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Researching and Analyzing Adult Education Policies



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Researching and Analyzing Adult Education Policies

Michael Schemmann (Hg.)

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Researching and Analyzing Adult Education Policies. An Introduction to the Topic

Simona Sava, Michael Schemmann

Volume 43 of the International Yearbook of Adult Education is dedicated to Researching and Analyzing Adult Education Policies and is edited by Simona Sava from the University of Timisoara, Romania, as a guest editor and Michael Schemmann.

Our starting point to pick this topic is the observation that research on both national and international adult education policies has increased massively during the last decade. What is more, it seems that this dynamic is also fueled by international comparison in the field of adult education policies, which can be traced back to an overall intention to find best practice solutions for societal problems.

Thus, the goal of this volume is to display current research questions and pieces of work, theoretical and methodological approaches as well as recent empirical findings.

However, before presenting the concept of this year's volume, this article will start off by presenting some introductory remarks, outlining central notions and concepts as well as highlighting the dynamics in this research field. Following, we will give an overview of the concept of this volume and the contributions. The article will conclude with some short remarks by the editor.

1 Fundamental Notions and Dynamics in Researching Adult Education Policies

Derived from the Greek word politiká the term policy generally refers to all activities concerning the public welfare. It can be understood as statesmanship and refers to the public realm and to citizens. Adult education policy understood as statesmanship or referring to the public realm is a rather young field of policy. In general, adult education was developed independently from state influence by various initiatives and interest groups of society. In Germany, for example, it was only in 1919 in the Constitution of Weimar that the state claimed responsibility for adult education.

However, as regards central notions and terminology, in the meantime the differentiation between policy as a normative or content dimension, polity as the formal and institutional framework and politics as the procedural aspect is widely established. This is the case even in languages like e.g. German, which knows only one word for all three aspects. We will use this differentiation in the following as an underlying structure to analyze the dynamics in researching adult education policies. As regards the dimension of polity, the community, regional and national level have to be taken into account. Depending on the type of welfare state (Desjardins 2017; Schemmann, Herbrechter & Engels 2020), actors on the respective levels are of importance for adult educations policies. Additionally, organizations on the international level have to be taken into account. In particular, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), but also regional organizations like the European Union or the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) need to be considered here.

The contribution to the dynamics in research of these organizations is threefold. Firstly, the increase of their importance for adult education policies was object of various studies (e.g. Schemmann 2007; Ioannidou 2010).

Secondly, the dynamics in the research field can also be traced back to the activities of international organizations. In as much as data on adult education are produced on the other levels as well (Schemmann 2015), it is in particular the growth of reliable data provided by international organizations which contributed to the dynamics. In particular, we would like to point out the PIAAC study (Dinis da Costa et al 2014) by OECD or the GRALE report (UIL 2019) by UNESCO as examples. What is more, not only the organizations themselves analyze these data, but there is also secondary analysis of the data by (groups of) scientists (e.g. Sava & Novotny 2016; Boyadjieva & Ilieva-Trichkova, 2018).

Thirdly, the international organizations also fund research and thus contribute to the dynamics in researching adult education policies. As an example we want to refer to the ENLIVEN¹ project funded in the context of Horizon 2020 (e.g. Milana, Klatt & Vatrella 2020). Furthermore, activities that are loosely coupled to the organizations also evolve (Schemmann 2007, 153 ff.). As an example, the "European Society for Research on the Education of Adults" (ESREA) founded in 1992 can be referred to. Within ESREA, the Network on Policy Studies in Adult Education was initiated in 2008 and held its inaugural conference in 2012. Since then, it contributed massively to the dynamics in researching adult education policies by publishing several compilations (e.g. Milana & Holford 2014) and special issues of journals (Holford, Milana, & Mohorčič Špolar 2014; Milana, Holford, & Mohorčič Špolar 2014; Mohorčič Špolar, Holford, & Milana 2015), interacting with other research networks of ESREA for widening the field of adult education and learning research (Grummell & Finnegan 2020), and at the same time contributing to the advancement of the state-of-the-art research in this field.

As regards politics, i.e. the procedural dimension, it can be pointed out that adult education policies can be broadly characterized as consensus-oriented. There are very few cases of conflict-ridden processes in which diverging interests clashed as regards decisions about adult education. As one example, the process of establishing

¹ Encouraging Lifelong Learning for an Inclusive and Vibrant Europe (ENLIVEN) (https://h2020enliven.org/) is a project funded by the European Commission which researches how the effectiveness of policy interventions in adult education markets can be increased.

acts for paid educational leave in Germany in the 1970s can be referred to. But as the adoption of a lifelong learning decree in Lao PDR as one of the most recent examples shows, adult education policies hardly cause any controversy (Gartenschlaeger & Khammang 2019).

Regarding policy, i. e. the normative or content dimension, adult education experienced a boom during the phase of educational expansion between the 1960s and 1980s. During this phase, legislation concerning organizations, participants, special target groups and contents were prepared and passed in various countries in the world.

A second boom phase can be observed in the ongoing national and international discussions and adoptions of lifelong learning policies which started in the 1990s and, as pointed out above with reference to the adoption of the lifelong learning decree in Lao PDR, still goes on. Certainly, this boom phase also triggered several analyses and analytical studies and has thus also contributed to the dynamics in researching adult education policies.

Besides the historical evolution in policy making, underlined by the research on the history of adult education, we would like to make one last note on the methodological aspects of researching policy in adult education and its impact. The recent publications and literature in adult education tend to turn more and more on quantitative aspects. Drawing on large pools of data (e.g. Boyadjieva & Ilieva-Trichkova 2018), on big data collected mainly by the international organizations, which favor more large-scale correlations and analysis, the quantitative research tends to expand, mainly with the view to impact analysis. This is true even for other types of methodological approaches, ranging from content analysis of policy documents (Antunes 2019) to bibliometric studies or digital research, combined with critical mixed methodologies and critical quantitative research, even though qualitative research still dominates (Boeren 2019; Fejes & Nylander 2019). International comparative adult education research is still actively used as a fruitful source of policy learning (Desjardins 2017; Ioannidou 2010; Verdier 2018; Field, Künzel & Schemmann 2016). All in all, we would like to welcome the increased concern for methodologically sound research in the field of adult learning and education, as the dedicated publications only in the last three years tend to demonstrate (Verdier 2018; Fejes & Nylander 2019; Grummell & Finnegan 2020). This consolidates our option for this thematic number on researching policy in adult learning and education.

2 On the Concept and the Individual Contributions

In view of the dynamics as regards researching and analyzing adult education policy, this year's volume of the International Yearbook of Adult Education aims at characterizing the current state-of the-art of research. As such, the volume will focus on the theoretical scope as well as the research methods being used. What is more, the concept also includes the presentation of findings from selected current research projects, which at the same time represent the range of research questions and perspectives within the field. Therefore, findings from international policy research, from comparative policy research and from research on national policies will be displayed.

