardless of the scope and mode of them. Burgess and Russell (2003, p. 294) recorded some of the benefits an organization has from work-related learning supported by ICT: a fast, effective way to train employees, the opportunity to use the best instructors and provide high-quality courses, a high rate of course completion and knowledge retention, updated information, enhanced responsibility of learners, an increased impact of investments in learning programs, reduction in travel costs, possibility for often mass training, possibility for short learning sessions that are easier to schedule and coordinate, the delivery of a consistent message to all employees, possibility for provision for real-time updates and just-in-time information access, possibility for convenient to employees, possibility for group learning, possibility to use learner-centered programs, easier access to learning resources and experts. Otherwise, some researchers found some disadvantages in usage of ICT in the workplace. Eastin, Glynn and Griffiths (2007) discussed limitations identified by organization, e.g. usage of emails, instant messages, and gaming for personal reasons, other than work-related reasons as a limitations, while Day, Scott and Kevin Kelloway (2010) discussed limitations identified by employees: ICT malfunctions, usage of multiple incompatible ICT, increased demands due to ICT security precautions, and increased demands related to the new ICT.

The common activities of non-formal and informal workplace learning supported by ICT are instant messaging, email, access to different web-sites, blogging, social networking, participation in chat-rooms, in online forums, photo and video sharing, participation on web conferences, participation on webinars, participation in virtual reality environments, etc. Although learning at work is usually a social rather than an individual activity, some of the activities that are supported by ICT could be performed through interaction with others, but the indirect, asynchronous interactions are common, too; for that we consider ICT as a mediator between different stakeholders involved in the work-related learning process (Rosenberg, 2001).

The new generation of ICT used to shape work-related learning are aligned with business needs as they enable integrated information sharing between groups of employees, individuals, teams and communities, and access to a variety of databases (Brandenburg & Ellinger, 2003). Although nowadays ICT play a significant role in shaping workplace learning, primarily through supporting team/group collaboration, knowledge sharing, modularization and individualization (Goggins & Jahnke, 2013; Schaaf, 1990, in Short et al., 2002), the concept of ICT supported workplace learning is extensive because it has "significant social and organizational consequences" (Brandenburg, & Ellinger, 2003, p. 310).

Research questions

The relationship between different aspects of work-related usage of informational communication technology and the learning of employees were explored through the following research questions:

1. How activities of learning of employees in organization relate to the work-related usage of informational communication technology?
2. How organizations address ICT regarding to the work performance?
3. How organizations address ICT regarding to the work-related learning?

Methods

Considering that this mixed methods research was aimed to explore the relationship between the work-related usage of informational communication technology and the learning of employees, we decided to apply explanatory sequential design using nested samples for the quantitative and qualitative components to foster deeper understandings in research of relationship between these two phenomena. The study involves an explanatory sequential design; accordingly, we first employed quantitative, followed by qualitative component, where quantitative component has priority in the study (Creswell, & Plano Clark, 2011).

In the quantitative component, data were obtained with scales, and analyzed from 483 employees in different companies in Serbia, while for qualitative component semi-structured interviews were conducted with 35 respondents from the same sample.

Sample

The population for this study were employees from different companies in Serbia; they participate in the study voluntary and anonymously. We opted for sequential design using nested samples for the quantitative and qualitative components of the study (Matović, 2013; Onwuegbuzie & Collins, 2007). By using random sampling, data for quantitative analyses were collected from employees in different organizations from 10 cities in Serbia (Nqn=483). The on–line questionnaires were distributed to 542 respondents. We received total of 483 completed surveys, with a response rate of 89.1%. The demographic variables included age, gender, employees' overall tenure, tenure with current employer, level of education, number of employees in organization, and industry type.

The age of the participants ranged from 18 to 66 years, with a mean age near 39 years and 6 months. Female participants (n=319; 66.0%) outnumbered male participants (n=164; 34.0%). Average tenure ranged from 6 months to over 45 years, where a mean of overall tenure was near 14 years and 6 months, whereas mean of tenure with current employer were near 8 years and 6 months. The most of respondents, i.e. 28.8% had a four–year university degree, bachelor or college degree had 18.6% respondents, 16.9% finished vocational/craft schools, while master's degree or higher had 16.4% respondents. The gymnasiums or professional schools finished 9.9% of respondents, professional master's degree hold 4.6%, 4.3% of respondents hold a doctorate/PhD, while 0.4% finished only primary school. Most of the respondents (61.5%) were engaged on various consulting positions, 15.5% were engaged as technicians, 10.8% were engaged on managerial positions, 8.5% as manual laborers, while 3.7% were engaged as researchers, university professors or university associates. Among them, 57.3% are full–time employees, 24.2% have fixed–term contracts, 8.7% are re–employed pensioners, 5.6% are freelancers, while 4.1% are volunteers.

Most of companies in which respondents are employed have less than 500 employees (71.6%), 13.3% have 501–1000 employees, 8.9% have 1001–5000 employees, 5.0% have more than 10000 employees and 1.2% have 5001–10000 employees. 77.6% organizations that employed respondents are wholesale and distribution companies, 16.1% companies are in production and the distribution of goods and services, while 6.2% of them are production companies. 19.5%

respondents are employed in the education and science, 15.3% in public services, 10.2% in communication and telecommunication, 8.3% in retail, 7.9% in art and culture, 5.4% in construction services, 5.2% are employed in health care, 5.0% in lodging/food/tourism, 4.8% in police, 4.6% in automotive industry, 3.5% in energy & natural resources, 2.3% in banking, 2.1% in transportation, while 6.2% are employed in other industries and services.

The present study employed stratified purposeful sampling based on respondent's tenure for the qualitative component, because some authors suggest "purposive sampling of particular cases combined with random sampling for survey to maximize both discovery and generalizability" (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989, p. 268). From the sample for quantitative component, we selected 36 respondents for the qualitative component of the study, with different length of tenure (Nql=36). Correspondingly, the sample for qualitative component of the study included 12 randomly selected respondents with less than five years of tenure, from six to thirty years of tenure (12 interviewees), more than thirty years of tenure (12 interviewees).

The average length of tenure for respondents were 15 years and 9 months, while the average tenure with current employer were 9 years and 7 months. The sample included 19 female and 17 male respondents. The average age of the participants were 43 years and 6 months. Among the interviewees, most of them (61.1%) had a four–year university degree, 25.0% finished high schools, master's degree had 8.3%, while 5.6% had bachelor or college degree. Most of the respondents (41.7%) were engaged on various consulting positions, 19.4% were engaged on managerial positions, 19.4% were engaged as technicians, 16.7% were engaged on middle–range administrative positions, while 2.8% were engaged as laborers.

Most interviewees (13.9%) are employed in communication and telecommunication, and in the automotive industry (13.9%), in public services (11.1%), in lodging/food/tourism (11.1%), 8.3% in energy & natural resources, 8.3% in the field of education, 5.6% of them are employed in construction industry, 5.6% in retail, 5.6% are employed in health care, while 16.7% are employed in other industries and services.

Instruments

To conduct the quantitative component of this empirical research few instruments were prepared and adapted. Instruments development involved several stages. First, we developed a pool of items for each construct using a deductive approach, based on lists of common activities of learning of employees in organization (Ovesni, Matović, & Luković, 2017; Ovesni, 2019). This first stage's content validity was assessed using survey research through independent cross-checking by six experts in andragogy. Based on their suggestions the list of questions was shortened, and to assure accuracy of the items the correction of text translated from English to Serbian were performed. The internal reliability coefficient, Cronbach's α for both instruments used for collecting data for quantitative component of the study was moderately high: for the first instrument, for measuring activities of learning of employees in organization Cronbach's α was 0.837, while for the second instrument, for measuring work-related usage of informational communication technology Cronbach's α was 0.857.

To measure *different aspects of organized activities of learning of employees in organization* (ALE) was measured a three–point frequency rating scale (18–items) with anchors ranging from 1 ("never"), 2 ("rarely"), to 3 ("often") was used. To measure *work-related usage of informational communication technology* (WRICT) we used a three–point frequency rating scale (27–items); each item had the response options to three choices, i.e. "1 = almost always", "2 = to a considerable degree" or "3 = seldom".

The interview protocol included seven open-ended questions. All questions were pilot tested for clarity with the group six experts in andragogy. The interviewees were informed that the interview will be anonymous, audio-recorded by interviewer, and transcribed verbatim. Participants were labeled by random names. Interview length were 10 to 25 minutes. The interviews were transcribed. All transcribed interviews were independently reviewed by three researchers (OK, NM and SJ). Among them, there was agreement that all transcript should be included into the further analysis, and the key themes were identified.

Data analyses techniques

The collected data were subjected (in the first component) to a few common (frequencies, std. deviation, means, etc. with IBM SPSS Statistics 23) and more complex statistical proceedings (canonical correlation analysis with Dell Software STATISTICA 12.5). To supplement them, for the data collected by interviews, we used qualitative content analysis, with the primary purpose to register different explanations of experience and interviewees' opinion about achievement of their engagement in workplace learning activities and about their work-related usage of informational communication technology. Two topics, with two kind of narratives were identified.

Analysis and discussion

Quantitative data

Results of canonical correlation test for relationship between activities of learning of employees in organization and work-related usage of informational communication technology of employees (Table 1) showed that five canonical correlations are significant. By using the cutoff correlation of 0.3 to select variables for each variable set, the variables in the set of WRICT related to the organizations that use diversified systems of mentorship to support differentiated usage of informational communication technology for work-related learning of their employees, correlated with the first canonical variate were: social networking, blogging, photo and video sharing, participation on web conferences, webinars, online forums, etc. Taken as a pair, these variates suggest that the more differentiated ICT of new generation is used in the organization, the more complex andragogical interventions are applied.

Table 1.
Results from Canonical correlation test for relationship between the work-related learning of employees and the work-related usage of ICT

Root Removed	Chi-Square Tests with Successive Roots Removed					
	Canonicl r	Canonicl r2	Chi-sqr.	df	Sig.	λ
0	0.478341	0.228810	371.6653	120	0.000000	0.453874
1	0.403153	0.162533	249.4197	99	0.000000	0.588537
2	0.316752	0.100332	165.9658	80	0.000000	0.702757
3	0.266417	0.070978	116.2203	63	0.000053	0.781129
4	0.258510	0.066827	81.5806	48	0.001799	0.840809

The second canonical variate included the variables in the set of WRICT related to the organizations that provide traditionally oriented on-the-job trainings to their employees (for personal skills, communication, or similar ones); to them traditionally oriented usage of informational communication technology (they support participation of their employees in webinars, discussion forums, and usage of e-mails) correspond. This pair of canonical variates reveal that to limited usage of traditional ICT correspond to a traditional, narrow range of andragogical interventions.

Next canonical variate included the variables in the set of WRICT related to the organizations that provide participation in conferences, seminars, symposiums, or in courses, lectures and other forms of structured education activities to their employees correspond to rejection of usage of informational communication technology for work-related learning. This pair of canonical variates suggest that organization that spent a lot of resources to perform structured work-related activities other than ICT related ones, express conservativism, i.e. resistance to changes, especially those that opens possibility to employees to obtain information related to innovation in their job in any other way except through prescribed activities.

The fourth canonical variate included the variables in the set of WRICT related to the organizations that do not provide learning possibilities for their employees (except those for obtaining necessary skills), and organizations that support only learning of employees through direct communication with their managers that correspond to absence of support to their employees to use informational communication technology for any work-related learning activity, both indoors and outdoors. This pair of canonical variates suggest that organizations that do not consider learning as an investment reject any kind of technology-enhanced learning in organization.

The last canonical variate included the variables in the set of WRICT related to the organizations that do not provide learning possibilities and that are indifferent regarding knowledge exchange, employees express tendency to use informational communication technology for work-related learning at home through social networking, participation on web conferences, webinars, discussion forums, etc. Although without organized andragogical interventions, employees in these organizations express one of the main characteristics of adult learners – self-directedness: in the absence of organized learning activities in the collective, employees undertake a self–organizing strategy for work related learning.

The findings of the quantitative component of the research show that organizations use ICT in a multiple of ways. The first group of organizations, described by the first two canonical variates, views ICT merely as a tool for work-related learning that could enhance organizational performance. In those organizations andragogical interventions are customary, they are relied on all of benefits provided by ICT. The two variants of relationship between work-related learning of employees and the work-related usage of ICT could be derived – the more advanced relationship in which organization act as a typical learning organization, and merely traditional relationship supported by familiar forms of learning and ICT. In both derived variants, work-related learning takes place in all available ways, often as ICT enhanced learning.

The second group of organizations described by the last three canonical variates, views ICT merely as a tool for improving performance, while three variants of relationship between work-related learning of employees and the work-related usage of ICT could be derived: (a) traditional approach to work-related learning combined with rejection of ICT as a valid learning tool, (b) lack of any kind of work-related learning in organization, including ICT enhanced learning, (c) lack of any kind of work-related learning in organization, while employees self-organize ICT enhanced learning activities. In these variants' ICT enhanced work-related learning could be rejected, ignored, or adopted as the only available source of knowledge.

Qualitative Data

The qualitative data revealed deeper meaning of these connections –– that quality of relationship between the work-related usage of informational communication technology and the learning of employees depends on management and understanding the role of learning in organizations. Two major tendencies are evident – in some organizations informational communication technology is seen dominantly as a tool for work performance, while other organizations view informational communication technology as a tool for work-related learning.

For the first topic, informational communication technology as a tool for work performance, two kinds of narratives are typical:

- In some organizations, work is dependent on ICT (typical narrative for four employees):

  John (30 years, college degree, associate): For me, it is impossible to imagine one day at the job without ICT.
- In another group of organizations, it is not common that employees use ICT (typical narrative for two employees):

  Daniel (49 years, college degree, manager): We do not use even e-mail in our company. Some of my co-workers do not know what Google is... I hope that something will change there...

For the second topic, informational communication technology as a tool for work-related learning, five kinds of narratives are typical:

- Some employees use ICT for work-related learning at home (typical narrative for eleven employees):

  Maria (33 years, four–year university degree, tehnician): At home, I am used to reading from the Internet about changes in my job, and then at the workplace I use this knowlege.
- Some employees use ICT for work-related learning on the job and at home (typical narrative for nine employees):

  Brendon (34 years, college degree, associate): When I have pause at the job, I'm learning about some new software. At home, I research about my job on Internet by myself. If you put some effort into own development, you can obtain better position.
- Some employees use basic form of just-in-time learning supported by ICT to solve issues related to their job (typical narrative for twelve employees):

  Jack (47 years, four–year high school, tehnician): We try to solve all problems immediately. If it is not possible, we contact managers via e-mail or cellphone, or we search for solution on Internet. We cannot work without ICT.

- In some organizations learning supported by ICT is an extension of collaborative learning (typical narrative for five employees):

  Stella (52 years, four–year university degree, manager): For problem solving I often use social networks to obtain some solution or opinion from my colleagues from other organizations.
- In some organizations just-in-time learning supported by ICT is one of the main learning strategies, because it provides fast solutions, that could circulate in organization (typical narrative for seven employees):

  Marissa (47 years, four–year high school, tehnician): We do not have time for individual training in company, so we use social networks, Viber, Whatsupp... We have own app, Ticketing system, that helps us to perform job. Also, if we are in trouble, we use Google to find solutions.

Employees emphasize work-related learning supported by ICT as very important learning activities that they undertake. ICT-based learning is often used in organizations: to communicate and inform employees, to find an adequate solution to the current problem as soon as possible. In the case that learning supported by ICT is a part of the organization's strategy, it could enable the rapid acquisition and timely circulation of knowledge across all organizational units. This kind of learning is characterized by a focus on knowledge, skills and solutions and inseparability from the work process. Work-related learning supported by ICT offers a variety of content and activities that can be undertaken, it is highly individualized and provides the necessary information. By involvement of colleagues from other organizational units or organizations work-related learning supported by ICT could become an extension of collaborative learning in organization.

Adaptation to the changes in the organization is one of the leading challenges for employees. Without adequate structured learning activities, inability to ask colleagues for help because they face the same problems, employees embrace work-related learning supported by ICT as the easiest option to successfully solve specific problems. In some cases, work-related learning supported by ICT has a remedial role. For some employees, work-related learning supported by ICT is substitute for the lack of adequate formal educational preparation, customized induction into work, and structured learning activities in the organization.

Conclusion

Findings indicate that organizations differ in the work-related usage of ICT. Regarding to the usage of informational communication technology as a tool for work performance two different approaches are identified. While in some organization's ICT is viewed as necessary, in other organization's ICT is viewed as a restraint to the routine activities.

Furthermore, two groups of distinctive relations between work-related usage of ICT and learning of employees are obtained. In one of the derived groups, the dominant view is that ICT is a tool for work-related learning with potential for enhancing organizational performance. In one group of organizations work routines are firmly anchored to the usage of a wide range of new generation ICT, while in another group although ICT is viewed as an important tool for enhancement of performance, traditional and work-related learning supported by ICT are intertwined. In another group of organizations ICT is merely viewed as a tool for improving performance, while relation of ICT to the work-related learning is reflected in rejection or exclusion by organization, or in uncritical embracement of ICT as a learning tool by employees. These findings imply needs on the improvement of learning practice in organizations and point out a necessity for diversified approach to work-related usage of informational communication technology. Particularly, they indicate requirement of the andragogy-based learning activities design that encompass wide variety of ICT related work-related learning activities.

Also, findings indicate that some organizations try to limit usage of ICT both as a tool for improving performance and as a tool for work-related learning. Interpretation of organizational struggle to accept changes and adapt to them could be caused by many reasons (e.g. individual, at the level of management, organizational, regarding industry, etc.) and explain from variety of perspectives. Consequently, although we used complex, mixed methods research design, generalizability of obtained results could be improved by further studies about same research problem.

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LEARNING RESISTANCE AND DEFENSE: A DATA-DRIVEN APPROACH

Abstract

Although originating from the corporative sector data mining techniques have been recently applied to data, collected from the education process. The purpose of the data-based approach is to discover useful insights about learning and learner which might be taken into consideration while creating and implementing a strategy to achieve the learning goals. Besides its efficiency, this approach affects learner satisfaction through customization of the learning process according to one's needs. The purpose of this paper is to identify the possibilities, challenges, and limitations of the data-driven approach to learning resistance and defense. The following considerations are based on the framework for learning analytics and comprehensive learning theory. The framework for learning analytics by Greller and Drachsler (2012) was introduced with identified key factors that need to be considered during planning and conducting a data-driven approach. The comprehensive learning theory by Knud Illeris (2009) which addresses learning resistance and defense among adult learners was also presented. A comparative analysis of the two frameworks resulted in the benefits of a data-driven approach, as well as possible challenges, and limitations in a sense of learning resistance and defense. While non-learning behavior is successfully recognized based on data, the distinction between resistance and defense is a domain expert task. Relying on dynamics data about non-learning behavior the corrective action might occur right-in-time, but there is a need for a deeper understanding of learner and context of learning. A human operator is still in charge of deliberation on the character of the reaction taken by the learning system or educator. Big data processing is a useful tool to recognize behavior related to learning resistance and defense but those insights are not self-explanatory.

Keywords: e-Learning, technology enhanced learning, learning analytics, learning engagement

Introduction

Increased interest in the process of learning from the perspective of psychology, education and management, stemming from the idea of knowledge as a factor of competitiveness, determined greater investment in education and, consequently, the need to monitor the output from that process (Illeris, 2003). The tendency to quantify the learning process is also present outside the business sector. It is not uncommon for educational institutions to make serious efforts to measure, represent and improve student's performance (Campbell, DeBlois, Oblinger, 2007; Hazelkorn, 2010), which is one of the factors that determined the development of a data-centered approach to education and learning.

The Big Data approach originated from the corporate sector in response to the need to extract information and knowledge from data that accompanies business processes potentially useful for business advancement. In addition to the size of the databases and the variety of data formats being recorded, this approach is characterized by the high speed of their processing and access to information in order to ensure that business decisions are supported by dynamic data. Data mining finds its place here as an automated or semi-automated process of finding patterns in large databases (Han, Pei & Kamber, 2011). By recording more and more information outside the business context, the application of data mining techniques becomes relevant for the development of science, and our focus is on the capabilities of this approach in learning sciences.

In today's conditions characterized by result orientation and rapid change, educational professionals are faced with the demand to make teaching as efficient as possible, so many activities are technology-based. The educational process and the learning process supported by technology is called e-education and e-learning. For the purposes of this paper, we will refer to technology-enhanced learning (TEL) as learning. The term encompasses the application of technologies to advance learning and teaching through the achievement of changes at the operational, quantitative and qualitative levels (Kirkwood & Price, 2013). In addition to the underlying meaning, we will also take into account the critical considerations that TEL see as "what is in fact a complex and often problematic constellation of social, technological and educational change" (Bayne, 2015).

Relying on technology in context-based teaching brings various advantages, including (Welsh, Wanberg, Brown, & Simmering, 2006): increased adaptability to end-user needs, improved monitoring of user activity, consistency of content for global application, reduced costs and shortened delivery time. However, the problems of learning in a virtual environment are numerous (such as learners' feeling of isolation and disorientation) and discussed in greater detail in the next chapter for the purpose of understanding the position of a data-driven approach in the wider field of learning. In the planning and implementation of educational and development activities, a balance is struck between the use of technology and the traditional model to maximize the benefits for all parties involved. One of the attempts to overcome this problem is the already well-known blended learning, and with the development of big data science, new opportunities are emerging, the overview of which is offered in the chapter on data-based learning.

Learning is a complex process that, among other things, involves an emotional component and engages an individual's prior experience. It does not always run smoothly, and one of the reasons for the setbacks are learning resistance and defenses. In order to understand them, it is necessary to take into account multiple dimensions of learning, the circumstances that arise from modern society, the emotional state of the individual, the immediate environment, etc. Therefore, more will be said about resistance and defense in a separate chapter.

Learning is considered (from the andragogy perspective) based on Knud Illeris's comprehensive theory and the learning construct that emerges from a data-driven approach, drawing onlearning analytics framework by Greler and Dashler's (2012). Through comparative analysis, we have identified several factors whose appreciation is challenging the data-driven approach: the social and cultural environment, the emotional dimension of learning, and the resistances and defenses. The research question in the core of this paper is what are the opportunities, challenges, and limitations for managing learning resistance and defense through a data-driven approach. The answer is offered in the final chapters.

A limitation of the forthcoming review is that the examples are related to educational institutions, not the corporate sector. If we determine learning within the discourse related to market logic then the outcome of the learning that happens at the faculties is in the function of meeting the needs in the labor market, just like in the case of corporate learning. Because of this and similarity in the age structure of learners (adult learners), we believe that it is reasonable to assume that the most of conclusions drawn from these materials can be generalized, and applicable to learning within a business organization.

Problems of a virtual learning environment

An extremely sensitive moment of TEL is the transition to virtual learning environment (VLE), whether part or all of the learning takes place in it. The consequences of such a change in the environment are numerous and difficult to systematically see. For the purposes of our consideration, the focus is on problems that result in a non-learning situation and for which there are attempts to respond using a data driven approach.

Exploring learning experiences in a virtual environment is especially important because unlike face-to-face models, the educator does not have direct contact with learners. The literature has often cited the consideration of virtual space experience according to which users are simply divided into digital natives and immigrants (Prensky, 2001). The first group belongs to the generations who grew up using smartphones and computers in everyday life, and the second to those who encountered this expansion in later life. The natives have a virtual environment where they feel confident, which is not necessarily the case with immigrants. Affiliation with these groups is determined based on the year of birth, a criterion based on stereotypes.

White (2011) summarizes the many criticisms made about such a concise division and proposes a move to visitors and residents, whereby group membership is determined only by experience and behavior when using technology, regardless of the generation factor. Residents are happy when they connect to the internet and feel a sense of belonging to the virtual community, as well as the freedom to share their views with it. Although not directly related to the learning context, such widespread understandings are significant because they indicate the existence of a number of people, potentially learners, who are challenged by the virtual environment. This brings us back to the dilemma, often neglected in the literature dealing with TEL: is, for some learners, the traditional environment the only right choice?

Research indicates a sense of fear and anxiety, especially at the beginning of the learning process (Conrad, 2002). When it comes to massively open online courses (MOOCs), drop-out after registration is one of the main problems, with a lack of interaction with educators and inadequate pedagogical approach as a potential cause (Khalil & Ebner, 2017). Lack of contact makes learners feel isolated in a virtual environment, and further consequences are disorientation and a decline in motivation (Mazza & Dimitrova, 2004). So, even when we overcome the initial barrier, resistance to the virtual environment in general, just registering, or starting a course does not guarantee that learning will occur. The high drop-out rate, whether for anxiety, isolation or other reasons, goes with TEL.

When a sense of alienation is associated with difficult coping in a learning environment, a situation by definition is close to burnout, which implies a hostile and alienating attitude of the employee towards the job he is doing (Cazan, 2015). The learning environment is reminiscent of a work environment because of: the burden of deadlines, the compulsory performance of certain activities, and regular attendance (Law, 2007). Although research on burnout in virtual space is mainly about educators (Hogan & McKnight, 2007; McCann & Holt, 2009), it is reasonable to assume that unpleasant learning experiences occur as a risk factor for learner burnout.

The assumption that learners, especially the younger generation, successfully and intuitively pass the learning paths of TEL is re-examined for a reason. It looks for patterns of engagement and efficiency in the use of technology solutions among learners (Howard, Ma, & Yang, 2016). What was intuitively clear it's confirmed through the data: in the virtual environment, just like in the traditional one, there are big differences in behavior between learners.

All these problems result in a situation where there is no learning. The reasons for this are aversion to the virtual environment, fear, anxiety, a sense of isolation and alienation. It is much more difficult for an educator to recognize these problems than when all participants are in direct contact, and taking timely, corrective action is also called into question. It can be assumed that, at least in a number of cases, the described problems are hindered by the resistances and defenses in learning that, when worked upon, can result in new, meaningful learning (Ileris, 2009). Below we will discuss how these conditions are recognized based on data and response capabilities. The idea that learning problems can be answered by applying data-detection techniques is not new, the reader is referred to the work of Castro and a group of authors for a systematic review (Castro, Vellido, Nebot, & Mugica, 2007).

A data-driven approach to learning

The vast amount of data that accompanies the learning process was recognized as early as 1979 in the analysis of the progress of distance education students observed at different stages of the academic cycle. We have been told of a "data explosion" (McIntosh, 1979), which, given the tools of the time, appeared to be a challenge in research. Over time, the quantity of data grew, and this tendency determined the urgency of the question: what can be deduced from learning from that data. Data logging formats are evolving, power of computers and analysis tools are growing (Baker & Inventado, 2014), so the technical challenge of processing databases created from a learning context has been overcome.

Second generation web tools are one of the sources of recorded data (Ferguson, 2012) in terms of user interaction with the learning environment. From that data group, the number of sessions on the system, their duration, quiz results, time devoted to learning resources, and the like are often used. Consumer interaction data, demographic and administrative, have also been recognized as relevant in the literature. In some cases, a system supported by adequate sensors can also record information on facial expression, visible body part, breathing, and eye movement (Scheuer & McLaren, 2012), using them to conclude users' emotional states or commitment to learning. Also, the data recorded by educators or learners when learning in a traditional setting is another relevant source.

A large number of tools used over learning process data, as well as data-driven approaches generally, originated in the corporate sector (Baker & Inventado, 2014), and their primary function is to anticipate, that is, manage risk, and enhance the decision-making process. It should be emphasized that the business and educational contexts are significantly different and that the ability to simply map approaches is questionable. While in the business environment, the main goal of implementation is to increase profits, in the education system it is to improve the learning process (Romero & Ventura, 2010). Another significant difference concerns the data. Learning data are more complexly interconnected than business transaction data, often carrying internal semantic information or links at multiple levels of meaningfulness, so we can conclude that such data is not characterized by statistical independence (Scheuer & McLaren, 2012). In this regard, the need to adapt the algorithms underlying every technique applied to the data has been recognized.

The data-driven approach to learning is linked to learning analytics (LA) and educational data mining (EDM). Learning analytics is an approach for understanding and enhancing the learning process and the environment in which learning occurs through the quantification and recording of data resulting from it, the analysis and reporting of interest groups (Ferguson, 2012). EDM involves automatically finding patterns and structures in large databases that originate from an educational context (Romero & Ventura, 2010). The differences between approaches come down to three key points (Baker & Inventado, 2014):

- EDM approach is predominantly based on automated methods, while LA relies on human factors in data analysis,
- EDM is oriented towards understanding the relation between the elements, and LA is characterized by a holistic perspective, and
- The EDM approach seeks to automate processes to some extent (e.g. personalized guidance of learners through the learning environment), while LA's focus is on empowering and informing the participants involved who take further action.

A common feature that distinguishes both approaches from most education research is the reliance on data directly retrieved from the system (which may make it incomprehensible to humans) and techniques suitable for the analysis of large databases (Ferguson, 2012). Also, LA and EDM bring real-time analysis and reporting capabilities by automating analysis phases and relying on dynamic data.

LA and EDM are used as tools to make the learning process manageable. The areas of application of this approach in the function of learning management are by no means a definitive list, since the possibilities depend on all the experts involved in designing and implementing the solution. One attempt to categorize existing application examples leads to the following list (Castro, Vellido, Nebot & Mugica, 2007): learner performance appraisal, customized recommendations regarding learner behavior, evaluation of learning materials, feedback management, and recognition of unusual learner behavior. Below, we will focus on data-based learning resistance and defense management, which, according to the previous classification, potentially falls into two groups: performance appraisal and recognition of unusual learner behavior.

Learning resistance and defense, comprehensive theory

To go beyond the technocentric perspective and identify the capabilities of a data-driven approach in the management of resistance and defense, we will present a comprehensive theory, competency-based learning approach that can be applied to plan and analyze the learning process, integrating multiple contemporary theories (Illeris, 2003). Also, appreciation of the multiple dimensions of learning that this theory brings is a prerequisite for understanding resistance and defense in learning.

A comprehensive approach recognizes two learning processes, one that takes place externally between the individual and his or her environment (social, cultural and material) and the other by which internally, through psychological mechanisms, new impulses are acquired and processed with reference to prior knowledge. Three dimensions of learning are highlighted: cognitive, emotional and social. The first two dimensions are related to the acquisition process in which the cognitive function is engaged with the content being learned, while the emotional one provides the mental balance needed for the learning process. Thus, the acquisition process involves the acquisition of knowledge and skills (cognitive function) and the engagement of mental energy (psychodynamic function) necessary for the learning process, in the form of feelings and motivation. The social dimension refers to the interaction with the society in which each learning process takes place.

The proposed comprehensive model basically relies on a constructivist approach and thus defines learning as the process of active construction of mental structures performed by each individual. The new elements we encounter impose the need to build new or complement existing mental schematics, so different types of learning can be distinguished on the basis of the characteristics of this process: cumulative, assimilative, accommodative and transformative. Cumulative learning happens when we adopt something new, which is not part of existing schemes. It is often in the first years of life and later only in special situations, for example, when you need to remember a series of random numbers. The most common type of learning is assimilation, the addition of new elements to existing cognitive schemes, which is typical of school-based learning. Accommodative learning requires the adaptation of an existing mental schema in order to integrate and transform new experiences, which do not fit here. Modifying the scheme engages a lot of capacity, and the process of re-examining what has been learned can be accompanied by a sense of discomfort. In turn, the result of such learning is knowledge applicable in different situations, regardless of the context in which the learning process took place, which is a direct advantage over assimilation. Transformative learning is even more challenging because it involves adapting not one scheme but a cluster of schemes in all dimensions of learning. It occurs in response to challenging situations or crises when an individual's change is necessary to continue functioning.

In order to understand the problems that are encountered in learning, it is necessary to take into account all the above dimensions of learning. Circumstances arising from modern society, an individual's emotional state or immediate environment are relevant factors when trying to understand the defenses or resistances in the learning process. One of the mechanisms of defense involves the development of everyday consciousness that has the function of a filter in understanding the environment, whereby elements that do not fit into the constructed understanding of a particular area are rejected or altered to adapt to existing knowledge. Resistance, unlike defense, is triggered by a situation in which learning occurs and occurs when an individual is unable to achieve the expected result, and the obstacles that impede it are not obvious to him. The distinction between resistance and defense is of great importance in managing the learning process because the recommended approach of educators differs depending on the nature of the obstacle. Ideally, overcoming resistance and defense is an opportunity for meaningful learning and lasting change for the individual.

Data-driven resistance and defense management

The previous considerations we have made were based on a comparison of the comprehensive theory of Knud Ileris (2003) and the LA framework of Greler and Dashler (2012). We have found that the learning analytics framework, and indirectly the data-driven approach, faces challenges in terms of understanding the complexity of the learning process (Petrovic & Anđelkovic Labrovic, 2019). Resistance and defense in learning have been singled out as a problem area that the LA framework does not recognize as one of the key dimensions. However, there are two ways how data-driven approach to learning address resistance and defense: through the recognition of non-learning or off-task behaviors and through the detection of non-engaged learner behavior, that is, engagement management. In the first case, it is about current behavior while non-engagement implies a long-term tendency in behavior.

Identifying non-learning behaviors

Monitoring and analyzing data yield good results in detecting off/on-task behavior, althoughsuch specific behavior can be interpreted in different ways. On-task behavior is behavior that involves interaction with learning resources (Kovanovic et al., 2015) and off-task behavior when the learner is in a learning environment but is not actively participating. Described behavior is recognized automatically on the basis of data documenting learner-environment interactions, and guidance has emerged in the literature that off-task is any behavior in which there is no interaction with resources for more than eighty seconds (Baker, 2007).

After recognizing a pattern in behavior, interpretation and taking action is left to the human factor or is also automated. When a learner tries to successfully complete a course with many attempts and random choices, without using learning resources, we can interpret this as attempts to cheat the system (Baker et al., 2004). Also, behaviors reminiscent of boredom or frustration can be identified (Baker, D'Mello, Rodrigo, & Graesser, 2010). Research on such conditions is particularly popular in terms of the development of intelligent tutoring systems (Cetintas, Si, Xin, & Hord, 2009), in which case the interpretation and taking corrective action are completely under the control of the system. The goal is to provide a quick response to the learner's current behavior and regain his / her attention, and therefore the first choice is to have automation that shortens the duration of the process. A step further in achieving a rapid response is the transition from behavioral monitoring to monitoring brain activity, in which case the system is already taking action regarding signs of declining activity in the cerebral cortex (Szafir & Mutlu, 2012).

So, in this area, so far, there has been a shift from simply detecting learning problems to initiating contact with a learner to overcome this condition. Initiating contact, or rather corrective action, may involve raising the tone by which the intelligent system addresses the learner or changing gestures of tutor's virtual representation (Szafir & Mutlu, 2012). Examples of system responses to a learning problem include giving a hint, asking questions, or summarizing what a learner has already stated, pointing out what is missing.

Interestingly, the findings on the impact of off-task behavior are contradictory. While a negative correlation was found between off-task behavior and performance on the final test (Rowe, McQuiggan, Robison, & Lester, 2009), other studies indicate that this behavior is functional. Specifically, when a learner encounters a problem they cannot solve, they feel frustrated. At such times, dropping out of learning is a good shake as it brings relief and potentially helps to overcome setbacks (Sabourin, Rowe, Mott, & Lester, 2011). Thus, if corrective action is automated, the constructive learning strategy is potentially jeopardized and the learner's control is diminished.

Corrective action produces positive results in terms of gaining learners' attention, but it is unclear whether this is always the best strategy. Occasionally, a learner should be averted from daydreaming or procrastination; but on the other hand, such activities sometimes represent a part of the strategy through which the learner is trying to solve the problem in learning by himself. In order to distinguish between these two scenarios, it is necessary to take into account the complex context of learning and the subjective representation of learners' realities. Off-task behaviors are potentially indicative of resistance or defense, so it is very important how they respond. To begin with, it is necessary to distinguish between resistance, which occurs in response to a learning and defense situation, developed in response to previous events. If the corrective action for each off-task behavior is the same, it is a mistake to identify them as equal. If there is a failure in the first step, there is less chance that the action taken will have an effect or that the potential for learning what problematic situations they carry.