The article *Theories and Theoretical Concepts in Adult Education Policy Research* by *Eva Bonn* and *Michael Schemmann* focuses on the theoretical perspectives which are employed when researching adult education policies. Bearing in mind that there is no specific theory of educational policy, scientists analyzing adult education policies fall back on theory offers made by reference disciplines like philosophy, psychology, sociology, economics, education and law. The authors concentrate on the three most present theoretical approaches in adult education policy research and firstly analyze the foundations of the respective theoretical approach. Then, they highlight examples of the usage of the perspective in studies before exploring the insights that can be gained with the theoretical perspective.

Lisa Breyer places special emphasis on the methodological approaches in her article *Research Interests and Methodological Approaches of Policy Analysis in Adult Education Research.* The intention of the article is to provide an overview of current studies that can be assigned to policy research and to analyze which methodological approaches are employed to work on research questions in the field of adult education policy analysis. As such, the article provides a review of current empirical studies on the topic of adult education policy and discusses various methodological perspectives leading to the choice of different methods in policy research.

The contribution *Lifelong Learning Opportunities for All. Who pays for it?* by *Kapil Dev Regmi* takes its starting point in international adult education policy. Lifelong Learning for all has become a widely accepted policy norm which is actively promoted by international organizations like the European Union, UNESCO or OECD and has found its way into the UN Sustainable Development Goals. However, the paper points to an opportunity gap between Least Developed Countries (LDCs) and more developed countries based on the observation that lifelong learning opportunities are increasingly provided by private institutions and that the responsibility for managing time and resources for learning is transferred to the individual. Consequently, adults are not equally able to afford learning opportunities and especially the economically poor countries are at risk when it comes to ensuring lifelong learning opportunities for all.

Diana Trevino-Eberhard and Katrin Kaufmann-Kuchta make a contribution to the comparative adult education policy analysis with their article *Regulation and Financing of Continuing Higher Education in England and Spain: A Comparison of Adult Education Governance Structures in National Contexts.* The authors regard Continuing higher education (CHE) as a multi-level system and analyze the governance of CHE. Thereby, the authors bring actors on different levels and interrelations between the levels to the fore. The article provides a theory-guided and empirically based comparison of national frameworks and structures of CHE in England and Spain.

The article An Analysis and Critique of U.S. Adult and Workforce Education Policy in a Historical Perspective by Elizabeth A. Roumell, Florin D. Salajan and Aaron J. Reyna focuses on national policy analysis. It provides a nuanced understanding of the federal level policies establishing adult and workforce education in the United States of America. By looking at the governance structures and codified values regarding the education of adults in the form of legislation and federal policy, the paper contributes to an analysis of the relation between institutional arrangements and national educational goals. The article offers a sketch of the current policyscape in the U.S. as well as an insight into the conditions for public adult educational programming.

Finally, Suwithida Charungkaittikul's article titled Lifelong Learning Policies in Thailand. A Comprehensive Analysis and Reform Recommendations also provides an analysis of national adult education policies. It takes its starting point in the fact, that the advancement of lifelong learning is one of the central goals on the educational policy agenda in Thailand. The article analyzes the socio-historical backgrounds and recent developments of lifelong learning approaches and policies in Thailand. The paper opens with a differentiated view on central concepts concerning lifelong learning (LLL) in Thailand, then takes a closer look on the status quo of LLL in Thailand and finally uses these insights to develop recommendations on strengthening the role of LLL in Thailand and support the country's pathway to a learning society.

3 On Our Own Account

Finally, the editor would like to express thanks to all actors who made a contribution to this year's volume of the *International Yearbook of Adult Education*. Firstly, a warm thanks goes to my co-editor and distinguished colleague *Simona Sava*. Our cooperation was very rich and fruitful and it is thanks to Simona's expertise and knowledge that the concept of this volume could be developed.

A heartfelt thanks is also to be said to all the authors preparing their manuscripts within the deadlines who thus made it possible that this year's volume could be published in due time. A further thanks is to be said to the reviewers of the articles and to the authors of the review section.

My personal thanks goes to *Eva Bonn* who took over the editorial department of the *International Yearbook of Adult Education* last year. This year's volume is her first and I would like to express my gratitude for her engagement and her outstanding work on the *International Yearbook of Adult Education*.

Volume 44 of the *International Yearbook of Adult Education* will focus on "Optimization". We welcome contributions to this volume as well as contributions to the sections Miscellaneous and Reviews.

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I Thematischer Schwerpunkt/Key Subject

Theories and Theoretical Concepts in Adult Education Policy Research

Eva Bonn, Michael Schemmann

Abstract

Even though research on adult education policies has become a dynamic and muchnoticed research field in the last decades, there is no explicit theory of educational policy analysis. Instead, theoretical approaches from reference disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, economics or law are commonly adapted and applied in research on education policies. This article identifies institutionalist approaches, multi-level theoretical approaches and the governmentality concept as three key components of theory in adult education policy research. The aim is to outline basic assumptions of each of the three theoretical approaches and analyze their usage in adult education policy research. In an exemplary manner, it is explored which insights these theoretical approaches produce for the scientific community and which perspectives for further research are opened up.

Keywords: Educational policy research, adult education research, policy theory

1 Introduction

Scholarship on adult education policies has experienced tremendous dynamics in the last decades. These dynamics can be referred to international as well as to national developments in adult education policy. On the international level, the intensification of activities in the realm of adult education policies by inter- and supranational organizations triggered a series of studies analyzing both the policies as well as activities (e.g. Schemmann 2007; Ioannidou 2010; Milana & Holford 2014; Kopecky 2014). But policy initiatives on the national level also prompted studies. As an example, the adult basic education policy programs in various European countries can be referred to (e.g. Euringer 2016; Knauber & Ioannidou 2016). As often, dynamics in a particular research field initiate progress in both the development of theoretical as well as methodological perspectives. This can also be observed in the research and analysis of adult education policies.

We take this as a starting point for our contribution and intend to analyze the theoretical perspectives which are employed within studies on adult education policies. More concretely, our research interest focuses on which theories and theoretical concepts are used when researching adult education policies and how they contribute to analyzing adult education policies, i. e. what kinds of insights a certain theoretical perspective opens up.

As regards the theoretical approaches to educational policy analysis, it has to be pointed out that there is no specific theory of educational policy (Reuter & Sieh 2010). Research and analysis of educational policies rather draws back on theories from policy studies. Thus, theory offers are made from reference disciplines like philosophy, psychology, sociology, economics, education and law. As Reuter and Sieh (2010) point out, socialization theories, organization theories, multi-level theories as well as institutional theories are applied most frequently. Furthermore, policy approaches combined with learning theories have also been found quite often recently (Reuter & Sieh 2010, p. 192).

However, as regards adult education policy research, there is no systematic analysis of the theories applied. It can be observed though that institutional theories are of importance in adult education policy research. Additionally, multi-level theories have become more present in adult education policy research. Finally, governmentality studies referring to Foucault play a significant role: "While we believe that governmentality studies are not the only approach, they constitute a powerful contribution. Quite apart from their intrinsic value, we believe they have played a significant role in raising awareness of the breadth and depth of contemporary European lifelong learning politics" (Milana & Holford 2014b, p. 167).