Thus, recognizing off-task behavior is useful because it signals that additional attention is needed. However, when it comes to determining the level to which a system automatically responds and defining a range of corrective actions, it is slippery ground that requires an interdisciplinary approach. Knowledge of data science is needed to, for example, select good indicators for off-task, and on the other hand, knowledge of learning and teaching is needed to make corrective actions that are well thought out. Finally, cooperation between the two fields is needed to apply automation exclusively where it brings more benefits than losses.

Tracking learner engagement

We can define engagement in learning as a mental effort directed at learning (Beder, Tomkins, Medina, Riccioni & Deng 2006), which is a critical factor for learning success (Conrad, 2002; Hu & Hui, 2012). A distinction can be made between engagement at cognitive, emotional and behavioral levels (Fredricks, Blumenfeld, & Paris 2004; Beder et al. 2006). The difference refers to the level at which commitment to learning is manifested. Cognitive engagement involves investing efforts to understand and remember certain material, emotional engagement is characterized by affective states such as a sense of belonging to a learning group, while at the behavioral level, engagementis expressed through concrete actions such as participating in teaching activities, for example.

To date, the research in the field of big data addresses engagement with a focus on discovering disengagement behaviors or through discovering different engagement styles. As it is a relatively stable tendency in behavior, the current reaction is not crucial, so technological solutions are at a lower level of automation. Below are three examples, each illustrating the capabilities of one of the data mining techniques. The first two examples are about reporting educators who then make further decisions, and the third is at a slightly higher level of automation because the system offers a predefined set of actions from which the educator chooses the appropriate ones.

If learners are divided into groups according to the style of engagement, the large group the educator works with in VLE becomes more transparent. Clusters made up of those who are learning similarly facilitate the process of deciding on appropriate teaching strategies. One analysis of the pattern of student engagement in a massive open online courses (MOOCs) was done by monitoring student activity through four variables that describe them: reading forum posts, writing forum posts, number of videos watched, and total points won on quizzes (Khalil & Ebner, 2017). The clustering was performed separately for a group of

459 students from the University of Graz and for 379 students using the course as a resource for non-formal learning. Four clusters were identified, with the first three identified in both groups and the fourth ("Social") only in the first group:

1. This cluster, called "drop-out," is made up of students with low values across all variables, potentially describing the behavior we associate with drop-out,
2. "cheating system" is a larger cluster whose members are extremely dedicated to quizzes, with very few learning resources and potentially not utilizing the full educational potential of the course but seeking to secure the certificate,
3. "perfect students" are very active in following the discussion on the forum and watching the videos, so they have a rich interaction with learning resources and other students through the system; and
4. "social" is a cluster made up of few active forum participants, that is, those who wrote posts.

The University of Salamanca has implemented the Educational Virtual World, a solution that enables students to interact with learning resources and other students in a three-dimensional space (Cruz-Benito, Therón, García-Peñalvo, & Lucas 2015). 75 users have experienced learning in this environment, and the data collected relates to: the number of voicemails with other users, the number of all messages exchanged (not only with other users, but also with objects in the virtual learning environment), the number and length of sessions in the system and user movement. Techniques were used to detect associative rules, a combination of certain values of variables that often appear together. According to the experts who participated in the research, two rules stand out in particular from all that the algorithm generated:

1. a student with more sessions uses more resources to learn and
2. users who spend more time in a virtual environment tend to interact more with objects than with other users.

The authors state that they recognize these two patterns as "pure engagement" that is desirable for learning to occur. Potential decision-making scenarios based on the associative rules revealed are also presented. For example, the rule that students who stop using the learning system – do so early, may result in the organization of workshops to ensure the adoption of this technology solution. The objection to this research is the technocentric perspective, the student is seen as the user of the system, and the approach is oriented towards the technical characteristics of this interaction, which becomes apparent from the proposed measures. We can look for the reason in the structure of a group of experts for the interpretation of results, whose members are experts in the implementation of the Educational Virtual World. Of course, the analysis and its results can be seen as a simulation of a real situation, in which the decision maker would be more fully informed and the associative rules only one of the inputs.

The classification is used to sort entries into well-defined categories. For example, to deploy students, by behavior and characteristics, into predefined classes to predict course success: there is a risk of poor grades and no risk. Engagement in such classification models is commonly configured as one of the factors for predicting student performance (Xu & Yang, 2015). Taking into account the level of student activity, for example, a grade is foreseen to be mastered by the thematic unit. This information can be shared in some form with both the educator and the student himself. This sharing opens the opportunity to manage student engagement by applying this technique. Purdue University has developed a Course Signal software solution (Arnold & Pistilli, 2012) that, based on activities in a virtual environment, classifies students into three classes and assigns an appropriate signal light:

1. at risk of failure – red light,
2. potentially there is a problem– yellow light and
3. no risk, good results are expected – green light.

Information about the class to which the student belongs is periodically shared with the educator and students. The effects of implementation relate to student performance as well as engagement, namely that students from the experimental group (where learning is supported by the above solution) will sooner seek help than students from the control group (Arnold, 2010). Seeking support from educators or other users is certainly a desirable behavior when considering the sense of isolation in a virtual environment and the high drop-out rate already at the beginning of the course.

The conclusions reached through the techniques of data mining in the context of one course and a particular group of learners cannot simply be mapped to a different context. The danger when generalizing is also cited by one of the most cited papers on clustering in online courses, with findings that different courses will respond to different approaches and even different numbers of clusters (Kizilcec, Piech, & Schneider 2013). Engagement style also depends on the characteristics of the online course, the length of time, and the pedagogical / andragogical approach (Ferguson et al., 2015).

Conclusion

Resistance to learning is the learner's reaction to the current situation, while defense is the result of long-term developments. A data-driven approach to responding to learning problems recognizes off-task behaviors, current behaviors that are unrelated to learning and disengagement, a behavioral tendency that continually affects the learning process. We can conclude that the definition of resistance is closer to behavior that is described as off-task, and to defense, disengagement behavior. It is very important to emphasize that complex mental states and patterns of behavior recorded on the basis of limited data sources should not be identified as equal.

Thus, off-task behavior does not mean the same as resistance to learning, as defense is not disengagement behavior. However, recognizing this behavior can be an indicator of resistance, or defense in learning. Off-task behavior does not necessarily mean that there is resistance to learning. It is possible that the learner is merely using a focus change strategy to approach the problem in a new way. Also, disengagement behavior does not necessarily indicate a defense, such behavior may result from a change in learner priorities or unforeseen changes in personal life.

On the other hand, learning resistance will always be accompanied by off-task behavior, while the existence of a defense that the learner cannot overcome alone will surely affect the engagement with which he or she approaches learning. The existence of such a connection tells us that recognizing specific patterns is beneficial, especially in VLE, because it is an indicator of the risk that the learner faces resistance or defense.

Once the behavior is recognized, the issue of further action is raised. As we have pointed out in the paper, there are three possibilities: the educator makes the decision on corrective actions and takes them; the system makes the decision on corrective actions and educator takes the actions; and full automation – when the system decides and implements the action independently. Higher levels of automation bring greater response speed, and human factor involvement, while slowing down the process, brings in expertise whose tacit component the system cannot adopt.

When it comes to the expertise that is brought about by the involvement of the human factor, we emphasize the importance of multidisciplinarity. Specifically, when resistances and defenses are managed through a data-driven approach, there is a risk of a technocentric perspective. This is supported by some of the examples presented in the paper: defining off-task behavior as the absence of interaction with the system for more than eighty seconds (Baker, 2007) or declaring frequent interaction with the system and resources as "pure engagement" (Cruz-Benito et al., 2015). It is necessary to include experts in the fields of learning, teaching, education, training, development and general humanities disciplines.

The benefits of the expertise of professionals of different profiles are clear when it comes to decision making and taking action. Also, the previous phase, recognition of learning problems can be enhanced by a multidisciplinary approach. There is room for improvement, above all, in determining the patterns of behavior that are monitored and in distinguishing resistance from defense, which is the first step in overcoming them.

The advancement of a data-driven approach in the management of resistance and defense notwithstanding, a limitation concerning the appreciation of a more complex learning context and the subjective perspective of learners is a stable presence. One of the mechanisms of defense is the "everyday consciousness" by which elements that do not agree with the current understanding of a concept are rejected or distorted, so that they adapt to existing knowledge. Often we also encounter defense in the form of ambivalence, when the learner wants and does not want to learn something at the same time. Even though it is possible to identify, on the basis of data, the "disfiguration" of some information or behavior that characterizes an ambivalent attitude in learners, there is no possibility to find the answer to the question as to why such behavior occurs. The data that would offer us insight into the learner's inner world, and potentially the reason for the defense, cannot be understood outside of the subjective framework for the appreciation of which the educator must rely on their own experience and competencies.

Working with resistance and defense is demanding for both the educator and the learner, but it provides an opportunity for new, meaningful learning if the situation is approached appropriately. Overcoming resistance achieves the development of personal competences: independence, creativity and flexibility, among learners (Illeris, 2009). Due to the inability to appreciate the complexity of the context, we believe that the reach of the data-driven approach is to detect learning problems. When on the basis of data there is a suspicion that the learner is in a situation that does not result in learning, human factor intervention is necessary, which ideally entails a multidisciplinary approach and tacit knowledge.

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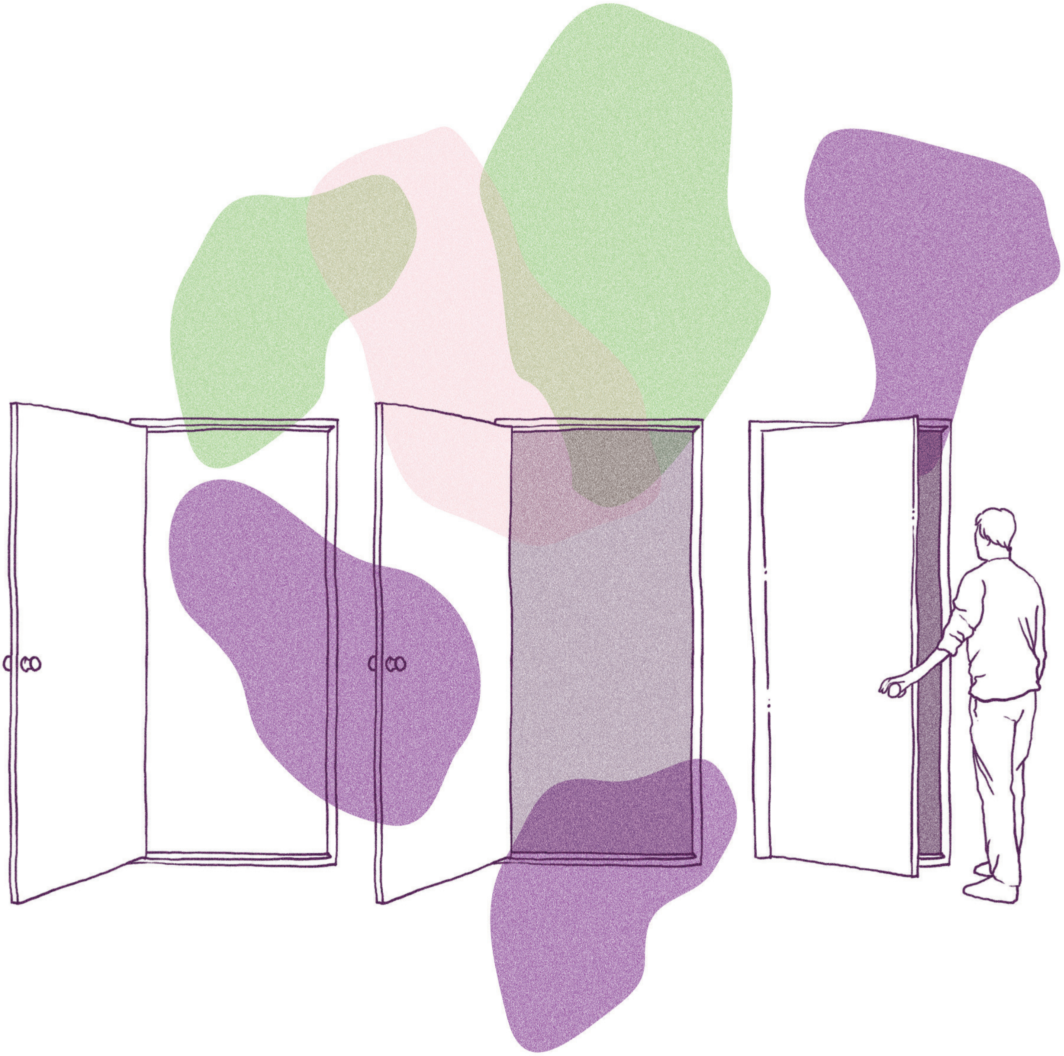

ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND ADULT EDUCATION — MEETING NEW CHALLENGES

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MAY "ENTREPRENEURIAL ANDRAGOGY" BE A RESPONSE TO THE CHALLENGES OF INCLUSIVE ENTREPRENEURSHIP POLICIES?

Abstract

In response to European inclusive entrepreneurship policies, this research proposes to focus on the concepts of autonomy and responsibility in the field of "entrepreneurial andragogy". We will try to show by this study, first of all, that if the entrepreneurs, when they are accompanied, seem to better achieve their project, it is also when the commitment factors (internal variable) are closely linked with a support approach (external variable). They can then identify the best chances to sustain their activity. Secondly, while an innovative training system based on transformative learning helps to stimulate entrepreneurs, its main contribution seems to be linked to the fact that "emancipatory self-directed learning" prepare them to undertake in a broad and humanistic perspective, rather than just giving them tools for operational process or procedures. In other words, it prepares them to "be entrepreneurs", rather than to "develop entrepreneurship" or only to "start a business".

Keywords: entrepreneurship, andragogy, accompaniment

Introduction

In response to the economic crisis, the European Union proposed "inclusive entrepreneurship policies "to help people within employment difficulties to create "viable businesses", based on "underestimated entrepreneurial potential" (OECD / EU, 2015). The present research roots in this evolving societal environment and aims to identify what could be the contribution of andragogy, as a specific perspective of research in adult education, to meet the educational and social challenges of these new policies. More specifically, the case of Very Small Enterprises (VSE), in France, is representative of the difficulties that entrepreneurs face towards their engagements, their decisions and their responsibilities. With the environment putting them under more and more pressure, they take risks, become fragile and endanger their businesses to the point where almost one of two enterprises do not pass a five-year stage. This statement leads to wonder about the reasons why VSE entrepreneurs do not manage certain critical situations and how they face their main difficulties.

Focusing on the concepts of autonomy and responsibility in the field of "entrepreneurial andragogy", this research proposes to cross the perspectives of education and management sciences, where entrepreneurial issues have been most worked so far. It pursues the idea that "entrepreneurial andragogy" has for its main concern "the transformation of the person towards greater autonomy by starting from a reflection on his potential of experiences" (Boutinet, 2013, p. 84) and this, in opposition to a single "entrepreneurship training" which, starting from the established didactics of management sciences, would have for its main concern the search for a social and legal status of the entrepreneur. From a theoretical point of view, this research mobilizes the concepts of training systems ("*dispositif*", in French), andragogy (Eneau, 2003, 2005), transformative learning (Mezirow, 1991) and accompaniment (Paul, 2016). From a methodological point of view, it is based on 23semi-directive interviews, a questionnaire completed by more than 100 entrepreneurs and 1 experimental training program, designed for 2 groups of 5 entrepreneurs.

So, we shall try to show by this study, how an "entrepreneurial andragogy" prepare entrepreneurs to undertake in a large and "humanistic" perspective (getting to know themselves, having a clear-sighted vision to face doubt and uncertainty, etc.).

Entrepreneurial context in France

As early as 2002, the Social Modernization French Act, referred to the notion of "self-managing employee", announcing "a change in the relationship with work and training (and their essential articulation) that is needed. But it also suggests "an identity at work that is being tested, between employability and responsibility for one's own future" (Blaise, 2008, p. 185). This new policy orientation "puts a new weight on the shoulders of individuals who have often not been trained to renew their skills throughout their lives and who are not prepared, for the most part, to bear the responsibility of always being "adapted" to the needs of the labor market" (Eneau, 2005, p. 19). Encouraging entrepreneurship is one thing, promoting the sustainability of the entrepreneurship projects is another one. Thus, in 2016, 331,200 companies were created in France (excluding the auto-entrepreneur status) (INSEE, January 2017, n°1631). At the same time, however, the number of failures in 2016 amounted to 58,057, or 17.53% of the businesses created (Banque de France, January 2017). Moreover, according to INSEE

(April 2015, n°1543), 71% of the 262,000 companies created in 2010 (excluding the auto-entrepreneur status) are still active three years after their creation. They are now only 60% five years after their creation (INSEE, March 2017, n°1639). We do not have any statistical data beyond the first five years of activity. While the action of the support structures therefore seems to have a positive impact on the sustainability rate of the companies supported, only 20% of the companies created each year are supported (Barbaroux, 2015, p. 17). However, a unique fact in Europe, France now has "about 1,500 support structures, representing a budget of 2.7 billion euros" (Toutain & Verzat, 2016, p. 45).

The literature on entrepreneurship is rather dense and research in the field is increasingly numerous since, as Toutain & Verzat (2016) point out, entrepreneurship has now become "a field of scientific research". To name a few, the main authors of this field of research will:

- On the Anglo-Saxon side: from Schumpeter (1979) and his "innovative entrepreneur author of creative destruction", to Sarasvathy's "entrepreneurial action" (2001), Gardner's "organizational emergence" (1985) and Reynolds & Miller's "entrepreneurial commitment" (1992);
- On the French-speaking side: from the Bruyat (1993) studies on the "dialogical process between individuals and value creation", to the "expected epistemological renewal" in entrepreneurship by Toutain and Verzat (2016), as well as the "entrepreneurship training" proposals by Verstraete (2000) and Fayolle (2012) and the research on "education for" or "teaching for" entrepreneurship by Pepin (2011) and Champy-Remoussenard (2015).

It should be noted in these examples that, with the exception of Mathias Pepin and Patricia Champy-Remoussenard, who come from the educational sciences, all the authors cited come from the management sciences. This domination of management sciences, which can be found in both the literature and research on entrepreneurship, is a constant that is expressed, for example, in the book "*Le grand livre de l'entrepreneuriat*" (Léger-Jarniou, 2013), where we can see that of the 32 contributors to the book, 29 are from management sciences; the other two being for one director of the OECD Centre for Entrepreneurship in Paris, for the other, director of the Union des auto-entrepreneurs (UAE).

Yet, according to Toutain and Verzat (2016), if entrepreneurship is now mainly taught in schools or universities and still little in adult education, "entrepreneurship education programs" could "connect entrepreneurship education with other disciplines (in particular education sciences)" (Toutain & Verzat, 2016, p. 38). In addition, it seems important to separate training "with an entrepreneurial spirit" from training "for entrepreneurship". While one (for students) focuses on giving an understanding of what it means to be "entrepreneurial", the other (for adults in the start-up phase or already in business) focuses on "making entrepreneurship happen" in a multidimensional and complex environment where creativity, loneliness, uncertainty, difficulties encountered, network building, but also risk are not a game but a reality. If "entrepreneurial success is considered as the royal path to success [...] failure is no longer attributed to destiny but to personal incapacity or even incompetence". As a result, "the individual is responsible for his or her failure. This responsibility for failure affects self-esteem and the image produced" (Brunet-Mbappé, 2010, p. 22).

Our society must rely on educational institutions capable of devising new mechanisms. These, to use the terminology proposed by Albero, could then be "put at the service of each learner to help him acquire essential skills for which many people have hitherto been poorly prepared, by helping them to build a constant interactive alternation between action, reflection and learning in their lives" (Albero, 2000, p. 260).

The "ternary approach" as a process for entrepreneurship education

It was at the beginning of the 2000s that the notion of a "*dispositif*" appeared, providing a broader vision, covering "the places, methods and functional set of actors and means mobilized to achieve an objective" (Albero, 2010, p. 48). The life of the process then evolves with regard to the intentions they set for themselves in a given event, and taking into account the "finalized but uncertain nature of the action", due to the multiplicity of conditions for its exercise. Thus, Albero (2010) proposes a "ternary approach" based on "three distinct intrinsic dimensions: the *l'idéel*, the *fonctionnel* and the *vécu*".

1) The "*dispositif idéel*" is based on the "ideas, principles, models and values" that progressively organize "actions and discourses" throughout the progress and execution of the "project".
2) The "*dispositif fonctionnel de référence*" is seen as the "putting into action of the idéel". It is the concrete operating mode, described in the editorials and presentations presenting the system. It details the constituent engineering (content, pedagogy, planning, organization, control and evaluation), as well as the functions and missions of each.
3) The "*vécu* of the various actors (decision-makers, teachers, technicians, students)" is the driving force behind the "*dispositif*". It is expressed in the relationship with others in order to "do together" through the manifestation of affects, social constructions and representations of actors. Sometimes influencing, even the nature of the project defined at the beginning.

Built around each learner, the "*dispositif*" would be designed to help everyone develop skills essential to an entrepreneur's life. This objective could be reached "by helping them to build a constant interactive alternation between action, reflection and learning in their lives" (Albero, 2000, p. 260).

In their research work in adult education, Eneau, Bertrand & Lameul (2012) reminds us that "the use of experiences lived in an integrative alternation involves a triple challenge: it is a question of building, from action, a reflection on one's professional posture, building an identity anchored in both professional and collective experience, and finally building an ethical reflection based on distance and the mobilization of critical knowledge" (Eneau *et al.*, 2012, p. 4).

In practice, training must promote the emergence of "meaning", perhaps even its co-construction, based on the "tensions experienced between oneself, others and the environment" (Eneau *et al.*, 2012, p. 4). This pedagogical approach by "working on the individual and collective experience" takes on its full dimension, particularly "when addressing adults, who may be strong in their previous experiences, but who are often also steeped in beliefs and representations. This work serves to raise awareness of how meaning of the patterns is constructed by environmental injunctions, personal histories and culture" (Eneau *et al.*, 2012, p. 4). It is therefore essential that training should be more oriented towards different practices that "associate more" learning and doing: responsibility and autonomy of subjects, integration of training into everyday life, pedagogical use of new technologies, break-up of the three units (time, place, action), enhancement of informal training, negotiated training and no longer (heterogeneous) directed, using several media, places and methods" (Albero, 2000, p. 32).

Thus, located in an entrepreneurial context, the "device" could be born around, in and by the learner's company. This "living" framework could then serve as a basis for an emerging "entrepreneurial andragogy".

Birth of an "entrepreneurial andragogy"

"The relevance of the term "andragogy" institutionalized on the Quebec side to mean "the art and science of helping adults learn", thus placed the emphasis on adult learning rather than teaching" (Eneau & Labelle, 2008, p. 63). Thus, from the andragogy point of view, to resort to experience in an adult education process is not to resort "to a given already constituted, stabilized experience, but rather to the confrontation with something new" (Boutinet, 2013, p. 85).

Also, in his doctoral research, Eneau (2003) states in particular, that it is "necessary to help learners to enter the process of transforming their own representations in order to learn" (Eneau, 2003, p. 221). Building on Mezirow's (1991) comments, he adds: "helping adults to create, adjust and modify their meaning patterns (their beliefs, feelings, interpretations, decisions) by reflecting on their content, on the process by which they were acquired and on their premises (social, historical context and its consequences) is what andragogy is all about" (Eneau, 2003, p. 221).

It is by "thinking about his or her experience" that the learner will be able to give its meaning. For Mezirow: "Learning is about making sense". His work reveals the idea of "transformative learning" that enlightens the learner about his or her access to knowledge, not through books or trainers, "but through his or her own ability to interpret and reinterpret, in their own terms, the meaning of an experience" (Mezirow, 1991, p. 40). It is therefore an experiential knowledge that is gradually being built, where entry is no longer through the transmission of knowledge but through problem solving. It is then a question for the learner to confront reality by convening his or her frames of reference, of meaning, to determine what he or she considers true in the problematic situation he or she encounters. In this context, learning will take place through "critical (emancipatory) and multidimensional reflection" of the "instrumental" dimensions (relations with the environment) and the "communicative" dimensions (relations with others) (Mezirow, 1991). According to the "transformative perspective" proposed by Mezirow (1991, pp. 110–112), learning can take place in four different forms:

1) Learning through pre-existing meaning patterns.
2) Learning new meaning patterns.
3) Learning through the transformation of meaning patterns.
4) Learning through the transformation of perspective.

According to Mezirow, the latter form consists of: "through reflection and criticism, first of all to become aware of the specific presuppositions that are responsible for the distortion or insufficiency of the perspective, then to modify this perspective through a reorganization of meaning. It is the most important form of learning by its emancipatory role" (Mezirow 1991, pp. 110–112). Mezirow uses Dewey's work (1933) to point out the importance of "reflection" as a "validity test". He considers that "reflection on the process implies both reflection on and criticism of our way of perceiving, thinking, judging, feeling and acting, while reflection on the premises implies knowledge of the reasons for acting as we have done and their criticism. The action of critical reflexivity is based on reflection on the premises" (Mezirow 1991, p. 122).

Thus, defined and located in an entrepreneurial context, it could result in the following three aspects:

1) The contributions of the "transformative perspective". For Mezirow (1991), "learning is about making sense". According to the "transformative perspective" he proposes, it is therefore a question of going beyond the stage of "becoming aware of being aware": "emancipatory learning aims to help learners move from a simple awareness of their experience to an awareness of the conditions of this experience, of the processes through which they perceive, think, judge, act and experience sensations, which is a reflection on the process" (Mezirow, 1991, pp. 110–112).

This process is based on taking into account, in the formative accompaniment offered in adulthood, different dimensions crucial for learning and transforming these “meaning patterns”: autonomy, responsibility, choice, sense of control or intrinsic motivation are all internal resources on which it is necessary to be able to work.

2 Autonomy, in particular, is one of the major dimensions of an “andragogical” approach to adult education (Eneau, 2003, 2005) and is also an essential element for the entrepreneur. According to Le Coadic (2006), it can be perceived as “the combination of three elements: the ability to choose for oneself (and to issue one’s own norms), the ability to act without the intervention of a third party and the fact (...) to have the resources necessary for reflection and action”(Le Coadic, 2006, p. 328).In an entrepreneurial context, these three elements seem essential to the life of an entrepreneur and make it possible to engage the individual in an entrepreneurial process towards a virtuous dynamic where “the attention paid to the subject’s inner experience and the possibility of exercising a choice are (...) associated with greater autonomy and intrinsic motivation” (Laguardia & Ryan, 2000, p. 289).

3) In the same way, to speak of responsibility in the field of entrepreneurship is to acknowledge both the uncertainty about the relevance of the choices made and the obligation to assume the consequences. It therefore seems that it is possible to establish a continuum “between the subject’s freedom, the decision, the action, the evaluation, and then, eventually, the sanction that results in a sentence and/or the obligation to compensate” (Jaeger, 2009, p. 74). Moreover, in the field of entrepreneurship, the entrepreneur’s social responsibility is reflected in his or her choices and actions, even if he or she is not always aware of it; thus, the analysis of entrepreneurs’ life stories “underlines that social responsibility, although conceptually ignored by our entrepreneurs, was and is still present in their practices” (Frimousse, 2013, p. 56). Finally, according to Ricœur (1990), responsibility “implies that someone assumes the consequences of his or her actions, that, hold certain future events as representing himself or herself, despite the fact that they were not expressly planned and intended; these events are his or her work, despite the fact they do not even want it”. He adds: “the notion of responsibility also has a face turned towards the past, insofar as it implies that we assume the past that affects us without it being entirely our work, but that we assume as our own” (Ricœur, 1990, p. 341–342).

Evolving the entrepreneur’s intrinsic resources of autonomy and responsibility is not an easy task. It would seem that self-directed learning can be “a modality that seems to be better adapted to the requirements of autonomy, responsibility, critical reflection and self-evaluation for lifelong learning” (Albero, 2000, p. 31).

Entrepreneurial support as a basis for autonomy

So, if autonomy is not built alone, it can be "accompanied". As Paul (2016) reminds us, one of the foundations of accompaniment is "maieutic", linked to Socrates. "The whole of the latter's art is based on the establishment of mediations: that of dialogue and that of others, and on a principle: "Know yourself and you will know the universe and the gods". Socrates' message is to search within oneself, by oneself, with others. This is the foundation of autonomy" (Paul, 2016, p. 252). There is therefore no autonomy without the participation of the other in putting our habits and behaviors to work, in a reflexive distance learning, with the avowed aim of a change which, without being exclusively dedicated to the entrepreneurial field, can help the entrepreneur to reach an "emancipatory" autonomy, in the sense mentioned by Eneau (2016). Thus, "the setting in relation depends on the setting in motion. The first is characterized by simultaneity and reciprocity while the second is characterized by "sequentiality" and "rhythmicity". There is no need to set the pace, but to go "at one's own pace": this synchronization leads to a concerted and concerted progress" (Paul, 2016, p. 49).

The project, which is entrepreneurial within the framework of this research, is then transformed into a sensitive subject. Its role as an interface, legitimizes and justifies the relationship. "Accompaniment is therefore part of an "identifiable" relational context in which a human being benefits from the conditions necessary to build or rebuild himself or herself as an autonomous, responsible and planned subject" (Paul, 2016, p. 258). In an entrepreneurial context, based on Paul's (2016) words, accompanying is therefore:

- "Going towards, walking with", being physically and psychologically present with the entrepreneur;
- "Stay close to, be present", rhythm the presence, ensure its regularity, to detect the needs of the entrepreneur without the need to seek help;
- "Advise, guide, orient", but leave the entrepreneur free to make choices and decisions;
- "Protect, energize", but do not do in place of the entrepreneur;
- "Supporting his/her ability to choose and orient himself/herself", encouraging the entrepreneur to be himself or herself, in accordance with his choices and orientations;

"It is on the quality of this posture that the establishment of a relationship in which one is not dependent on another person. This movement, this dynamic, which is built from the relationship, "is invented along the way, according to the person and his or her project, taking into account the context and conditions of the environment" (Paul, 2016, p. 210).

Finally, whatever the contexts encountered by accompaniment, its transgenerational character "as an anthropological heritage" allows it to adopt different forms that all have in common, again according to Paul (2016):

- A relational system of varying degrees of density aimed at parity, i.e. the relationship of equality in exchange and dialogue.
- Posted ethical principles (such as not to substitute for others).
- A personalized approach (which implies renouncing standardized methods).
- A fluid posture that can be adapted to each accompanied person.
- An action perspective adapted to the person's situation and environment.
- The support of a reflexive questioning leading the accompanied person to question himself about what he/she wants and can in a situation in which he/she is always considered as taken and involved.
- An institutional framework that makes reference (Paul, 2016, p. 41).

Thus, from a theoretical point of view, it is important to discern what, in the field of adult education and in the context of entrepreneurship training in particular, can help to better understand how these notions of autonomy and responsibility are constructed, what roles they play in ensuring the sustainability of the activity, how they can be supported to provide individuals not only with more "psychological comfort" in the face of risk taking and uncertainty, but also with more resources to face, over time, the challenge of the failure that currently threatens nearly one in five entrepreneurs. By using the different concepts mentioned: "*dispositif*" (Albero, 2000, 2010; Eneau *et al.* 2012), "andragogy" (Boutinet, 2013; Eneau, 2003, 2005, Eneau & Labelle 2008), "transformative learning" (Mezirow, 2001), and "support" (Paul, 2016), we have the tools to develop a system aimed at an "entrepreneurial andragogy" perspective, built by and for entrepreneurs.

Empirical study and first results

Thus, from a methodological point of view, a first step was carried out in the form of a questionnaire. Our sample representing entrepreneurs who created / took over their business between 2012 and 2016 was constituted as a "snowball" by solicitations in the professional and personal environment, and was administered by three networks of Breton enterprises. Thus, out of our initial sample of 4,950 Breton creators, nearly 10% of the total population of Breton entrepreneurs who created their business between 2012 and 2016, we obtained 104 completed questionnaire returns, either 0.21% of the total sample. Including 84 valid questionnaires for our exploratory analyses.

The entire statistical analysis was carried out using the SPSS software. Here, the objective is to question the factors of enterprise sustainability. What are the difficulties encountered by entrepreneurs during the creation and post-creation phase of their business? What are the expectations and concerns of these entrepreneurs in the face of these difficulties?

The factor analysis performed gives us a measure of sample adequacy (KMO) of 0.457, which is unacceptable because it shows us that correlations are very low or non-existent between items. This situation leads us to look for another solution to make our data "talk" and make sense of it. Therefore, we chose to perform an inferential statistical analysis, in the form of a Pearson correlation. We will only present here the most significant results at level 0.01 (bilateral). Our presentation will be based on the logic of the three categories we have identified. We have thus extracted from our 90 starting variables, 27 variables that are significant in their correlational implications with other variables. They will serve as a basis for the development of the "labels" that we will use to codify the interviews we have conducted. In this way, we can observe what the interviews "say" about the correlations we found.

A first series of 10 exploratory interviews, lasting approximately one hour, was conducted between November 2016 and February 2017 with active entrepreneurs. This sample was also formed as a "snowball" by solicitations in the professional and personal environment. It consequently does not correspond to predetermined and chosen criteria.

A second stage, for qualitative and comparative purposes, took the form of 23 semi-directive interviews conducted at the beginning of 2018, also with 8 active entrepreneurs directed by "Crédit Mutuel – Arkea Group" professional pool of Dinan (the Breton bank partner in this research). These were supplemented by 5 interviews conducted in 2018 with entrepreneurs who ceased their activity following the failure of their enterprise and were oriented by the association 60 000 Rebounds. Here, two objectives are pursued: (1) on one hand, it will be a question of highlighting the factors of success and failure of entrepreneurs (what differentiates them, what they have in common); (2) on the other hand, it will be a question of better understanding the "key moments" for entrepreneurs, the important phases they are going through, their support needs and their conditions of engagement in this process, the professionals able to help them.

All the data collected is being analyzed using IRAMUTEQ and NVIVO software.

A third stage, for experimental purposes, is based on the implementation of a "training system: learn to undertake", composed of two groups of five active entrepreneurs. The objective is to test in situ the conditions of an "entrepreneurial andragogy". However, it was not yet possible to bring the two groups together, or even a single group of five entrepreneurs. Even through solicitations in the professional, academic and personal environment.

First results of an analysis still in progress

The main characteristics of the entrepreneurs who participated in this survey, as well as the main results of the descriptive analysis of the data, are presented in the table below:

Table 1.
Sample characteristics and first results of the descriptive analysis

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Main characteristics of the entrepreneurs interviewed who created between 2012 and 2016</th><th>Main characteristics of the entrepreneurs who created in 2016
Sources (Bonnetête & Bignon, 2017)</th></tr>
<tr><td>Gender: Male
Female</td><td>65,40 %
34,60 %</td><td>60,00 %
40,00 %</td></tr>
<tr><td>Aged 36 to 55 years</td><td>77,80 %</td><td>Average age 37 years</td></tr>
<tr><td>Companies with 0 to 5 employees</td><td>83,50 %</td><td>2,6 employees at creation</td></tr>
<tr><td>Considers that being an entrepreneur is a profession</td><td>78,80 %</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>Think they have mastered their entrepreneurial profession today</td><td>59,60 %</td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">"Creation assistance" (training, support, presence)</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Have followed a training course
Of which compulsory training</td><td>47,10 %
51,00 %</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">The following were accompanied
Including a significant presence of the chartered accountant</td><td>68,30 %
64,00 %</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">"Difficulties encountered" in creation</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Have encountered difficulties during the creation phase</td><td>61,60 %</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Difficulties encountered in the Post-Creation phase</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Have encountered difficulties since inception</td><td>72,10 %</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">"Wishes expressed"</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Useful to be accompanied since the creation</td><td>74,00 %</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Usefulness of training in the entrepreneurial trade</td><td>53,80 %</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Importance of being part of a network</td><td>86,50 %</td></tr>
</table>

Thus, from a quantitative point of view, the results of Pearson's correlational analysis reveal some significant elements.