Following these observations, we will focus on these three theoretical approaches applying the following structure within the chapters: First, we will focus on the basic assumptions and underlying principles of the respective theoretical approach. Then, we will highlight examples of the usage of the perspective in studies and focus on the insights that can be gained with the theoretical perspective. The paper will conclude by summing up the major findings and discussing further research perspectives.

2 Institutionalist Approaches

Amongst the various versions of institutional theory such as historical, discursive or empirical institutionalism (Peters 2012), it is the World Polity approach of the socalled Stanford Group around John Meyer as a special theoretical strand of neo-institutionalism that received some consideration in adult education as well. However, the World Polity approach has a common point of reference with the other versions of neo-institutionalism in sociology as well as in political and economic science in that it is not inspired by 'rational choice' theories (Hasse & Krücken 2005). Neo-institutionalist approaches assume that the action of actors in modernity can only be explained and understood by taking into account their embeddedness in the social environment. Neo-institutionalism assumes that actors in modernity do not exclusively strive for efficiency, but rather for legitimacy. Actors experience such legitimacy when they adapt to the expectations of the social environments. The term World Polity can be understood as world culture even though a very broad understanding of culture is implied. As Krücken (2006) points out, culture is rather understood as mostly implicit background knowledge that underlies all social practices (p. 141). World Polity corresponds less to a real structure than to an imaginary cultural system that borrows central principles such as universalism, belief in progress, equality and justice, and rationalization from the stock of value and cultural patterns of Western societies. At its core, World Polity is based on a globalization thesis, since it is about "how Western principles permeate the world" (Meyer 2005).

The decisive factor in Meyer's assumptions is that certain structural forms are produced and legitimized during the process of global diffusion of these principles whereas others lose legitimacy. The worldwide establishment of education systems is also interpreted against this background. Education is thus a component of world culture and the establishment of education systems is understood as the adaptation of nation states to environmental expectations: "Education systems are established as part of this model and symbolize the effort to become a respectable member of world society or an 'imagined community' legitimized by it" (Meyer & Ramirez 2005, p. 217). Thus, by establishing education systems, nation states increase their legitimacy. However, education or educational systems are not only constitutive for the model of the nation state but within the understanding of the World Polity approach they are also worked out as a model themselves. Thus, there are widely standardized ideas about the structural aspects of the education system, about the content taught there and about the organization of education (ibid.).

Still, the criticism of the World Polity approach should also be pointed out. Meyer (2009) states that the convergence thesis in the sense of global structural adjustment cannot be sustained on closer inspection since there is much diversity between the educational systems that requires explanation.

Taking a look at the usage of the theoretical perspective in adult education, it becomes obvious that various studies have been carried out focussing on adult education policies of inter- and supranational organizations. Schemmann (2007) uses document analysis in his study and shows that both adult education policies as well as activities of the EU, OECD, UNESCO and the World Bank have been increasingly harmonizing and converging. It also becomes clear that lifelong learning turns out to be the central focus of educational policies (see also Jakobi 2009; Barros 2012; Fejes & Nicoll 2013; Milana 2012).

Jakobi (2009) uses the World Polity approach and analyses the diffusion of the lifelong learning policy. She also analyses the particular role of inter- and supranational organizations in this context. In her findings, she shows that a lot of nationstates have picked up on the idea of lifelong learning. However, since these nation states vary significantly in economic, demographic or geographical respects, functional theory cannot explain the diffusion of the idea while the World Polity approach can. Jakobi (2009) clarifies that lifelong learning has become part of the World Polity and international organizations contribute to the diffusion of the political idea.

3 Multi-Level Theoretical Approaches

For a long time, the dominant idea in research on adult education policy was the conception of direct control by the state. All approaches and models presented since the end of World War II trying to explain governance followed this "top down or legislator's perspective" (Mayntz 1998/2009, p. 15). Towards the end of the 1980s and early 1990s, fundamental doubts were growing in political science about theoretical approaches focussing exclusively on actors at the top to whom all power is ascribed. Faulstich and Haberzeth state in 2015 that in view of growing insight into the multi-level and sector-specificity of political decision-making processes, the Machiavellian notion of unilinear state leadership by the power state had to be abandoned as under-complex (Faulstich & Haberzeth 2015, pp. 264–265). As a result, there has been a shift toward theories that offer a multi-level perspective and take into account the diversity of actors involved in the governance process.

As a first multi-level approach the perspective of a transnational policy space is referred to. The approach developed by Lawn and Lingard and others understands the European education policy as a system of multi-level governance. This system is not understood in the sense of an exchange between rigid and clearly separated levels, but rather as a fluid system of governance, characterized by a permanent interpenetration of national, sub-national and international as well as supranational levels (Lawn & Lingard 2002). The metaphor of space refers to the fact there is not a single place or time (e.g. at a world conference on adult education or a ministers' meeting) where a specific adult education policy is generated, presented and disseminated: "The idea of 'space' is much more a way to perceive a new area, only partially visible, which is being shaped by constant interaction between small groups of linked professionals, managers and experts" (Lawn & Lingard 2002, pp. 291-292). Within this transnational political space, a permanent process of translation and mediation of political discourses takes place between the participating actors, i.e. "between state and EU offices, between agencies and subcontractors, between academics and policy managers, between experts and officials, and between voluntary and public sector workers" (Lawn & Lingard 2002, p. 292). So far, this perspective has only been referred to in adult education research (Schemmann 2009) but has not yet been used in an analytical way.

Another multi-level theoretical approach is the perspective of *Educational Governance*. In the following, this approach will be characterized since it is increasingly used in adult education research (Schemmann 2014, 2015; Engels 2018; Herbrechter 2018). After almost 30 years of intensive study of the governance perspective, it is still not possible to provide an all-encompassing definition of governance. However, we understand governance in an analytical rather than a normative way as referring to all forms of societal and social coordination of action. As a consequence, the hierarchical action of the nation state is just one form or variety. In addition, other forms of hierarchical and non-hierarchical as well as public and non-public regulation and control also come into view.

Altrichter (2015) characterizes the approach by the following characteristics:

- First, the coordination of action is at the core of interest. The management of interdependencies of collective and individual actors is brought into focus.
- Furthermore, a large number of actors and actor constellations are taken into account.
- Actors always base their actions on institutions or an institutional system of rules. This ensures security in decision-making processes.
- Another distinctive feature is the multi-level perspective on social systems. Here, the focus is on action beyond the nation-state level and below the sphere of influence of governments.
- Finally, mixed and hybrid forms of coordination of action are distinctive. This points to the fact that different forms of coordination of action not only coexist, but also interact and influence each other.

It was a group of political and social scientists from the Open University of Hagen who further developed the governance perspective in a series of publications and, above all, systematically applied it to the education system. In the meantime, the concept of Educational Governance has become established for this purpose and an impressive number of studies focusing on schools and universities have been presented in the series of the same name (e.g. Maag Merki, Langer & Altrichter 2014). In adult education, the perspective of Educational Governance has been increasingly brought into the analysis (Schemmann 2015; Herbrechter 2018).

As regards policy analysis, it was Euringer (2016) who used the Educational Governance in her study on administrators' understanding of the term adult basic education. The Educational Governance approach comes to the fore in her study when analyzing the change of discourse on governance in adult education. While the discourse was dominated by a state-centred perspective during the 1960s till the 1990s, several authors started to question this perspective as of the mid 1990s and made it clear that the governance of adult education had to be understood as a process of coconstruction of various actors on various levels of action (Schrader 2008). As such, the interdependence between actors as well as forms of coordination between ministries or departments within ministries or between states come to the fore which have an impact on the decisions of administrators. Based on this theoretical framework, Euringer (2016) sets out to analyze the administrators' understanding of adult basic education. In her study, the multi-level theoretical approach of Educational Governance opens up a distinct analytical framework for exploring administrators' understanding of adult basic education and how it interacts with and is intertwined with other actors and their actions in the field of adult basic education.

4 Governmentality Approach

In the research field of adult education, Michel Foucault's theoretical concepts of power and governmentality have been extensively used (Fejes 2008). The related method of discourse analysis has further become a central instrument of policy research in adult education (see Breyer in this volume). Foucault's concepts of power and governmentality will be explained and discussed here considering their potential and limitations as theoretical reference points in adult education policy research.

Foucault's concept of power significantly differs from the common idea of power in that power is not depicted as an attribute to a person or entity but as a relational concept: "In reality power means relations, a more-or-less organized, hierarchical, co-ordinated cluster of relations" (Foucault 1980, p. 198). Foucault (1983) claims that "power as such does not exist" (p. 217) but is created only through actions and relations between groups or individuals. As such, Foucault's notion of power is described as "relational and discursive" (Fejes and Nicoll 2008, p. 6).

Building on his notion of power and transferring it to the macro level, Foucault (2007) presents his notion of government which is also significantly different in meaning compared to the one that is commonly known. Instead of comprehending government as a political body, Foucault assumes that government is rooted in everyday-life interactions, meaning in the relations of power that everyone is involved in. This also includes the "relations to ourselves" (Fejes 2014, p. 115). Thus, this alternate notion of government allows to grasp not only the government of the state but also the government of ourselves and of others (Fejes 2014; Dean 1999). In relation to this concept of governmentality, Foucault also deconstructs the prevailing idea of the state. The state is not regarded as an actively operating actor but is instead assumed to be "an epistemological pattern of assumptions about how governing should operate" (Fejes 2014, p. 115; see also Fejes and Nicoll 2008; Hultqvist 2004). Fejes (2014) concludes that the concept of governmentality leads to the analytical focus being "directed at the ways people are being governed and are governing themselves within certain regimes of practices" (p. 115).

A regime of practice denotes "the organised and routinised way in which we learn how to do things" (Fejes 2014, p. 117). It further involves "practices for the production of truth and knowledge" and "multiple forms of practical, technical and calculative rationality" (Dean, 1999, p. 28). In research, regimes of practices can be analyzed regarding their context of emergence, the knowledge immanent to the regime, how the regime relates to external influences and the techniques of operation within the regime (Fejes 2014; Dean 1999).

Furthermore, governmentality analyses can reveal insights on how governing operates and what the effects are. Here, technologies of governing become essential analytical entities. Technologies are not instruments that induce a direct output of governing. Instead, technologies are conceptualized as "assemblages of aspirations, beliefs, knowledge, and practices of calculations" (Fejes 2014, p. 116). Foucault distinguishes between two types of technologies. Technologies of power "determine the conduct of individuals" whereas technologies of the self permit "individuals to effect by their own means" (Foucault 2003, p. 146). Governmentality, according to Foucault, then is the encounter between these two forms of technologies. As a consequence, research needs to take into account both types of technologies (Fejes 2014).

In terms of Foucault's role in adult education policy research, it can first be stated that his concepts have been extensively adapted in this research field. On the basis of an analysis of four pertinent journals, Fejes (2008) points out that overall nine percent of the articles published in these journals between 1999 and 2006 referred to Foucault. However, the references differ in terms of their interpretative depths and only a limited number of articles used Foucault's concepts in an elaborated way (Fejes 2008). In an earlier work, Fejes (2005) remarks that even though Foucault's works are a frequent reference point in research on adult education, empirical material drawing on Foucault is still limited.

Overall, Fejes (2014) argues that the use of Foucault in research on adult education policy is a "question of perspective" (p. 111) meaning that Foucault's theoretical concepts allow for alternative research questions and thus shed light on otherwise hidden aspects of reality. More specifically, these concepts can help in taking a critical perspective towards our realities and the truths that are promoted in different discourses (Fejes 2014; Fejes & Nicoll 2008). Dean (1999) states that, in contrast to theories of government, using Foucault in research enables scholars to pose 'how'questions instead of focusing on the identification of actors or sources of governmental processes.

This can be exemplified by looking at lifelong learning which has become an extensively researched phenomenon due to its powerful role in contemporary policies and societies (Fejes & Nicoll 2008). For instance, Olsson and Pettersson (2008) explore the operation of knowledge and the construction of the lifelong learning subject by drawing on empirical material consisting of a variety of Swedish documents such as government reports or scientific texts. Fejes (2014) shows how lifelong learning can be analyzed as a regime of practice emerging through policymaking "in which a range of concepts, institutions, discourses of learning, the scientific knowledge of learning, and propositions about learning, and the like, come together to focus on those who are the objects of learning and who are subject to learning" (p. 117). Fejes (2014) points to a discursive shift from the notion education to learning which brings about several practical implications. For instance, learning becomes an individual responsibility as the formerly established relation between an educating actor and a learning student is decoupled. Thus, lifelong learning has experienced a discursive shift "from a right to a duty and responsibility" (Fejes 2014, p. 120) which extents beyond educational institutions and intrudes into other life areas such as workplace, family or media. Accordingly, Fejes (2014) illustrates how Foucault's theoretical concepts offer a starting point for the problematization of current conditions and for questioning aspects of reality that are otherwise naturally and uncritically accepted and perceived as unproblematic.

Another usage of Foucault's concepts is presented by studies that are based on the concept of governmentality and examine different modes of governing with regard to adult learning (e. g. Edwards 2003; Fejes 2005, 2006; Andersson & Fejes 2005; Olssen 2006; Berglund 2008). For instance, Fejes (2006) shows how the discourse of lifelong learning constructs "an autonomous, self-governing individual" (p. 59). He argues that these narratives of the lifelong learner are part of "a neoliberal mode of governing where there is no 'direct' visible governing" (Fejes 2006, p. 65). Thus, the state is assigned the role of an enabling entity while the subjects are self-regulated actors: "and it is in the choices and actions of the subjects themselves that the state is inscribed" (ibid.). Accordingly, Fejes (2006) observes a mode of governing in which "to govern is to get the subjects to govern themselves" (p. 74) through specific techniques such as guidance and the recognition of prior learning (validation).