First of all, it seems that the presence of an institutional partner like Regional Chamber of Trades and Crafts for example (CRMA), has a significant impact on the feelings experienced by the entrepreneur, being overwhelmed by the difficulties encountered, the level of responsibility and the loneliness.

As for the difficulties encountered during the creation phase, whether technical, financial or psycho-socio-affective, they seem to persist thereafter. The quality of the training and/or support offered seems to be an important issue in this creative phase.

It seems that the feeling of loneliness felt by the entrepreneur builds up over time and is partly linked to the lack of support experienced since the creation of his company. This feeling does not seem to be satisfied by belonging to a network. Being a man or a woman does not seem to influence this feeling of loneliness. The question of temporalities seems important to take into account in the processes experienced.

As for the wishes expressed, the entrepreneurs interviewed seem to be in favour of support from the creation phase onwards, mainly to cope with the loneliness of the entrepreneur.

From a more qualitative point of view, the first results of an analysis that is still ongoing seem to reveal the following elements:

1) The decision to undertake would not be the result of a social construct but the response to an "injunction" given by a "moment of life", around the following words: Envy, life, moment, start, think, wife, husband, family, go, parent.

   "But for the vast majority of women who are mothers, who launch themselves because it corresponds to a family project also to better manage their personal life, their family life" (interview 1 –woman entrepreneur in activity).

   "I knew it wasn't my life [...] by telling myself my life it's going to be somewhere else, I know what I want to do, but I don't know in what form, so I started my business not to be a business creator, but I feel more like I had no choice and that if I wanted to do what I understood..." (interview 3 – woman entrepreneur who has ceased her activity).

2) The quality of the support seems to be decisive.

   "Today, if I had anything else to do, I would not go back with the Chamber of Commerce and Industry (CCI). Why? Why? They are friendly they are people who are behind their desk, but they do not know the difficulty of the entrepreneur if it is not in the books" (interview 6 – entrepreneur in activity).

   "So, I was lucky enough that [...] I understood by being in a large group, that you shouldn't think you could do everything on your own. And so the first thing I did when I started my research was to choose who would be my accountant, and who would be my legal advisor... And that was very precious to me, and the other thing was, because I knew that the loneliness of the entrepreneur is a real subject, so I contacted the Entreprendre Bretagne network" (interview 10 – entrepreneur in activity).

3) The answer to the difficulties does not seem to be only technical or administrative.

   "I think of one of my trainers [...] it's still incredible that with a talent like you couldn't live off it [...] and I answered well I think the difficulty is first of all to be convinced and I think my problem, it was certainly there too that there may be talent but somewhere I can't assume it, if we really go far. Because I have done things where I was allowed to exist" (interview 3 –woman entrepreneur who has ceased her activity).

4) Solitude, a partner in everyday life

"My choices behind it is the loneliness of the business owner [...] so I know about where I know about where I need to go that way, but I don't know if it's really the right direction. On the other hand, there is a great happiness, freedom costs us dearly but it is there" (interview 15 – entrepreneur in activity).

The notion of "*dispositif*" (*apparatus*) proposed by Albero (2000) allows "learning and doing it", by the "rupture of the three units (time, place, action)" and opens up to the "responsibility" and "autonomy" of the learners. The construction of this "*dispositif*" around each entrepreneur could help them to acquire the essential qualities necessary for the entrepreneur, by setting up "in their life", a "permanent" interactive alternation between action, reflection and learning".

Mezirow's work (1991), proposes an "emancipatory learning" or "learning produces the meaning". It is by thinking about their experience that entrepreneurs will be able to set the conditions for this experience in the future, and better understand how they interact with the world around them. It is through this "reflection on the process" that they will be able to modify their relationship with the world and perhaps ensure greater sustainability for their company.

It is by considering, finally, the "context and conditions of the environment", by taking into account each "person and his project", "posted ethical principles", that we can, according to Paul (2016), accompany. In an entrepreneurial context, this relationship is "invented along the way", with the aim of "supporting" the entrepreneur in "his ability to choose and orient himself". This is the case throughout his entrepreneurial career, bordered by "an institutional framework that sets standards".

The first results of our field survey are still ongoing, and they underline two points. First, if supported or "accompanied" entrepreneurs seem to achieve their project better, it is also when the commitment factors (internal variable) are closely linked with a support approach (external variable) that they can identify the best chances to sustain their activity.

"Finally, they made sure that I asked myself the right questions and they accompanied me. Yes, so it is true that I have this support within a network" (interview 7 –woman entrepreneur in activity).

"At some point, there are psychics to see when you go into the wall, that's it. I met someone today about whom I talk a lot [...] who just liquidated his shop. And who today [...] accompanies those who are liquidating because we can no longer do otherwise, or indeed we can still do something, and he is supportive. Yes, this is also its interest in intervening upstream" (interview 7 – woman entrepreneur in activity).

Thus, if an innovative scheme, based on transformative learning, helps to stimulate entrepreneurs, its main contribution seems to be linked to the fact that "emancipatory self-directed learning" prepare them to undertake in a large and "humanistic" perspective (knowing themselves, being clear-sighted to face doubt and uncertainty, etc.), rather than giving them only tools for operational process or procedures. In other words, it prepares them "to be" entrepreneurs, more than to develop entrepreneurship or only create a business...

> "Well, I think that if you want to start a business you have to be stimulated by the difficulty [...] When you go in front of a fisherman's net that is all intertwined and well an entrepreneur he's going to think I'll get there it's going to take time but I'll get there and there are people who will give up. There is one thing: the stress of the entrepreneur and the involvement of the entrepreneur [...] But why don't we talk about entrepreneurs who commit suicide, people who lose everything because generally we lose our business and fall into depression and divorce [...] Yes, isolation, that's true, and that's why networks are important, for those who are alone in charge of their business. Because the problems they encounter have surely been encountered by others, who have come out of it, who have found ways" (interview 2 – woman entrepreneur in activity).
>
> "And then I said no, because now I'm going to do something stupid again. And the human experience of entrepreneurship has led me to depression, to cut social links" (interview 4 – entrepreneur who has ceased his activity).

Despite all these testimonies, and given the difficulties encountered with the field in setting up the experimental system of the survey, it is also a question of reformulating the final objective pursued in this research work. Indeed, if the "learn to undertake" training developed on the theoretical and empirical bases of this survey cannot be tested as part of this research, it is nevertheless possible to give some examples of relevant tools such as "meaningful perspective maps" in an entrepreneurial context (as defined by Mezirow, 1991). This phase of building new tools of what could be called "entrepreneurial andragogy" may require two or three more in-depth complementary interviews in the fall of 2019. It will then be a question of better identifying the indicators for measuring transformative learning such as: worldview, self-knowledge, critical thinking, relationship to life, behavior in action or self-awareness.

By promoting "entrepreneurial" policies, particularly inclusive policies, public authorities seek to address the problems of unemployment and social inequalities. By promoting access to entrepreneurship for all, synonymous with economic growth, employability and social inclusion, they also reflect their desire to relinquish their social responsibilities by supporting an environment where the injunction to autonomy is more present than ever and where, in Ehrenberg's words, "the norm is no longer based on guilt and discipline but on responsibility and initiative" (Verzat, 2012, p. 68). Today more than ever, the individual is therefore called upon to take charge of his or her own professional life, to "undertake" his or her own employability (if not succeed in his or her entrepreneurial project) where the risk of being among the 40% of entrepreneurs who will not spend the fifth year of activity is real. "Citizenship itself has become "more entrepreneurial" and exclusionary: the citizen's model is increasingly someone who is both self-employed and self-educated" (Carré, 2005, p. 39).

Finally, entrepreneurial training should aim "to make learners more autonomous in their actions from an instrumental and situational point of view, mastering the tools, codes and expectations of the environment for which they are prepared". But also, and above all, to make them "more autonomous from an epistemological point of view, i.e. capable of questioning the validity of the action, making informed judgments and finally influencing the environment in which they operate in terms of values, ethics and even ideologies". (Eneau *et al.*, 2012, p. 4)

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PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AT THE CROSSROADS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT EXAMINING MULTI-DIMENSIONAL SHIFTS IN PERSPECTIVE AND SENSE-MAKING BY A GROUP OF FRENCH LEADERS

Abstract

Economic development and social issues are always intertwined, which often leads to vigorous debates and tensions. How to approach workplace training and adult education in this complex environment and is there a middle point for adult education between welfare state and neo-liberalism? To explore this question, this article presents the results of a research exploring the transformative journey of 10 French leaders using a multi-referential framework which combines French psycho-sociological and American psychological approach. We start by discussing our theoretical framework which creates a bridge between two lines of research combining a multi-dimensional approach of human experience at work and a transformative perspective. We then report on our research and present core findings related to the participants' experience and sense-making.

Keywords: professional development, workplace learning, transformative learning, adult development, sense-making

Introduction

The development of adult education since the end of the 19th century has been influenced by a joint concern for promoting democratic values and supporting economic growth (Mezirow, 1990; Palazzeschi, Dubar, & Gadéa, 1999). In this context, economic development and social issues are always intertwined, which often leads to vigorous debates and tensions. How to approach workplace training and adult education in this complex environment and is there a middle point for adult education between welfare state and neo-liberalism?

What role can professional development programs play in bridging those different perspectives and if so, what is the transformative process that should be involved? To explore those questions, we report on our current research exploring the transformative journey of 10 French leaders who are attending "Copernic", an innovative 2-year program.

We start by discussing epistemological and methodological issues related to the conceptualization of professional and workplace development in today's environment. We recommend an anthropological approach questioning the role and influence of key actors involved in the production of knowledge, including political and scientific groups as well as the learners themselves. To investigate the potentially transformative impact of the program, we look simultaneously at macro, meso and micro levels of the participants' experience. Our theoretical framework built on those premises integrates both a multi-dimensional approach of human experience at work (subject/group/organization/institution) (Bertrand, 2014) as well as a transformative lens (Mezirow, 1990) through constructive-developmental theory (Kegan, 1982, 1994) whose applications in leadership and organizational development has been growing in the last 10 years (Faller, 2014, 2017).

We then discuss our methodology, data collection strategy and analytical process including the Subject-Object Interview (SOI) developed to assess ways of making meaning under constructive-developmental theory (Lahey, Felix, Goodman, Kegan, & Souvaine, 1998). We present our core findings showing some common patterns of experience across participants (e.g., organizational challenges, conflicts, shifts of perception and reconfigurations at intrapersonal, interpersonal and enterprise levels) as well as variations and nuances influenced by each leader's own way of meaning-making as indicated by the SOI.

This research and its first results contribute to enrich the dialogue around the complex questions raised by ESREA 9th Triennial European Research Conference and provide an opportunity to further think about possible creative connections that can be built between economic performance and social development. To open the discussion, we will share our own conceptualization of an "environment supporting professional development" and call for creating more space for "mediation and dialogue".

Theoretical framework

This research was an opportunity to establish a more intentional bridge between North American and French theoretical lenses and their complementary approach to transformative learning in the workplace. In the United States, research building on theories studying the individual development of psychological structures such as constructive-developmental theory (Kegan, 1982, 1994) tends to focus on the variations of perception and experience of dilemmas from an individual and subjective perspective. France tends to favor a psycho-sociological approach including an understanding of the contextual factors; the interest is "in the functioning of groups and organizations, in change processes, in power relations, in the understanding of psychological and social conflicts, in the relationships between research and social practices" (Barus-Michel, Enriquez & Levy, 2002, p. 9). From this perspective, dilemmas are understood in their socio-organizational and intersubjective dimensions as those influence institutional dynamics and professional practices in place (Hess & Savoye, 1993; Lourau, 1970).

Our theoretical framework creates a bridge between those two lines of research through a multi-referential and critical approach. From an epistemological perspective, the goal is to produce knowledge *on* and *for* action. In the next section, we present the multi-referential model used by the authors to understand and analyze the question of "transformative dilemmas" within a leader's professional journey. The model integrates North-American concepts and research based on constructive-developmental theory (Faller, 2014, 2017; Kegan, 1982, 1994, 2000) and French psycho-sociological perspectives inspired by the influential "French Ecole Vincennoise" (Bertrand, 2011, 2014, 2015; Eneau, 2017; Eneau, Bertrand & Lameul, 2012).

North America: Individual psychological development perspective

In the United States, theories of adult development focus on the ways individuals can evolve over time within different domains of human experience. These domains include moral development (Kohlberg, 1981), cognitive development (Fischer, 1980; King & Kitchener, 1994), or spiritual development (Fowler, 1981). Some adult development theorists (Kegan, 1982, 1994; Loevinger, 1966; Torbert, 1999) consider the self as a unifying system and integrate the various domains of human experience into a larger framework.

Pioneered by Robert Kegan (1982, 1994), constructive-developmental theory is one of those theories of adult development which sees all aspects of experience, from thinking to feelings, as having a basic coherence. The theory posits that adults are active organizers of their experience and that the principles of organizing experience can become more complex over time (Kegan, 1982, 1994, 2000).The theory is based on two fundamental ideas: constructivism which suggests that individuals actively construct or make meaning of their experience, and development, which takes the view that people's ways of making meaning can develop over time according to regular principles of stability and change. When developing the theory, Kegan applied to adulthood many of Piaget's (1952) ideas related to children development.

The theory specifically attends to the structure and evolution of an individual's meaning-making system. Under constructive-developmental theory, meaning-making structures are the result of a delicate balance between "subject" and "object" (Kegan, 1982, 1994). Subject relates to what people are identified with and are not separate of themselves. Those are elements they are tied with or embedded in (Drago-Severson, 2012; Kegan, 1994). Object on the other hand relates to what they can take perspective on or are aware of. Those are elements that they can reflect on and take responsibility for (Drago-Severson, 2012; Kegan, 1994). As Kegan (1994, p. 32) summarized, "we *have* objects, we *are* subjects". Individuals' meaning-making structures can evolve over time as the result of a subject-object renegotiation shifting progressively toward a greater part of object and lesser part of subject (Kegan, 1982, 1994).

Constructive-developmental theory identifies four prevalent meaning-making systems or ways of knowing in adulthood: instrumental, socializing, self-authoring, and self-transforming. Each way of knowing corresponds to a different subject-object balance (Drago-Severson, 2004, 2009, 2012; Kegan, 2000) and denotes a different and coherent principle for organizing experience, including one's thinking, feelings, and relationships to others. Each system incorporates the former into a new more expansive meaning-making system. The next section presents key characteristics of the instrumental, socializing, self-authoring and self-transforming ways of knowing. Although each way of knowing denotes a coherent meaning-making system, it should be noted that development is a very gradual process and its movement implies to journey through different phases marking the gradual evolution of a new meaning system out of the old one. Therefore, as Drago-Severson (2004) notes we spend most of our lives in transitional phases and our meaning-making systems are often the combination of two ways of knowing.

Instrumental

A person who has an instrumental way of knowing has a very concrete orientation to life. Adults who make meaning in this way have a "I'll do to you what you do to me" and "give and take" understanding of the world (Popp & Portnow, 2001, p. 44). Because instrumental knowers understand the world in very concrete terms, they tend to orient toward following rules and appreciate when others provide specific advice and clarify procedures so that they can accomplish their goals (Drago-Severson, 2012). Instrumental knowers cannot yet fully consider or acknowledge another person's perspective. Therefore, another person's interests are only considered it they interfere positively with one's owns.

Socializing

Socializing knowers have a bigger capacity for reflection. Unlike instrumental knowers, socializing knowers have the capacity to think abstractly and to consider other people's opinions and expectations of them (Drago-Severson, 2004, 2009). Socializing knowers are most concerned with understanding other people's feelings and judgments about them and their work. The orientation in the socializing meaning-making system is toward a sense of belonging, of connecting around similarities with each other and feeling a common sense of identity and purpose. An individual with this meaning system is driven by the need to be understood by, connected to, and identified with a person, group, philosophical, or religious stance (Drago-Severson, 2009). However, socializing knowers are not yet able to have a perspective on their relationships and therefore their relationships tend to define their sense of self (Drago-Severson, 2004, 2009). Therefore, interpersonal conflict is almost always experienced as a threat to the self. Kegan and Lahey (2010, p. 439) refer to interpersonal conflicts as the "ultimate anxiety" of socializing knowers.

Self-authoring

The self-authoring way of knowing is characterized by its capacity to take responsibility for and ownership of its own internal authority (Drago-Severson, 2009, 2012). It has the capacity to internally hold, manage, and prioritize internal and external demands, contradictions, conflicts, and expectations of oneself and one's life. A person with the self-authoring meaning-making system orients to his or her own internal authority and sets goals according to his or her own values, standards and agenda (Kegan, 1994). Self-authoring knowers can assess other people's expectations and demands and compare them to their own internal standards and judgment (Drago-Severson, 2012). Kegan (1994) sees the self-authoring way of knowing as well adapted to respond to today's organizational demands, which require capacities such as being self-directed and self-evaluating.

Self-transforming

Only a small number of adults are developing the self-authoring way of knowing. When adults leave the self-authoring way of knowing and enter the self-transforming way of knowing, they become more open to others' points of view, standards, ideologies, and beliefs (Drago-Severson, 2012). Therefore, they appreciate receiving feedback as a chance to grow and develop a bigger version of themselves. Adults with a self-transforming way of knowing have the capacity to take perspective on their own system and identities, a key distinction with self-authoring knowers. At that level, the individual has grown up into the developmental capacity to look at and question one's self-system (Kegan & Lahey, 2009, 2010). They have the capacity to see and reflect on their own beliefs and values and, as they see limitations to their system, incorporate other's perspectives and values. As Kegan and Lahey (2010, p. 33) noted, it's a system where "we can step back from and reflect on the limits of our own ideology or personality; see that any one system of self-organization is in some way partial or incomplete".