As a critique towards governmentality approaches, it is often argued that rationalities are depicted as homogeneous and thus, neoliberal governmentality appears as an obligatory developmental path without any alternative (Wrana 2012). Furthermore, the dimension of acquisition, of individual and wayward oppositions, is neglected within these theoretical frameworks (ibid.). Combining Foucault's theoretical concepts with Bourdieu's field theory can help in productively overcoming at least the latter aspect of criticism (Wrana, 2012). Furthermore, it is remarkable that the reference to Foucault as a theoretical orientation mark often comes along with a research approach that is primarily argumentative and rarely empirically based (Fejes 2005). Of course, this does not count for studies using discourse analysis since in this context, theory and method are inextricably linked (see also Breyer in this volume).

Still, while theoretical concepts such as World Polity or educational governance offer explanatory frameworks for policy-related phenomena or processes, Foucault offers conceptual frameworks, often referred to as a toolbox, that enable researchers to look at these phenomena or processes from a different perspective. By deconstructing commonly used notions and concepts, Foucault urges researchers to take a fresh perspective and to reveal blind spots in their approaches which allows for a fundamental criticism of existing structures, practices and discursive patterns.

5 Conclusion

With the aim of shedding light on theories and theoretical concepts applied in adult education policy research, this article focused on institutionalist approaches, multilevel theoretical frameworks and the governmentality concept since these were identified as key concepts in the research field. Even though there is no pertinent theory for educational policy and there is an ascertained overall "theoretical 'thinness'" (Milana & Holford 2014a, p. 6) of adult education as a discipline, it has become apparent that existing theoretical offers from related disciplines are effectively adapted and used for researching and analyzing adult education policies. The potential of the three theories discussed in this contribution lies in their respective specific explanatory scope.

Institutionalist approaches, and in particular the concept of World Polity, provide a sound conceptual framework for analyzing and explaining phenomena of diffusion and convergence against the background of a global perspective, especially with regard to the role of inter- and supranational organizations. As such, traveling policy ideas and norms like the one of lifelong learning in the context of adult education can be identified and mechanisms of their adoption can be analyzed.

While the explanatory value of institutionalist approaches is focused on the contextual embeddedness of actors and actions, the governance approach brings the actors, their modes of actions and the coordination of action between them to the fore. Thus, policies can be analyzed as an interplay of different actors on different levels of the educational arena. However, Milana and Holford (2014a) also identify this as a research desideratum by stating that "the complexity of policymaking as a co-production process remains largely unexplored" (p. 6). In particular, the approach of transnational policy space bears a considerable potential to address policymaking on an international level.

In contrast to these explanatory values of institutionalist and multi-level approaches, the theoretical offers provided by Michel Foucault stimulate analyses that go beyond common conceptualizations and frameworks. In contrast to actor-centered theories, the concept of governmentality allows for an analysis of how governing operates and what effects are induced. Its potential is therefore clearly rooted in its power to open up opportunities for alternative viewpoints and perspectives on common concepts and structures, which again can serve as an argumentative basis for a fundamental critique of existing practices and discursive structures in the field of adult education policies. However, it is an essential challenge and task for researchers in the field to further promote this potential by not just remaining on an argumentative level, but by providing empirical studies that are not only loosely based on Foucault's theoretical frameworks but use his concepts in an elaborated, insight-oriented way. Here, not only discourse analysis but also innovative methodological approaches such as lexicometric analysis (e.g. Breyer 2020) might be considered. Against the background of the current developments brought about by the Covid-19 pandemic, research on how policy narratives of adult learning or modes of governing operate in this new context could produce useful insights in the future.

Overall, theoretical triangulation might help in overcoming explanatory blank gaps or blind spots of the theories discussed and in further exploiting the given potentials. Theoretical enrichment for researching adult education policies might be additionally drawn, just to mention some examples, from actor network theory (e. g. Edwards 2003), path dependency theory (e. g. Ioannidou 2010), Bourdieu's field theory (e. g. Breyer 2020; Euringer 2016), agency-structure approaches (e. g. Klatt 2014) or socio-legal perspectives (e. g. Koutidou 2014).

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Research interests and methodological approaches of policy analysis in adult education research¹

LISA BREYER

Abstract

The article deals with an evolving strand in adult education research which is focused on policy. It is concerned with the question which methods are adopted by adult education research to generate findings regarding policy and how they depend on specific theoretical perspectives. To answer this research question, exemplary studies on international policy regarding the concept of lifelong learning are analysed and compared. Thereby, it is emphasized that a diversity of methods is necessary to research the complex object of adult education policy and that 'traditional' methods have to be supplemented by newly adopted perspectives and approaches.

Keywords: Policy research, adult education research, qualitative and quantitative methods, theory and methodology

1 Introduction

The beginnings of the increasingly developing adult education research in Germany can be traced back to the start of the 20th century. At that time, research on adult education was primarily concerned with participants of adult education, but over time other research areas were added: Strands such as programme research, organisational research or research on professionalisation have become more differentiated. The scientific discipline has developed out of its field of practice. Therefore, the focus of adult education research was initially directed primarily at its practice. However, this focus has changed, so that political activities and debates are now also increasingly being taken into account. The convergence of science and policy in adult education since the 1960s/1970s has also changed the perspective of research, so that various questions and methodological approaches have become more differentiated. Thus, an independent strand of adult education research has established itself which deals specifically with policy, with a particular focus on the international level.

¹ The article draws on an analytical systematisation of studies in adult education research which was carried out in the context of a dissertation on the relationship between science and policy in adult education (Breyer 2020).

Even though the discussion of policy in adult education research is becoming more and more important, there is no explicit illumination of methodologies and methods used to analyse policy in adult education research in relevant handbooks. For example, the handbook on qualitative adult education research refers to classical research topics such as profession, practice-related topics such as management or a more recent field of research in media education (see Schäffer and Dörner 2011) but not to policy. In contrast, networks such as 'Policy Studies in Adult Education' of the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults (ESREA) (see Milana and Holford 2014) or the 'International Society for Comparative Adult Education', whose publications increasingly deal with international organisations and educational policy (see Reischmann and Bron 2008), have been established.

Since this is a relatively young field of research – in comparison to more 'traditional' research strands such as addressee and participant research – the question arises as to which methodological approaches are suitable for generating findings with regard to adult education policy. Therefore, this article is dedicated to the research question which methods are adopted by adult education research to generate findings regarding policy and how they depend on specific theoretical perspectives. The present article thus provides an overview of current studies that can be assigned to policy research in adult education. It analyses these studies to carve out benefits and limitations of methodological approaches applied in this research strand.

In the following, the increasing importance of policy for adult education research will first be discussed, which is characterised by an increasing intertwining of science and policy (2.). This is followed by an analysis of current empirical studies on the topic of adult education policy (3.). Various theoretical and methodological perspectives are discussed, which lead to the choice of different methods in policy research. Afterwards, the results of the analysis are discussed by comparing these different methods (4.). The paper concludes by emphasizing the importance of multiperspective and multi-methodological approaches for the further development of adult education research (5.).

2 Policy and its relevance for adult education science – an increasing interdependence

Adult education is characterized by a field of tension between science, policy and practice (cf. von Felden et al. 2013, p. VII). This is particularly relevant for adult education: While policy can influence other areas of education such as schools and universities through legislation, this is not the case in the area of adult education. Politics is therefore more dependent on regulating the field through projects, programmes and agendas, which makes the area of tension between politics and science in adult education a special one. While at the beginning of establishing the scientific discipline, the focus of research was primarily on adult education practice, social, economic and also political issues have meanwhile moved into the focus (cf. Rosen-

berg 2013, p. 146 f.). The increasing involvement with policy as a research subject can be explained above all by the fact that since the 1960s and 1970s a rising interdependence between science and policy can be observed. During this period, scientific expertise became highly relevant in efforts to modernize the entire education system which also applied to adult education. Within the framework of scientific policy advice, scientific knowledge was used to legitimize political decisions. Overall plans for education published by national expert commissions were an expression of the optimism in planning (cf. Schrader 2011, p. 126). From the mid-1970s, however, this kind of planning was no longer pursued because the goals could not be implemented according to expectations (cf. von Recum 2006, p. 33, 107). Political dissatisfaction with educational research (cf. Weishaupt 2001, p. 221) and disinterest in the discipline of adult education (cf. Koring 1990, p. 34) led to a decrease in the interlocking between science and policy.

However, in the context of discussions on quality and evaluation there has been a rapprochement in the education sector since the 1990s (cf. Stamm 2012, p. 97) and, at the latest since the explicit demand for evidence-based policy, the interdependence between science and policy has become highly relevant again. The requirement to verify activities through empirical success control (cf. Böttcher et al. 2009, p.8) as well as the change from input to output control (cf. Maag Merki 2012, pp. 111 ff.) have meanwhile also reached adult education. In the meantime, policy appears to be as important as practice as an at least equal, if not favoured addressee of educational research (cf. Schrader 2015, p. 28). Whereas in the 1960s and 1970s the focus was on educational planning and national expert commissions emerged as actors, international and supranational organisations are now engaged in agenda setting by focusing on comparability rather than structural issues (cf. Schrader 2015, p. 34). These organisations include, for example, the European Union (EU), the Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). This shift in education policy discussions from the national to the international level has to be seen in the context of globalization which is creating new challenges for the education sector: "Globalization, together with the competitive pressures and the re-scaling dynamics that are associated to it, have introduced multiple challenges and transformations in the education policy field" (cf. Verger 2017, p. 59). As a consequence, scientists now refer to a transnational educational space (cf. Ioannidou 2010, p. 35) or a "European Educational Policy Space" (cf. Lawn and Lingard 2002, p. 292). Especially "lifelong learning" is emerging at the international level as a concept that has been the focus of educational policy efforts not only by the EU but also by UNESCO and OECD since the 2000s and that affects adult education in a special way.

Globalization processes and the demand for evidence-based political decisions thus point to the current relevance of the relationship between science and policy in the field of (adult) education. The relationship is often described as difficult (cf. Stamm 2012; Böttcher et al. 2009), risky (cf. Arnold 2012) or even tense (cf. Münch 2012). On the one hand, there are positions that point to the need for basic research (cf. Heinemann 2017, p. 178) and state that independent scientific questions that are not relevant to policy and practice should also be pursued (cf. Maag Merki 2012, p. 122). In addition, it is stated that politicians have shortened the concept of education (cf. Meilhammer 2009, pp. 33 f.) or that adult education science is reduced to a focus on application, which goes hand in hand with utilitarian expectations (cf. von Felden et al. 2013, p. VII). On the other hand, not only do critical points of view emerge, but it is also questioned whether educational research fulfils its responsibility to policy (cf. Weiler 2003, pp. 188 f.) and whether its findings are useful (cf. Drossel et al. 2014, p. 7).

Against the background of the increasing interdependence of science and policy described above, it is not surprising that policy is increasingly considered an object of adult education research. Current empirical studies reflect on their own modes of operation and positions towards policy, but also take the consequences of political activities and debates for science and the practice of adult education into focus.

3 An analysis of empirical studies concerning adult education policy

After explaining the background of an intensified examination of policy in adult education research, the following section examines the question to which theoretical and methodical approaches the strand of policy research refers to and what insights can be gained from these approaches. For this purpose, selected empirical studies will be focused on, through which different methodological perspectives can be worked out: international comparative perspectives (3.1.), which primarily use the "classical" method of document analysis, discourse-analytical perspectives (3.2.), which also draw on political documents, as well as institutionalistic approaches (3.3.), which besides documents also use interviews and thus combine different methods or combine qualitative and quantitative approaches.² The following chapter thus offers an overview of the different theoretical approaches and methodical designs that provide orientation for adult education research that is devoted to the research topic of "policy". It does not provide a complete picture of the current state of research on this topic, but rather an exemplary selection of studies from the field of adult education research. To give this overview, first, the overall design of the studies, including the theoretical perspective (if explicitly named) as well as the methodical steps, are described. Second, the findings that can be generated by this methodical design are in focus to carve out which knowledge on policy can be gained by applying these methodological perspectives. One selection criterion for the studies was their relevance in

² It is primarily an analytical differentiation that serves to systematize various research approaches in the form of an overview. In research practice, however, the perspectives cannot be clearly separated. The studies that are oriented on an institutionalist perspective examined in the following take a comparative approach, but rely less on the tradition of international comparative educational science than on a multi-level perspective and consequently work more multi-methodically.

the national discussion of the scientific community in adult education since the dissertation on which this contribution is based has largely focused on this. In addition, studies were selected that refer to the concept of lifelong learning since this has been a key policy concept worldwide since the 2000s, especially in adult education. Last but not least, studies were chosen that deal with international education policy and its consequences for national programmes and activities as this level is increasingly focused on by the scientific discussion of education policy.

3.1 International comparative perspectives

International comparative perspectives often provide a basis for studies in adult education research that focus on policy. In this context, reference is often made to the strand of international comparative studies in educational science, which can look back on a longer tradition of research approaches. Many studies draw to the method of document analysis in order to either compare educational policy debates in different countries or to put the political orientations and activities of international and supranational organizations in relation to each other. Document analysis is usually not to be understood as an independent methodology or concrete procedure but is often linked to procedures such as qualitative content analysis (cf. Hoffmann 2011, pp. 400 ff.). It is therefore rather a certain way of accessing written records (cf. Wolff 2003, p. 504).

Óhidy (2009), for example, compares the adaptation of the EU concept of lifelong learning in two EU member states. The study is based on the assumption that the concept of lifelong learning disseminated by the EU as a European guiding principle is implemented differently in individual EU member states in accordance with national interests (cf. Óhidy 2009, p. 15). There is no explicit theoretical orientation mentioned but the international-comparative perspective serves as an overall orientation for the methodical procedure. Methodically, the study makes use of document analysis, whereby both EU documents and national policy documents are in focus. The period considered here is 1996 to 2005. The international-comparative orientation of the study means that the selection of the member states under investigation is of great importance: The two countries are selected as contrasting as possible, whereby the geographical location, the length of time they have been members of the EU, the economic and political orientation and the education system are used for selection (cf. Óhidy 2009, p. 43). Finally, Germany and Hungary are used as cases to examine the question. The findings point to a very strong harmonisation of the goals and visions of German and Hungarian education policy (cf. Óhidy 2009, p. 259). According to the study, differences between the countries arise, among other things, with regard to emphasizing the different forms of formal, non-formal and informal learning, as well as to the focus on the economic perspective and the adoption of the arguments of the EU documents (cf. Ohidy 2009, p. 259 et seq.). But overall, a uniform understanding of the concept of lifelong learning at the level of education policy in Germany and Hungary can be assumed, which can be attributed to the impact of the EU (cf. Ohidy 2009, p. 278). So although the two countries were selected on the principle of the greatest difference, there are great similarities. This shows the importance of selecting countries for international comparative studies: if similar countries were compared, for example in terms of economic orientation or the nature of the education system, a similar orientation with regard to lifelong learning could not easily be attributed to the influence of the EU.