France: Psycho-sociological perspective

France's psycho-sociological approach aims at understanding the contextual factors; the interest is "in the functioning of groups and organizations, in change processes, in power relations, in the understanding of psychological and social conflicts, in the relationships between research and social practices" (Barus-

Michel, Enriquez & Levy, 2002 p. 9). From that perspective, experience is seen as a phenomenon that cuts across subjects, groups, organisations and institutions. Over the past few years, French research on issues related to transformative learning in relation to professional practices in work contexts (Bertrand, 2011, 2014, 2015) focused analysing social experiences through a matrix with four dimensions in constant interaction: subjects, social groups, organisations and institutions (see Fig. 1).

This qualitative and quantitative approach to social experience in general and to authority and power in particular makes it possible to examine the relationships of mutual dependence which connect individual, social, and organisational levels and are involved, in a falsely paradoxical manner, in "reproducing" and "transforming institutions" (Castoriadis, 1975). The measurement and analysis units are both social and technical artefacts that shape the institutions of work and training and in which social relations evolve and are reproduced. These are the relations subjects maintain with themselves, others and the world. For the purposes of research, action and transformation, it is impossible to support the development of the transformative learning of subjects evolving within the work context without placing practices and interactions in the social and historical context of organisations and taking into account their modes of functioning.

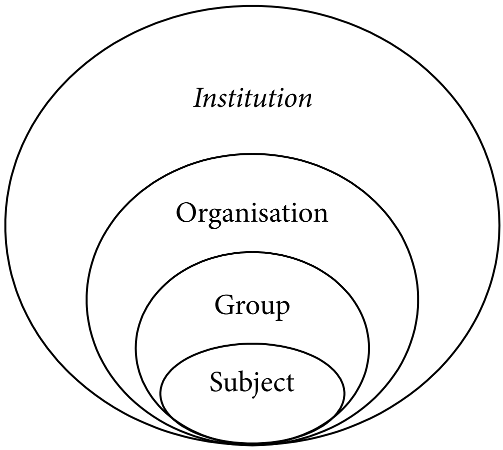

Figure 1. Modelling the four dimensions of social experience using a psycho-sociological approach (Bertrand, 2014)

It is also impossible to make the phenomena of learning comprehensible without considering individual and collective biographies and professional identities. For instance, being a manager in a hospital or in a start-up are quite different things; the languages differ; and the bureaucratic forms impose hierarchical relationships that are different from those observed in organisations in project mode. Those different studies (Bertrand, 2011, 2014, 2016; Bertrand & Cariat, 2017) show that some organisations interweave relatively successfully different types of organisation (for instance matrix organisations) and compare different traditions, values, conceptions of work relations (from direct supervision to mutual adjustment). These contexts colour the practices of managerial authority and power which, in turn, seek to control and sometimes "colonise" the worlds experienced as well as the objectives of support and the transformation of practices and representations.

How, then, can one create the conditions for rational dialogue for these unexamined aspects to be expressed and transformed? Reflexivity is a key concept at the heart of Habermas's mutual comprehension process, which is coupled to the concept of decentration. It is impossible to take action and to learn without mutual understanding, i.e., without being able to participate in a dual exercise of reciprocal reflexivity (such as the ability to question the just, true and sincere nature of an

Interlocutory situation and decentration. This practice of reflexivity also uses multiple approaches, insofar as action and reflection combine the four dimensions mentioned above. Thus, the critical approach in social sciences highlights the need to design an exercise of collective reflexivity that involves researchers, policymakers and practitioners in three tasks (Boltanski, 2009): (1) first, the pursuit of cognitive goals, the production of knowledge in the identification of genuine psychosocial issues (this is the mission of scientific activities); (2) the identification of "dysfunctions" compared to a given normative framework (in this regard, see the studies undertaken by Dejours (2010) on suffering at work), and; (3) advising and supporting organisations, groups and topics, in line with political, social, personal and professional transformation objectives.

In the psychosociological French approach, authority and power are at the heart of all processes of action and learning, and, more broadly, of all social processes. Different disciplines have analysed authority and power, including the science of training. We will briefly present how sociology has approached this from a general perspective before turning to a critical perspective, and then to a social psychology perspective. Finally, we will attempt to clarify the roles and functions these two concepts play in the theory of transformative learning in work contexts. Authority and power are two sociological objects. According to Lallement (1994) the primary role of sociology is to question social order and its contradictions and show how this order is constructed and reproduced. Like what has been observed in popular education in France, American studies (Mezirow, 1990) have notably shown the importance of awareness-raising processes in all transformative approaches. Authority and power can thus be levers of learning and development insofar as they do not seek, explicitly or implicitly, consciously or unconsciously, to exercise domination in its multiple forms: economic, administrative, or with its processes of monetisation and bureaucratisation, for example, when domination produces social pathologies and the colonisation of the worlds experienced (Eneau, Bertrand & Lameul, 2012).

Methodology

Our first research project using this multi-referential framework investigated the transformative experiences perceived by a group of 10 French entrepreneurs. By entrepreneurs, we mean individuals who at various points of their career decided to launch their own company by either taking over an existing business or launching a new business based on an idea they had. All had in common to run relatively small-size businesses, ranging from 10 to 50 employees in different regions of France including Paris, Brittany, and Nouvelle-Aquitaine (Central West). Industry sectors were diverse and included retail, services, manufacturing, training, consulting, healthcare, design. All those entrepreneurs had in common to be members of the "Centre des Jeunes Dirigeants" (CJD) – professional organization supporting entrepreneurs by offering learning and development programs – and had recently attended COPERNIC, a 2-year program articulated around 5 learning modules to develop specific competencies.

Our research was conducted using two main research questions: 1) When looking back at their professional journey, what were the experiences that this group perceived as transformative and what did those experiences mean to them?, and 2) How are the entrepreneurs developmental ways of knowing influenced if at all the way described and made meaning out of those experiences?

To investigate those questions, we relied on two main sources of data: semi-structured in-depth interviews as well as on the Subject-Object (SOI) Interview (Lahey et al, 1988).

Semi-structured in-depth interviews were used to investigate the first research question related to the key experiences that the participants perceived as significant for their development. The interview protocol, built to investigate the first research question, asked participants to elaborate on three key experiences that they considered as significant for their development and included specific probes allowing them to elaborate on their perception and understanding of the meaning related to those experiences. To analyze the interviews in this descriptive and narrative phase, we went through multiple phases of coding first by looking inductively at the data, then paying special attention to what was being said in regards to our multi-referential model looking at experience as a phenomenon engaging simultaneously subjects, groups, organisations and institutions.

To assess the developmental order of the leaders, the research relied on the Subject-Object Interview (SOI) (Lahey et al., 1988). Developed to explore the ways an individual makes sense of an experience according to Kegan's (1982, 1994) constructive-developmental theory, the SOI is a semi-structured 60–90-min interview. The interview is framed as a conversation around a set of 10 generative words or phrases (i.e., angry, anxious or nervous, success, strong stand or conviction, sad, torn, moved or touched, lost something, change, and important to me). After the interview, a transcript is established; a phase of coding is conducted, ultimately leading to a developmental score assessing the individual along Kegan's developmental continuum. One of the researchers is certified to interview, assess and score using this methodology.

Descriptive findings

Sources of key experiences

We found that the different experiences shared with us followed a continuum structured around the following sequence: foundational experiences, experiences of rupture, and experience of creation. Table 1 summarizes those different types of experience.

Table 1.
Sources of key experiences

Foundations	**Ruptures**	**Creative Acts**
1st jobs	Bankruptcy / Out of Business	New endeavors
1st projects	Betrayals	New associates
1st managerial experiences	Conflicts amongst shareholders	Take-overs
	Different points of views	

Foundational experiences were situated at the beginning of the participant's professional journey. A common thread to those early professional experiences was the participants' concern to learn "how things work" to quote one of the entrepreneurs. In this phase of their journey, it's first and foremost about mastering the skills and competencies necessary to success and Instrumental learning is the type of learning that is engaged most often. Foundational experiences also served as a starting point for developing a meaning scheme about the self, the other members and the organization. For instance, one entrepreneur shared that during that time "I learned that an enterprise, it's not abstract, it's people with different competencies that are intertwining and need coordination".

Experiences of rupture usually took place at mid-point in the entrepreneurs' careers. Emotionally challenging, those experiences were perceived as opportunities to test their resiliency. In those challenging moments, participants also started seeing the limits of an autonomous resolution of their problem and reached for help. This is the phase where a progressive discovery of the value of communicative learning occurs and where participants start engaging into a more intentional intersubjectivity.

Creative acts were the last type of experience shared by the entrepreneurs and often followed on their experiences of rupture. In their stories, they shared moments where they made big decisions such as pursuing a new business model, surround themselves with new people, or leave their current job and take on a risky entrepreneurial endeavor. In their descriptions emerged the sense that those moments had an existential value to them. Some participants for example described those times as "acts of courage", "self-affirmation" or "liberation". Speaking about his experience of taking over a small business, an entrepreneur shared: "this new project...it really forced me to learn what really belongs to me and clarify what this project meant to me".

Configuration and re-configuration of sense-making

In this section, we report on our analysis of evolution of sense-making using our psycho-sociological multi-referential model. As leaders shared their stories, we noticed that new interpretations emerged about the self (subject), others (group) as well as the whole organization and its environment (organization/institution). In the following section, we discuss how sense-making evolved across those dimensions and provide examples.

The self: from identity to integration

For many entrepreneurs, experiences served as an opportunity to revisit one's identity and reconfigure self-perceptions often developed early in life. Reflecting on his journey, a participant shared that many of his experiences helped him to further clarify his authentic-self and shared: "I now feel less guilty because I was able to clarify what came from my education and what came from me". From their stories emerged the sense that all participants were at some point all confronted to Jean-Paul Sartre's existential question of "what to do with what they did with me". For instance, an entrepreneur saw in all is experiences a recurring need to question "what was chance and what was of my doing". For all those entrepreneurs, experiences perceived as most challenging were the ones that led to the most intense questions about their true self. In those moments, feelings of isolation or self-doubt were often reported, A couple of participants also mentioned having engaged into psychological counseling. Finally, as experience builds up and self-identify gets progressively clarified, the quest takes a different turn and becomes a question of how to integrate and fully express the different facets of the authentic self in the world. One entrepreneur summarizes it well: "once I found my values, I started looking for new projects so I could stay true to them".

Others: openness and "meeting" otherness

The way the 10 entrepreneurs looked at other people whether those people were employees, associates, or stakeholders also shifted. Overall, we noticed that as entrepreneurs shared their stories, there was a gradual shift toward more openness and inclusiveness. This particularly emerged in stories of ruptures which triggered the realization that one can't go through those intense moments without help and support (professional and personal). For instance, an entrepreneur shared changing his perspective on his employees when those supported him at a time when he was being sued by an ex-employee he had to terminate for misbehavior. Another one shared being "saved" by her family when her business got into bankruptcy. Another theme that emerged was the realization of the value of pro-actively creating an intersubjective space for solving complex problems or developing new and fresh perspectives on an important issue. As experiences unfolded, participants mentioned more frequently reaching out for advice or feedback and gave more examples of situations where they listened to and learned from others. In this regard, the COPERNIC program which we mentioned earlier played an important role in creating a dialogic space offering the entrepreneurs the opportunity to put their questions in perspective and get others' points of view. As an entrepreneur notes: "with COPERNIC, I could not do anything but being open and challenging my way of thinking".

Institution/organization: from authority to authorization

Finally, we noticed a reconfiguration of the meaning of "work". If work was perceived in early experiences as a "necessary evil", this notion evolved over time and progressively transformed into a "projet de vie" (a life's project) whose purpose is to express an ideal discovered along the journey. When they find the right project aligned with their ideal, entrepreneurs report a sense of emancipation and liberation from normative structures they experienced earlier in their career. In this journey of emancipation, they also want to bring along the people around them and create the conditions for their own growth and fulfillment. For example, one entrepreneur shared: "it's not my project, it's not my business, this is a collective and co-created adventure, this is a "we" not a "I" project". Another one shared crossing the traditional line of work and life by creating spaces dedicated to art exhibition or music concerts organized by the employees themselves.

Developmental findings

In this section, we continue our investigation using our multi-referential model, this time by using Kegan's constructive-developmental model (Kegan, 1982, 1994). Could this model provide a valuable framework for better understanding how the entrepreneurs described and made sense of their experience? If at all, in which ways did their ways of knowing influence the way they made sense of their experience?

Developmental scores: a developmentally diverse group with two different versions of self-authorship

Subject-Object Interview scores revealed a developmentally diverse group with two different versions of the self-authoring way of knowing. These versions depended on the degree of maturity of the self-authoring way of knowing within the leader's overall meaning-making system, and the remaining presence in the system of the socializing way of knowing. Overall, two ways of knowing emerged from the sample:

1) Transitioning from the socializing to the self-authoring way of knowing. Half of the participants were making meaning this way. Although the self-authoring structure was present in their meaning-making system, the socializing structure was still present in their overall meaning-making system.
2) Fully self-authoring: the other half of the leaders exhibited a fully developed self-authoring structure (at this stage, the socializing structure is no longer present in their system).

In our descriptive findings, we discussed common themes and trends related to the ways entrepreneurs looked and made sense of their experience but also saw some variations and nuances. Because constructive-developmental theory (Drago-Severson, 2009, 2012; Kegan, 2000; Kegan & Lahey, 2009) argues that different ways of knowing will experience challenges and supports psychologically and emotionally differently we went back to our initial dataset and looked more closely at descriptions and perceptions of being challenged and supported across the two developmental groups. How analysis revealed important distinctions and variations across the two groups which were consistent with their psychological structure. In the next sections, we present those variations and how they relate to their ways of knowing and Kegan's framework.

Ways of being and feeling challenged

Table 2 presents a summary of the variations across the two groups in the ways they described and perceived being challenged by their experiences.

Table 2.
Perceptions of challenges

	Group 1 Transitioning between socializing and self-authoring	**Group 2 Fully self-authoring**
Aggregate trends	• Overall high level of emotional intensity in description of challenges • Extreme emotions can lead to experiencing a sense of victimization, helplessness • Perception of people with diverging views and styles leads to intense feelings feeling of isolation, disfranchisement, self-questioning • Positions not relying on previous expertise or authority is conducive to feelings of anxiety, fear of failure and punishment • Increase in responsibility leads to self-doubt, helplessness, worrying about not meeting expectations	• Lower level of emotions and relative control of emotions throughout key experiences • Perception of challenge across contexts as an obstacle or risk to own goals or values/principles/integrity • Most important emotions are frustration for not reaching goals or anxiety of lacking competence/skills

Transitioning between socializing and self-authoring

Entrepreneurs with this way of knowing were the ones who looked back at their experiences with the most intensity, using almost consistently very emotional terms to describe how they felt during those times. A peak of emotions and pain was reached when entrepreneurs of this group talked about situations involving other people, but situations requiring them to take on more responsibility and let go of expertise or authority (such as in positions based on influence) were also experienced with a higher level of anxiety by this group. From a developmental standpoint, stories involving conflicts with other people always represent a great opportunity to look at how much people "have" or "are being had" by their relationships (Drago-Severson, 2004; Kegan, 1982, 2000). The fact that those entrepreneurs reported painful feelings of disenfranchisement, isolation and confusion in those moments was an indication of their socializing self-perceiving misalignment as a risk of separation from important sources of expectations and judgment. For instance, one entrepreneur in this group when recalling a conflict shared "feeling anxious about having a different view and the possible rupture with his associated". Another one shared feeling uncomfortable when "others do not seem to agree with my ideas" and concluded: "conflict is intolerable for me".

Van Velsor and Drath (2004) note that the socializing way of knowing is more likely to fill uncomfortable in “ill-defined” and “high responsibility” roles. In this study, entrepreneurs making sense with a leading socializing way of knowing reported a high level of anxiety in roles requiring them to create their own mandate or define the strategic direction. For instance, a leader in this group when recalling working on a new project whose scope and responsibility was unclear described it this way: “I got lost in what we were trying to do, I wanted to escape and go to a place where I would feel more safe and confident”.

Fully self-authoring

Kegan (1994) is explicit regarding the self-authoring developmental capacities required to succeed in the workplace: “the requirements to be self-evaluating and self-correcting demand an internal standard” (p. 160). In contrast to the entrepreneurs who were still transitioning toward the self-authoring order, those who had reached a fully self-authoring way of knowing seemed more in control of their emotions and psychological state when encountering challenging situations. And when signs of emotional distress surfaced, those were primarily directed toward a sense of anxiety for not being able to reach goals or standards that were important to them. In conflictual situations, entrepreneurs in this group seemed less vulnerable to feelings of rejection, insecurity and isolation. Instead, they appeared more frustrated by or angry about the fact that others did not seem to align or agree with their own ideas. One entrepreneur for example, stressed her frustration of not being able to convince her associate to make decisions she thought were right for the business. She said, “It was frustrating that she could not see what I was seeing, I have an idea of what is best and it’s really frustrating when others don’t see it”.

Kegan (1994) notes that for self-authoring knowers, ultimate anxiety is no longer a function of being excluded, rather the threat is of losing a sense of control, not meeting their own standards or be able to advance to realize their goals. An entrepreneur in this group demonstrated this type of anxiety towards losing control when he recalled working with people who had very different backgrounds on a new business model and said: “for me things need to go at a certain pace, follow a certain process, I had to adapt to different styles and become more informal and fluid, it was hard but I understood the value of it”.

Ways of being and feeling supported

Like for challenges, entrepreneurs’ perceptions of supports differed across ways of knowing. For some, getting a sense of validation seemed to be their most important need. For other, it was the ability to achieve their goals or plans or generating new ideas and insights. Table 3 presents a summary of the main themes of perceived supports identified and key variations across ways of knowing.