In a supplementary study, Óhidy (2011) examines the reception of the EU concept of lifelong learning by the academic debate. To this end, while in the other study political documents are used as research material, journals from educational science and adult education from 1996 to 2005 are analysed. By referring to journals, the author hopes to be able to trace the discussion even years later (cf. Óhidy 2011, p. 89). Criteria of political reference area, continuity of publishment as well as disciplinary orientation were applied to select the journals for the analysis. Again, a comparison of Germany and Hungary is chosen for the methodical design. Similarities between the countries can be identified with regard to a consensus on the importance of lifelong learning and also with regard to a standardisation of the definition of the concept (cf. Óhidy 2011, p. 187). As well as in the other study, differences can also be observed in the scientific discussion, for example, with regard to setting priorities for formal or informal learning (cf. Óhidy 2011, p. 191). Although an orientation towards national topics can be observed in the journal articles, a harmonising effect of the EU concept of lifelong learning and an adoption of arguments and terms in the academic debate can be observed (cf. Óhidy 2011, p. 208). Thus, it is assumed that EU policy has a strong influence on the national level both in terms of national policy and the academic debate. Due to the nature and focus of the two studies to examine the reception of the EU concept, a one-sided view is taken by explicitly examining the influence of the EU on the national political and scientific level. With the document analysis, a non-reactive approach is chosen that does not break up this one-sided perspective.

While the two studies mentioned above focus on comparisons between different countries, there are other studies that compare inter- and supranational organisations. A study by Schemmann (2007) examines the orientations in educational policy of various organisations, which clearly show a convergence of ideas in a global perspective. To this end, the method of document analysis is used to examine the programs and activities of the EU, OECD, UNESCO and World Bank, drawing to discourse analytical perspectives but factoring out the issue of power. For the theoretical framework, globalization theories are used. The basis are relevant documents of the organisations since 1990, which fulfil a representative function (cf. Schemmann 2007, pp. 16 f.). No concrete methodical steps are defined in advance but the documents are examined openly in order to identify dominant topics (cf. Schemmann 2007, pp.16 f.). Especially with such an open approach to documents, it becomes clear that there is still a need for certain categories by which the organisations can be compared. Thus, the focus in this study is on the structure of the organisations, their positions with regard to further training and activities. Particular justification must be given for the selection of those documents that are selected as relevant and representative for the analysis. The findings of the study show that education and especially adult education have developed into priorities for all organisations, with a focus on lifelong learning (cf. Schemmann 2007, pp. 224 f.). Both economic and social goals appear to be common to all organisations (cf. Schemmann 2007, p. 226). Even though the orientations of the organisations in educational policy show subtle differences in comparison, overall it can be stated that convergences are more dominant than differences between organisations (cf. Schemmann 2007, p. 228). With regard to the design of the study, the author concludes that the effects that result from the activities of the organisations in particular should also be investigated and suitable empirical instruments should be developed for this purpose (cf. Schemmann 2007, p. 247). It becomes clear that a document analysis can only examine political activities on certain levels – the actual effects that political programmatics unfold in practice cannot be worked out by drawing to documents as material for an analysis.

Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner (2007), too, select relevant documents from international and supranational organisations for an analysis of lifelong learning. Despite the worldwide dissemination of the concept, they also refer to the specific priorities of international and supranational organisations: They work out different motives and objectives of organisations on the basis of their key concepts for lifelong learning and proceed from the basic assumption that it is not a uniform concept but that the idea is adapted to the specific social and educational interests of organisations (cf. Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner 2007, p. 687). The authors do not draw on a specific method to analyse the documents but refer to different theoretical perspectives to compare the orientations of inter- and supranational organisations. First, they work out a horizontal differentiation of theoretical concept variants by examining the documents: A distinction can be made between an education theory concept that focuses on democracy, an economical concept that is based on globalization and the knowledge society and aims at functionality, and an emancipatory concept (cf. Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner 2007, p. 690). In addition to this horizontal classification, the authors also differentiate the concepts of lifelong learning on a vertical level, which can be divided into generations: While the *emancipatory concept* is more likely to be represented by scientific actors, the first generation (1970s) is predominantly represented by concepts of the organisations UNESCO, OECD and Council of Europe. While UNESCO pursues an education theory concept, the OECD concept is characterized as economical (cf. Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner 2007, pp.691f.). The approach of the Council of Europe, on the other hand, represents a *pragmatic concept* as a middle course between the two aforementioned, in which the focus is on the action and experience of the individual (cf. Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner 2007, p. 692). UNESCO and the OECD are continuing their orientation in the second generation (1990s), while the pragmatic concept is now being advocated by the European Commission (cf. Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner 2007, p. 693). For a third generation since the year 2000, only one key document can be noted, the Memorandum on Lifelong Learning, which can also be classified as pragmatic (cf. Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner 2007, p. 693). Since the European Commission, a new actor in the 1990s, had only

presented one key concept in the period up to the publication of the study, the followup question arises as to whether the inter- and supranational organisations have meanwhile abandoned the primacy of key concepts in education programmes in favour of a focus on national practice and global standards, indicators and benchmarks (cf. Schreiber-Barsch and Zeuner 2007, p. 699). The possible shift away from focusing on key concepts, which are primarily transported via political documents, points to the need to develop methodological instruments that can capture international political activities at levels other than written documents.

Finally, the study of Kraus (2001) is taken into account to analyse international comparative approaches in adult education policy research. The study deals with the integration of the debate on education policy and especially lifelong learning into the German scientific discourse. To this end, it analyses both scientific and education policy documents, but does not pursue a direct comparison. As representative documents for the scientific discussion, articles from three different journals from the field of educational science and adult education in the period 1970 to 1998 were chosen. The author does not draw to a specific theoretical perspective or method, but combines quantitative and qualitative perspectives: First, the quantity of articles that draw to lifelong learning is in focus. Second, the way that lifelong learning is discussed is analysed. Three perspectives of the scientific debate on lifelong learning can be identified by drawing to the quantitative and qualitative analysis: On the one hand, an external perspective that does not deal with the content of the concepts but critically refers to the argumentation structure of the concepts (cf. Kraus 2001, p. 54). In addition, a single-thematic perspective that uses lifelong learning as a plug but primarily deals with topics such as certification, which also play a role in the context of international concepts (cf. Kraus 2001, pp. 54f.). Finally, the reconstruction perspective should be mentioned, in which the nature of the education policy framework is reconstructed by taking into account contributions from international organisations (cf. Kraus 2001, pp. 55 f.). In a second step of the study, Kraus analyses educational policy documents of the Council of Europe, the EU, UNESCO and OECD from the 1970s and 1990s. For the analysis, a guideline of questions was developed which on the one hand aims at pedagogical criteria and on the other hand at argumentation contexts in the examined documents. By drawing to this guideline, similarities become apparent: The self-organisation of the learner is an important element in all concepts and the ability to learn represents the central learning content, which should be acquired in childhood and youth in order to be continued in adulthood (cf. Kraus 2001, p. 107). The idea of opening up educational institutions represents a further consensus (cf. Kraus 2001, p. 107). Thus there are fundamental similarities in the policy documents with regard to pedagogical aspects, but there are strong differences in the arguments of the inter- and supranational organisations and the only common ground at this level is that the reference point for justifying the need for lifelong learning is the acknowledgement of change (cf. Kraus 2001, p. 108).