Table 3.
Perceptions of support

	Group 1 **Transitioning between socializing and self-Authoring**	**Group 2** **Fully self-authoring**
Aggregate trends	• High expectation and appreciation for external supports • Sense of frustration for not perceiving external supports; reaching for external supports seen as choice by default • Appreciation for mentors • Stronger orientation for supports providing validation and sense of direction • Trust/respect from authority forms helped those entrepreneurs to be more self-directed and autonomous in their work	• Appreciation of supports when available • Can still function without perceiving and experiencing supports • High level of self-designed, self-relied supports • See highest value in supports helping them to move plans and projects ahead

Transitioning between socializing and self-authoring

Overall, leaders in this group were more sensitive and appreciative of the presence and availability of external supports. Conversely, when those supports were missing or not perceived, those expressed a greater sense of frustration than the other leaders. Drago-Severson (2009, p. 33) emphasizes the need for socializing knowers to "look to valued others or authorities for direction, guidance, and confirmation of progress when faced with decisions". A good example of this orientation – reliance on external advice or guidance *and* reliance on the self– was provided by this entrepreneur who shared that her husband, another entrepreneur is a very important part of here decision-making process and shared "I always turn to him for advice, that's the way I work, having his opinion... it gives me the confidence and strength I need when I need to make a big decision". Feeling valued and recognized by the environment was also an important source of support for this group. One entrepreneur recalled feeling an intense sense of self-confidence and empowerment when he got the greenlight from his associates to develop a new branch for a business. He shared: "for the first time, I had a platform for doing things that I instinctively knew were the right things to do all along...I felt extremely capable and empowered. It gave me the confidence that what I believed was true. So, I stepped into that space with a lot of enthusiasm".

Fully self-authoring

Entrepreneurs from this group mentioned more often relying on self-designed supports. Their self-authorship appeared in the way they seemed always to take an active role in creating support. One of those entrepreneurs summarized: "You have to work through the system, and you have to be pro-active about it". Those entrepreneurs particularly valued supports that would help them reach their goals or fulfill their agendas. Therefore, this group valued collaborators who they perceived as being supportive of their plans. Popp and Portnow (2001, p. 57) notes that self-authoring knowers can "choose to consult with others to enhance their own authority". In other words, they have the capacity to value the contributions of others while they perceive it as helpful to advance their agenda. This was exemplified by this entrepreneur who shared: "you've got people with you. If you keep them understand what's the big picture, what's the company vision, where they fit into this vision, they all get committed and engaged".

Those entrepreneurs were also quite skilled at reaching out to peers, mentors, former collaborators to get new perspectives. This was a good illustration of Kegan's (1982, p. 101) depiction of the self-authoring knower's distinctive capacity "for independence, to own herself, rather than having all the pieces of herself owned by various shared contexts". Conversely, leaders in this group always appeared to be in the driver's seat for gathering important information or resources. When taking over a company, this entrepreneur shared spending the first 2 months reaching out to employees and learning as much as possible about the culture, the business, as well as the community at large. He shared: "I knew that this had to be more than my project, and to do that I had to learn a lot and make sure I included a lot of things in my way of thinking about it".

Conclusion

As we mentioned earlier, this research is our first attempt to use a multi-referential framework which combines the French psycho-sociological approach and the American psychological approach. By combining the two levels, we believe that we have a promising framework to better understand the richness and complexity of how sense-making develops and is renegotiated over time throughout experience. Our study clearly shows that the transformative process is the product of dynamic interactions between an individual's way of meaning-making and the environment around. The evolutions of sense-making that emerged from our analysis (evolutions toward the self, others, and the whole system) also shows that there needs to be a certain level of intensity and challenge for this evolution to occur which got reflected in the stories that they chose to share with us. Finally, internal psychological structures play an important role on how experience is perceived, felt, and negotiated.

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ENTREPRENEURSHIP EDUCATION – NEW CONTENT FOR THE NEW PARADIGM

Abstract

The dominant theme of modern economics and political discourses are small and medium enterprises and the promotion of entrepreneurship. Entrepreneurship serves as an engine of economic development and considers it a way to reduce unemployment. On the other hand, the withdrawal of the state from the largest part of the public services, where it previously had a larger role, such as adult education, led to new forms of satisfying social needs and introduced a concept of social entrepreneurship. Between stimulating a good business environment, affordable sources of financing, a general social climate that is benevolent to entrepreneurial ventures, entrepreneurship education is an important pillar in the overall support to entrepreneurship development, and as such has been embedded into educational policies. For Europe and Serbia, this nontraditional goal in adult education introduces novelties into educational policies and opens new areas for research. Therefore, we conducted research with the goal of finding the presence of entrepreneurship content in strategic policy papers issued by the competent authorities in the European Union and the Republic of Serbia in the period from 2000 until 2019. Our assumption is that the presence of entrepreneurship content without acknowledging its social side is an indication of a change in state paradigm, showing the abandonment of the state's welfare discourse and the movement towards a neoliberal conception. In the research, we applied document analysis with content and discourse analysis. The results of the research indicate a growing presence of entrepreneurship education in education policies, without accompanying content of social entrepreneurship. This indicates a gradual abandonment of the welfare state concept and a turn towards neoliberal discourse, which is an indicator of the paradigm shift.

Keywords: adult education policies, entrepreneurship education, welfare state, neoliberalism, social entrepreneurship

Introduction

The modern state is no longer able to fulfill the responsibilities assumed in the 20th century, primarily in the economy and social protection. World unemployment amounts to 170 million people, of which over 30 million are in Europe, making mass unemployment one of the biggest problems of modern society. Environmental issues such as green gas emissions, global warming, plastic waste and environmental disasters caused by the leakage of nuclear reactors and oil spills into rivers and oceans are also challenges to which states fail to respond adequately. Responding to contemporary challenges in the economy and other social spheres, they are no longer seen in cumbersome, inherent bureaucratic institutions, or even in large private corporations. One exit strategy from this situation focuses on the human factor, on people with the idea, inspiration, initiative, courage and competence, who can drive change and progress at all levels, assuming social responsibility for the future of themselves and their families, as well as the future of the wider community.

Such a strategy certainly has its own ideological framework. In this paper, we seek answers to the questions of whether such a strategy involves the implementation of entrepreneurial content in the education system? Could we claim that the presence of entrepreneurial content in adult education policies indicates a paradigm shift from welfare to a neoliberal state? What about social entrepreneurship and what is its role? Does social entrepreneurship emerge as a hybrid form of conflict with neoliberalism in a system that neglects awareness and concern for the collective, or serves it as loyal opposition by accepting action within the given framework?

The end of welfare state and the rise of neoliberalism

The dissolution of the Soviet Union (as well as Yugoslavia in the Balkans) marks the end of the polarized world – a world that offered two distinct models of development and organization of society, and the victory of Western liberal democracy. This event is also known as an “end of history” (see Fukuyama, 1989). The neoliberal concept of capitalism has prevailed and remains the dominant and only vision of social order. A human being as a measure of everything has been replaced by a man who can be measured by the size of his wallet. The virtue of personal fulfillment has been replaced by the virtue of wealth, and principals of cooperation and mutual assistance with motives of acquiring and competing.

The social system and organization in which it has lived and been promoted by the Western world over the last four decades can be labeled as neoliberalism. Its presence permeates almost all social spheres: economy, financial sector, culture, education, sports, media, and others. In economic theory, the emergence of the neoliberal paradigm is a turning point in the Keynesian model of state-economy relations, which was the dominant post-war conception. The previous model saw the prominent role of the state as an organizer of economic activity, sought full use of the population, reduction of public debt, the state intervened through public works and determined the branches of the economy to be stimulated. In the early 1980s, due to the economic slowdown, the Keynesian concept was abandoned, replaced by the idea of free-market policy, deregulation, privatization, state non-interference in economic relations and selling state-owned enterprises and resources. This period is referred to as the transition from the "Golden Age of Capitalism" to the "Washington consensus" (Marglin & Schor, 1992).

The theoretical underpinning of neoliberal conception was encouraged by the "Austrian School" as well as the "Chicago School," which gathered scholars from the Faculty of Economics at the University of Chicago (Mirowski & Plehwe, 2009). It came to reality with the arrival of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher in power in the United States and the UK (Davies, 2014), while its internationalization and global domination came through international organizations gathered around the "Washington Consensus". Alternatives to the neoliberalism have been seen by movements that advocate for greater equality, but which have so far not gained sufficient visibility, primarily from the inability to prove economic superiority or at least sustainability.

After the global economic crisis of 2008, all the shortcomings of this concept were brought to light, especially when the state was the one that assumed all the losses incurred meaning that the remediation of the damage was distributed to all citizens, while the previously gained profits remained private property. Although it was expected that a sharp reaction and demand for a change in the economic paradigm would follow, the opposite was true. There has been a consolidation of the existing neoliberal paradigm and even stronger demand for other countries of the world to embrace the neoliberal concept and to apply its principles more strongly in all spheres of social organization.

Theoretical framework

Entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial competence

Probably the most significant contribution to the theory of entrepreneurship was given by Joseph Schumpeter, whose view of entrepreneurs is both economic and psychological (Casson, 1993). From an economic perspective, an entrepreneur signifies an individual who creates new products and introduces new processes, enters new markets, finds new sources of raw materials, and creates new types of organizations. From the psychological stand of view, the entrepreneur is a "dreamer" who wants "his own kingdom", wants to conquer, to fight, to be above others and who enjoys creating. It was Schumpeter's understanding of the entrepreneur that influenced the creation of today's image of the entrepreneur as *a brave and courageous individual*, ready to take risks and face dangerous and uncertain challenges.

Psychology scholars find the connection between entrepreneurship and personal characteristics is evident, manifesting as self-control, self-confidence, and competitiveness, while the main motivation is most often the motive for achievement, independence and willingness to take risks (Kalkan & Kaygusuz, 2012). Responding to market challenges requires the development of entrepreneurial spirit and entrepreneurial skills, in order to enable individuals to identify opportunities in problems, develop the ability to take initiative, analyze data, think creatively, look ahead, optimistically view life and the world, develop independence and individuality, success orientation, teamwork, etc. It is the entrepreneurs who shift economic resources from low to high productivity, creating value through technological, industrial, marketing or demographic change. They are the ones who realize the technological transfer, i.e. the transition of innovations from the development centers into market and commercialization (Avlijaš & Avlijaš, 2015). The importance of entrepreneurial competence is also discussed by Draker (1991), pointing out that organizations that do not have developed entrepreneurial competence will not be able to face the challenges they face. This means that entrepreneurial competence is not only personal but also organizational, viewed in the context of the learning organization. Avlijaš and Avlijaš also give their definition of entrepreneurship as "the process of creating something new and useful by investing time and effort, assuming existing financial, physical and social risks, with the ultimate rewards of material character and personal satisfaction and independence" (2015, p. 8).

A relatively new term in entrepreneurship theory is the notion of social entrepreneurship. Thompson (2002) explains that instead of profit, social enterprises set out a social mission for the wider community as well as for the individual vulnerable categories: poor, unemployed and unskilled, elderly, migrants, people with disabilities, ethnically and sexually marginalized groups, victims of domestic and sexual violence, victims of human trafficking. In their business, social enterprises use the principles of modern management, have a market orientation and include categories of vulnerable persons in their work processes, enabling them to simultaneously generate income and gain competence. In addition, the management structure is horizontal, so that employees are involved in important decision-making processes. They strive to maximize revenue, with the result that the generated profits are reinvested in the prescribed goals for which the organization was founded. In our view, this concept arises from conflict with the neoliberal model of social order and its emergence correlates with the weakening of the welfare state, i.e. with the withdrawal of the state from most spheres where it was traditionally present: education, health, culture, social protection...

Societies and communities are fostering an environment for entrepreneuship and along this path, questions are raised that come from different spheres:

> How entrepreneurship directly and indirectly contributes to establishing institutions, what institutions are needed to foster entrepreneurship, how many resi-

> dents are employed in the entrepreneurship sector, what is the impact of family, religion and culture on entrepreneurship development, is there a positive attitude towards entrepreneurship in society, or it is condemned and stigmatized. (...) how big is the value that entrepreneurial initiatives create in the national and global economy, how big is the revenue they generate, what are the financial institutions that stimulate and facilitate business – banks, microfinance institutions, leasing companies, accelerators, business angels, venture capitalist. (...) Psychology has a particular interest in the motives, attitudes, frustrations and conflicts, psychological consequences, dispositions and character traits of entrepreneurs, since the development of entrepreneurship is inseparable from the individual who will embark on an entrepreneurial venture. (Grozdić & Miljković, 2016, p. 10)

As entrepreneurship involves starting a new venture, searching for opportunities, securing and combining resources while accepting financial and psychological risks, it is clear that so as to successfully execute entrepreneurial venture a certain competencies are required, linked by the umbrella term *entrepreneurial competence*. This further implies that education sciences also have a legitimate place in the study of entrepreneurship. The questions they ask relate to the identification of relevant entrepreneurial knowledge, skills and beliefs, opportunities and preconditions for their development by education, curriculum development, creation of educational setting and selection of working methods, limits of formal and the role of nonformal education in stimulating entrepreneurial activity, ways of self-education and training, questioning educational barriers and motives and other issues.

Neoliberalism and entrepreneurship

On the one hand, highlighting the weakness of the state to respond to all the needs of the population for which it has traditionally been responsible, and on the other hand, launching new ventures with a willingness to risk and insecurity by entrepreneurs, represented a suitable ground for linking the neoliberalism paradigm to entrepreneurship as a key conception of the economic, and later cultural, social, educational and other development. Highlighting the positive attributes of entrepreneurship: initiative, desire to create new value, willingness to take the risk, a motive for achievement, the neoliberalism promoted entrepreneurship as the basic and best conception of development. Emphasizing examples of wealthy individuals who had no assets at the beginning of their lives or careers, the neoliberal paradigm seeks to suppress the existence of structural differences and to reduce it and explain everything through personal initiative, perseverance and commitment to work. Furthermore, the existence of socio-economic differences, structural barriers and social/cultural capital which is not equally distributed among individuals are completely neglected.

Neoliberalism does not need entrepreneurs so much as it promotes individuals who will accept all that entrepreneurs face: independence in undertaking ventures, taking personal responsibility, taking risks, accepting failure and loss as a possible outcome, although the majority of people will be employed and will not run their own businesses. Big capital embodied in the ideology of neoliberalism has expactation that everyone (including their employees) is flexible, willing to accept job insecurity and instability, dose not have affiliation with trade unions or other associations protecting workers' rights. That is because neoliberalism views people as replaceable, and the labor market as the market for every other commodity. Moreover, the expectation is that skilled people resource is quickly and easily procured and can also be replaced in the same manner.

The promotion of entrepreneurship as a new social paradigm, Fuko (2008) sees "more as an attempt to remake social and personal life in its entirety, around an ideal of *enterprise* and performance. (...) an ethos of competitiveness is seen as permeating culture, education, personal relations and orientation to the self" (as cited in Davies, 2014, p. 315–316). According to Olssen and Peters (2005) "in neoliberalism, the state seeks to create an individual that is an enterprising and competitive entrepreneur", while Canaan (2013) concludes that "neoliberal policies are using different supranational bodies, such as the European Union, as instruments. They are also dismantling the welfare state, deepening economic and social crisis, and commercializing public institutions, such as universities" (as cited in Fernández-Herrería & Martínez-Rodríguez, 2016, p. 315). Fernández-Herrería and Martínez-Rodríguez (2016) are speaking about "entrepreneurial self", which has been introduced by neoliberalism as a new identity. In a new globalized world, it is expected to have an individual how is flexible, ready to take a risk, skilled and competitive. Consequently, education is seen as a tool to create this type of individual.

In addition to the strong arguments for accepting entrepreneurship as a sole tool of neoliberalism, there is also another side to the coin. When a father, mother or grandfather direct their descendants to start their own businesses, preparing them with advice, engaging in business, developing work habits and making contacts in the business world, then we have a decades and centuries-long model of family entrepreneurship with a wide positive impact on the community. Establishing a social enterprise that solves burning social problems or helps vulnerable categories (refugees, victims of trafficking, people with disabilities), along with participative management and obligation to reinvest profits into the organization, we also face with the positive social impact and collective wellbeing. Furthermore, if the state administration provides the necessary preconditions that will minimize the financial and psychological risk for entering the entrepreneurial venture, it shows that the state does not promote entrepreneurship because of the inability to secure jobs, but precisely from a clearly thought out strategy for further social and economic development.

Therefore, it is important to recognize whether the state creates an environment conducive to entrepreneurship, dose it promote entrepreneurship as a cultural pattern that often entails failure in an entrepreneurial venture, is there a room for support to social enterprise, whether it creates a financing framework for these risky ventures and a model of commercial law which benefits them at a stage while they have no income yet. Positive answers to these questions open the space for entrepreneurship within the ideology of the welfare state.

Neoliberalism and adult education

The founding postulates of the European and Serbian (formerly Yugoslav) educational traditions are inherently different from the assumptions of the neoliberal paradigm. For adult education, as a traditionally social and state sphere of interest and action, neoliberalism most often has a negative connotation. We can argue that there is a kind of insidious reflection of the neoliberal policy on adult education. As Davies (2014) describes it:

> Neoliberal policy targets institutions and activities which lie outside of the market, such as universities, households, public administrations and trade unions. This may be so as to bring them inside the market, through acts of privatization; or to reinvent them in a 'market-like' way; or simply to neutralize or disband them (p. 310).

Furthermore, Davies points out that the national states are the ones who are expected to take an active role in this transformative process in order to reshape and reorganize current social and economic entities.

According to the aforementioned tradition, the adult learner is not a passive consumer of the educational service as viewed from the economic neoliberal paradigm. There are certain similarities where the learner a user of the service, may demand the promoted quality he has paid or which is paid, then he may change the service provider if (s)he is not satisfied with the existing ones. However, the specificity of adult education lies in its interactive relationship and shared responsibility. The learner cannot acquire knowledge without their active participation in the educational process and the final outcome of the education will depend on the fulfillment of the obligations of both parties: educational institution as well as the learner.

Apart from the transfer of knowledge and the development of competence, another specific feature of the educational providers is the authority to issue licenses to perform certain jobs, embodied in public documents – diplomas. Speaking in the word of the neoliberal paradigm, "knowledge is capital" and professional individuals are a "highly desirable resource" in the market. So that the diploma is proof of knowledge and expertise possession, there is a great demand for this valuable resource. The desirability of diplomas in the market, motivates educational institutions (whose income depends on the number of students enrolling) to lower their admission and evaluation criteria, which leads to a state where knowledge transfer becomes a secondary activity, while the exchange of licenses for money takes on a primary function.

Therefore, the idea of the profitability in the field of education is inherently dubious. Complete deregulation in education would lead to a lack of quality control; the postulate of competitiveness would end up in segregation on successful and unsuccessful is contrary to the principles of accessibility, school returners (second chance) and equality of opportunity, which are the basic principles of the traditional education paradigm. Moreover, Brown and Lauder (as cited in Patrick, 2013) found that neoliberalism denies the bare existence of inequality in education:

> Children from wealthy backgrounds no longer have an unfair advantage over children from disadvantaged backgrounds, because of the international character of the labour market. What holds back the children from disadvantaged backgrounds is not the fact that those from privileged backgrounds enjoy all the educational advantages, but their lack of credentials, knowledge, and skills which prevent them from competing in the global competition for high-skilled, high-wage employment. Therefore, a "fair" educational system is no longer one that attempts to create a level playing field but one dedicated to raising the standards of all and facilitating greater access to higher education in order to arm the workforce with the credentials, knowledge, and skills that are valued in the global labour market (pp. 2–3).

These claims could also be applied to adult learners. Neoliberalism, whose evolvement has been largely contributed by economic theorists, sees education solely as a preparation for participation in economic relations. On the other hand, it neglects the fact that the goals of education are much broader than vocational education and that in addition to acquiring the technical knowledge and skills necessary for inclusion in economic relations, the education process must lead to the self-awareness, understanding of our own needs, goals, motives and striving for the complete development of personality: emotional, psychological and social. With the abandonment of the nation-states concept and more intense globalization, the educational contents that served to build national and religious identity, as well as the identity of the local community, are also lost from adult education. What is particularly worrying is the neglect of civic education and education for democracy. Individuals cannot be aware of themselves unless they are aware of the world in which they live, if they do not understand the origin and messages received from politicians and corporations through mass media, and ultimately the foundation of a healthy and sustainable economy is a stable political system consisting of educated and informed citizens.

Goal, method and source of data

In this paper, we aim to explore the presence of entrepreneurial goals and content in EU and Serbian education policies and to draw a conclusion on whether there has been a shift in paradigm towards the neoliberal concept in adult education. Our hypothesis that the presence of entrepreneurship content without acknowledging its social side is an indication of the neoliberal agenda and that it is currently dominating educational policy on the EU level as well as in Serbia.

Although we understand education policy broadly as "the skill of managing educational flows in a particular social community (...) through consciously creating the conditions, legal, material, financial, personnel and other, to realize an established conception, strategy and system" (Alibabić, 2002, p. 78), for the purposes of this research, we focused on the strategic policy papers issued by the competent authorities in European Union and Republic of Serbia in the period from 2000 until 2019. As a research method, we applied document analysis with content and discourse analysis. We looked for a presence of terms and notions: entrepreneurship, entrepreneurial spirit, entrepreneurial competence, entrepreneurship education (formal and non-formal) and other similar terms.

Findings

Entrepreneurship content in the European adult education policy

As education policies are the responsibility of EU Member states, it is difficult to talk about European adult education policy in general. That is the reason why we examined and limit the research on the documents that have been discussed in the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of Ministers and especially within the European Commission which acts as a facilitator for the promotion of education initiatives (in this case entrepreneurship education) through policy papers, exchange of best practices among countries, dissemination of knowledge and development of tools and manuals.

In order to understand the role of adult education in the broader context of the EU policy, we start with the document from the year 2000 entitled *Lisbon strategy*. Document creators, who are member states leaders, stated that by 2010 they want EU "to become 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" (European Parliament, 2000, Preparing for enlargement section). The great changes brought about by globalization and the new knowledge-based economy require the modernization of the social model and the education system, i.e the construction of an active welfare state. Although it is said that "The Union must shape these changes in a manner consistent with its values and concepts", the education and training systems "need to adapt both to the demands of the knowledge society and to the need for an improved level and quality of employment" (European Parliament, 2000, Preparing for enlargement section). We can draw a conclusion, that in trying to find the balance between social inclusion and competitiveness, state leaders emphasise on one side investing in people and developing an active and dynamic welfare state, and on the other achieve goals of a knowledge-based economy. Furthermore, they were unambiguous for having the most competitive knowledge-based economy, which we find impossible to achieve without interfering in adult education policy. In the document, the Council asks the Commission to present "a communication on an entrepreneurial, innovative and open Europe together with the Multiannual Programme in favour of Enterprise and Entrepreneurship for 2001–2005" (European Parliament, 2000, Creating a friendly environment section). Numerous studies had previously concluded that when there is a requirement to create an entrepreneurial environment, there is also a need for entrepreneurship education and training, which is considered as an integral part of the that environment (see Gartner, 1985; Bruyat & Julien, 2001; Kuratko and Hodgetts, 2004, as cited in Makhbul & Hasun 2011; Avlijaš & Avlijaš, 2015).

In the following year, the Commission of the European communities (2001) prepared a required reflection on the concrete future objectives of education systems. The report highlighted a development of the spirit of enterprise as one of the main objectives and called schools and training systems to build this content into their curricula. Here we find and explicate call for embedding entrepreneurial content into the education curricula.

In 2003 Commission of the European communities published *Green Paper: Entrepreneurship in Europe*, stating an importance of entrepreneurship and proposing a strategy for its realization (Commission of the European Communities, 2003). There years later, European Parliament and Council adopted a *Recommendation on key competences for lifelong learning*, where a sense of initiative and entrepreneurship are identified as one of the eight key competences needed by all, while in the recommendation review from 2018, Council reaffirmed the position of entrepreneurship competences in the framework.

A conference held in October 2006 together with European Commission and the Norwegian government, resulted in a proceeding *Oslo Agenda for Entrepreneurship Education in Europe*. The conference was a follow-up to the Commission's Communication *Entrepreneurship Education in Europe: Fostering Entrepreneurial Mindsets through Education and Learning* from February the same year. It aimed "to exchange experiences and good practices, and to discuss how to move forward in promoting entrepreneurship education more systematically, based on concrete evidence and recommendations presented by the Commission's Communication" (European Commission & Norwegian Government, 2006, p. 5).

In 2008. *Small Business Act* underlined that "the education system, and in particular the school curricula, do not focus enough on entrepreneurship and do not provide the basic skills which entrepreneurs need", and established promoting entrepreneurship as one of the four main priorities (Commission, 2008, Turning principles into policy action section). The following year, Council adopted the *Strategic framework for European cooperation in education and training – ET 2020,* where enhancing entrepreneurship, with creativity and innovation, are seen as a vital objective in all levels of education and training. Influence from the world of business and industry can be found in those two documents, which is indication of a neo-liberal viewpoint.

In 2012. a communication *Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes* was adopted in order to answer the question of how to achieve the objectives related to growth and new jobs. The document calls for developing transversal skills, especially entrepreneurial skills with more real-world experience and problem-based learning across all disciplines in all levels of education. It is stated that urgent action on the EU level is needed so as to "entrepreneurship education actions include: publishing policy guidance on entrepreneurship education in 2013; establishing, jointly with the OECD, a guidance framework for entrepreneurial education institutions; and the development of tools to monitor progress and the acquisition of entrepreneurial competences." (European Commission, 2012, European level coordination and contributions section).

Investing in entrepreneurship education is seen as one of the highest return investments Europe can make in the paper *Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan: Reigniting the entrepreneurial spirit in Europe*, adopted in 2013. It is expected that all member states include entrepreneurship competence in teaching plans and programs in all levels of education. In order "to bring Europe back to growth and create new jobs, we need more entrepreneurs. Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan is the Commission's answer to challenges brought by the gravest economic crisis in the last 50 years" (European Commission, 2013). Once again, entrepreneurship education is seen as a tool for industry needs and new job creation.

To support the creation of social enterprise and social innovation, the European Commission launched the *Social Business Initiative*. It has an 11 priority measures, which are structured around 3 themes: 1) Making it easier for social enterprises to obtain funding; 2) Increasing the visibility of social entrepreneurship and 3) Making the legal environment friendlier for social enterprises. It states that "in European education systems, social entrepreneurship is still under-promoted, although its integration into initial and ongoing training is a prerequisite for reinforcing its credibility" (European Commission, 2011, p. 5). Even though it points to the lack of education for social entrepreneurship, this plan does not prescribe measures that would contribute to its development.

A research conducted by Joint Research Center in 2016, followed by the publication *EntreComp: The Entrepreneurship Competence Framework* (Bacigalupo, Kampylis, Punie, & Van den Brande, 2016), resulted in an important definition about what entrepreneurial competence is and what areas of life it covers:

> The framework describes entrepreneurship as a transversal competence, which can be applied by citizens to all spheres of life from nurturing personal develop-

> ment, to actively participating in society, to (re)entering the job market as an employee or as a self-employed person, and to starting up ventures (cultural, *social or commercial*). (...) EntreComp can be used as a reference for the design of curricula in the formal education and training sector. It can also be used for activities and programmes in non-formal learning contexts (for instance, to foster intrapreneurship with existing organizations). It aims to establish a bridge between the worlds of education and work as regards entrepreneurship as a competence. (p. 6)

Through in-depth research and consultative two-year process, researchers have come to the conclusion that entrepreneurial competence is a composite of 15 competencies grouped into 3 clusters: *Ideas and opportunities, resources* and *into action*. Each person should develop these competencies, but without the linear expectation that everyone will start their own business. It is beneficial to acquire basic entrepreneurial skills, to become aware of how to see and seize the opportunities. A person can apply this knowledge on an individual level if employment is seen as an endeavor, or within their working organization if they seek to improve some of the business processes, or ultimately to create their own profit or social organization.

Entrepreneurship content in Serbian adult education policy

Serbia is not a country with a developed entrepreneurial tradition while entrepreneurship gained a particularly negative connotation in post-war Yugoslavia, which fostered a collectivist mentality and planned economy (Grozdić & Miljković, 2016). In Yugoslavia, means of production were common property, managed at the company level by workers' councils. In order to train workers for new professional and managerial roles, workers' universities were established in all major centers of Yugoslavia, which, together with people's universities, schools, and adult education centers, formed a particularly recognized part of the educational system – adult education institutions (Savicevic, 1968). Savicevic also outlines the principles on which the adult education system was based: permanence, democracy, decentralization, unity, diversity, dynamism and voluntariness. The similarities of the welfare state and the Yugoslav model of adult education are noticeable in the state policy where "all forms of education are accessible to all citizens, regardless of their nationality or their social and religious convictions (...). Further education is available to all adults, even to those without the necessary educational prerequisites, who prove capable of following the instruction offered on a higher academic level (p. 13)". Similar statements can be seen in today's education policies, but the fact that all programs implemented by adult education institutions were financed from the budget of enterprises and local governments, and thus free of charge for citizens and employed workers, shows that right and access to education was ensured (only programs of foreign languages and arts were partially contributed by individuals). Diversity of the educational offer, which includes contents of vocational, socioeconomic, aesthetic, health and family education speaks in favor of this system's focus on education and understanding of the whole person. In the last years of its existence, Yugoslavia has entered the process of transition and privatization since the state recognizes and recognizes the importance of entrepreneurship as well as entrepreneurship education. After the breakup of Yugoslavia, Serbia continued the process of transition and privatization (which has not yet been completed).

The need for the development of entrepreneurial skills and knowledge is indicated by the *Strategy and Policy of Development of the Industry of the Republic of Serbia from 2011 to 2020*, which recognizes entrepreneurial learning in particular and calls for the introduction of entrepreneurial education in the education system, as well as the development of a specific lifelong learning strategy in the field of entrepreneurship (Vlada Srbije, 2011). The national strategy that defines the place and role of entrepreneurship in the most comprehensive way is the *Strategy for Supporting the Development of SMEs, Entrepreneurship and Competitiveness for the period 2015 to 2020* (Vlada Srbije, 2014). It is stated that "the strategy continues the policy of full respect and implementation of all documents that define the European Union's policy in the field of entrepreneurship and competitiveness, above all the *Europe 2020* Strategy and the *Small Business Act*" (Vlada Srbije, 2014, p. 1), from which we could conclude that Serbian policy mostly aligns and relies on European policy initiatives. In its strategic goals, human resources development is set as one of the priorities which yet to be achieved through the introduction of entrepreneurship education at all levels of the education system of the Republic of Serbia, as well as through the in-service teacher education for entrepreneurship. The *Strategy for the Development of Competitive and Innovative SMEs for the period 2008–2013* (Vlada Srbije, 2007), which preceded the aforementioned, also called for a better quality entrepreneurship education encompassing: improvement of entrepreneurial education policies, integrated and continuous improvement of entrepreneurship education at all levels, and a legal and financial framework in place to encourage various forms of formal and informal entrepreneurship education. In addition, the need to support entrepreneurs through the non-formal education system, through training and consulting, is highlighted.

In 2008, mapping of social enterprises was made (Cvejic, Babovic, & Vukovic), since when active public discussion and advocation on this topic started, mostly driven by newly established NGOs in the following years. Although several draft laws have been proposed that will regulate and stimulate social entrepreneurship and in which entrepreneurship education has taken its place, Serbia does not yet have a regulated or strategically defined this field, meaning no reflection on education policy whatsoever.

In the field of educational policy, the *Strategy for the Development of Education in Serbia until 2020*. states that "the further development of the production system of the Republic of Serbia must be rapidly based on knowledge, entrepreneurship of the educated population, its own and transferred technological innovations without adverse impact on the environment, market economy and international business, technical and other cooperation" (Vlada Srbije, 2012). The strategy also emphasizes the need to develop measures that will lead to self-employment through entrepreneurship. Introducing business and entrepreneurial skills and knowledge into vocational education programs as one of the nine key competencies which will lead to the, is prescribed by the *Strategy for the Development of Vocational Education*. (Vlada Srbije, 2006a). Development of entrepreneurial skills together with management skills as a measure of rapid access to the labor market is also envisaged by the *Adult Education Development Strategy in the Republic of Serbia* (Vlada Srbije, 2006b).

From the above strategies, we can see that in the Serbian policy the strongest are voices of industry and economy when it comes to promoting entrepreneurship and that European trends are being followed. Influencing the national education agenda through securing financial, technical and expert support, is evident in Serbian politics and the adult education system (see Popovic, 2014; Miljkovic, 2015). Without a regulated and supported area of social entrepreneurship, we see that entrepreneurship education policy is more keen on the neo-liberal paradigm.

Conclusion

The research on European and Serbian strategic educational policies issued in the period 2000–2019, was conducted to identify entrepreneurial content in them and to determine the nature of these content. If the call for the inclusion of entrepreneurship contents comes from the sphere of economy and industry, where the promotion of profit, uncertainty and insecurity of the workplace, as well as the taking of great amount of personal material and psychological risks, then we see the orientation of policies towards neoliberalism. On the other hand, if the goal of entrepreneurial action can be social and cultural, and if there is an environment that optimizes the risks that an individual assumes, we can argue that entrepreneurial content exists in the politics of the welfare state.

EU in its documents acknowledged entrepreneurship as a key competence for lifelong learning needed by all, the path of enterprise spirit development as a concrete future for education systems goals, explicitly called for embedding entrepreneurial content into education curricula at all levels of education, developed guidance framework for entrepreneurial education institutions and conducted a thorough research on entrepreneurial competence framework. Recent research conducted by JRC indicates that entrepreneurial competence is more than starting a new business and creating a business. An individual is perceived as a holistic construct and the role of initiative and creativity in all walks of life is recognized: "from nurturing personal development, to actively participating in society, to (re) entering the job market as an employee or as a self-employed person," and to starting up ventures, but very important, venture as a cultural, social or commercial.

In these strategic documents, entrepreneurial education has repeatedly been seen as the engine of development and as a path to new business creation. The call for the inclusion of entrepreneurial content is most commonly received by the industry and the economy, with the promotion of flexibility, uncertainty and job uncertainty. We see that the economic function of entrepreneurship has been significantly elaborated, which indicates the orientation of educational policy towards neoliberalism. On the other hand, we recognize that, in the most recent studies, the European educational tradition has shown its influence through recognizing entrepreneurship as a complex of competences whose application can be in the social and cultural sphere, on the basis of which we can expect that further development of the concept of entrepreneurial education will be organized around this tradition which nourishes the elements of the welfare state.

The Serbian educational tradition bears a striking resemblance to the welfare state model, given the policy that proclaimed the accessibility of all forms of education to all citizens, regardless of ethnic or social background, and provided a funding for their realization in the budgets of enterprises and local governments. Due to collective ownership and workers' self-management, entrepreneurial content did not find its place in the politics of Yugoslavia until the last years of the '80s and early '90s when the process of transition and privatization began. Since then, the recognition of entrepreneurship as a legitimate activity has begun, including the adoption of educational policies for entrepreneurship. Relying heavily on European policy trends, the content of entrepreneurship is represented in Serbian policies and the need for entrepreneurship education is recognized. As these policies are solely the result of initiatives from industry and the economy, and since social entrepreneurship has not yet found its place in Serbian politics, we find that there is a paradigm towards a neoliberal model.

Entrepreneurship is most commonly understood as a purely neoliberal agenda, due to its traits such as flexibility, uncertainty, suspense, risk appetite and independence in action. If on the other side, entrepreneurial activity has a broader social goal or there is a system organized so that social partners and nets provide both the development of competence and legal, psychological and financial support which reduces the material and health risk of entrepreneurs, we can talk about the existence of entrepreneurship in the state well-being. Entrepreneurship as a human activity is, therefore, value-neutral because it signifies initiative, willingness to risk, creativity, creation of new or improvement of existing. Depending on who is promoting, for what purpose and at what historical moment, the concept of entrepreneurship gains a different connotation and thus becomes part of one ideology or someone's agenda.

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