Most of the studies referred to do not clearly state a certain theoretical perspective as basis for the analysis. But the aim of comparison serves as an underlying orientation in these kinds of studies. The overview of selected comparative studies on adult education policy shows that the "classical" approach of document analysis is often used to relate both countries and various international organizations. A look at the studies shows that the analysis of the documents often takes place without a concrete methodical approach with a certain sequence of steps. Thus, the investigation is not carried out according to pre-defined categories and evaluated strictly applying these, but rather certain focal points are set which serve as a rough orientation. Political documents as analytical material are particularly suitable because they represent the "official" focal points of the respective countries or organisations as well as current debates and are structured in a similar way, which facilitates comparison. Journals can serve to trace current debates and publicly discussed topics, as well. The advantage of the inductive approach is that it is open to find aspects that were maybe not in focus at the start of the analysis. But document analysis still is a non-reactive procedure (in comparison with interviews, for example) that cannot completely break with previously defined perspectives. A limitation of this kind of analysis becomes clear since only the textual level can be considered. Thus, especially programmatics become accessible. To investigate the actual practical implementation of educational policy ideas and thus the effects of political programmatics requires that document analysis is supplemented by further methods. Overall, it becomes clear that even though the methodical approach is open, the selection criteria of countries serving as cases for the studies and of the documents chosen for analysis should be strictly defined. While this is of course applying to all kinds of document analyses, also from other research strands, it is particularly important in policy research since often the aim is not only to trace specific discussions but to affiliate certain procedures to specific actors and agendas.

3.2 Discourse and governmentality analyses

Just as with international comparative studies, discourse analyses also rely to a large extent on documents as research material. However, they do not consider these documents to be representative of anything else, but, in relation to the basic assumptions of Foucault (2013), assume that the discourse itself produces knowledge and meaning. The methodical approach is also very open in discourse analyses, whereby they are oriented towards certain focal points, for example by taking into account the change of concepts and the examination of certain objects over time. The question of power plays a major role here, especially in the so-called governmentality studies, which also refer to Foucault.

Rausch (2015) examines the EU's educational policy discourse on lifelong learning between 1999 and 2011 by theoretically referring to Foucault's concept of discourse. The study is based on publications of the various EU institutions. The selection of cases is of particular importance: First, all documents displayed in the registers of the institutions via the search term "lifelong learning" are taken into account. Relevant documents are then selected by choosing certain types of documents and by setting a focus on the European Commission (cf. Rausch 2015, pp.93 ff.). To

reconstruct the EU documents, the author draws on content analysis and document analysis (cf. Rausch 2015, pp. 102 f.). As concrete methodical steps he mentions the formation of categories as well as the formulating and reflective interpretation of the individual selected texts (cf. Rausch 2015, pp. 103 f.). The explorative approach is also made clear by the methodical steps of paraphrasing and open coding (cf. Rausch 2015, p. 105). The results of the study show that the dominant content of the documents on lifelong learning has changed little compared to previously published education policy documents (cf. Rausch 2015, pp. 171 f.). However, a new development is that since 2004 there has been an action-oriented period in the discourse in which competence concepts and qualification frameworks have become more concrete (cf. Rausch 2015, p. 172). The link between educational policy and academic discourse is presented as a diffusion from the field of educational policy into the field of adult education science (cf. Rausch 2015, p. 182). Although the political concept of lifelong learning works with pedagogical vocabulary, it hardly offers science any points of contact for discussion (cf. Rausch 2015, p. 183). The author therefore regards the concept as unsuitable for legitimising research on adult education since questions of new forms of learning or institutionalisation can also be dealt with without reference to education policy (cf. Rausch 2015, p. 183). Since the study empirically focuses only on the political discourse, the conclusions regarding the influence on the scientific discourse are to be seen as indications, but a direct effect cannot be proven by the methodological design of the study.

Rothe (2011) also places the concept of lifelong learning in the focus of her discourse analysis. She analyses policy documents of institutions that represent the levels of national and international education policy in the period between 1996 and 2004 (cf. Rothe 2011, p. 199). Theoretically the study also refers to Foucault's basic assumptions. This study, too, emphasizes the importance of the construction of the data corpus, whereby its relation to the topic of lifelong learning as well as the affiliation to national and international institutions is of importance (cf. Rothe 2011, pp. 199 f.). A methodical orientation is provided by grounded theory, the author names several successive steps from a roughly conducted first review of the documents to the writing of memos and the answering of certain questions by the text on the basis of which the selected documents are analysed (cf. Rothe 2011, pp. 209 ff.). With this procedure, three phases of the discursive formation of lifelong learning are identified: First, the focus is on the initiation of a learning movement, then on lifelong learning as a programme, and in a final phase a preliminary ending point of the discursive formation in German education policy is described (cf. Rothe 2011, p. 216). Social change, learning, and access to education can be identified as central objects of the discursive formation (cf. Rothe 2011, p. 270). For the national discourse on education policy it can be stated that it is centrally influenced by international and especially European education policy as their argumentation patterns are taken up (cf. Rothe 2011, p. 395). While the boundaries between adult education research and education policy have become blurred in some cases, an increasing empirical preoccupation with lifelong learning has again made a clearer distinction between discipline and policy (cf. Rothe 2011, p. 393). Overall, Rothe assumes a precarious autonomy of the discipline of adult education towards the field of education policy but notes that the education policy discourse also refers to the disciplinary discourse by granting speaker positions to academics (cf. Rothe 2011, pp. 406 ff.). Accordingly, this study points to a one-sided diffusion of education policy argumentation in the academic discussion and to a strong influence in this direction. However, it should also be noted that only the education policy discourse was analysed empirically.

While the two studies mentioned before are defined as discourse analyses, also an example of a governmentality analysis referring to Foucault should be mentioned: The study of Fejes (2006) deals with the construction of the adult learner by educational policy. As already mentioned, theoretically it draws to the concept of *governmentality*, which is interested in the relation of power and knowledge. With regard to the methodical approach, the author argues that a strict procedure is problematic when referring to Foucault's perspective (cf. Fejes 2006, p. 32). Instead, he focuses on questions that he answers by reading selected documents several times (cf. Fejes 2006, p. 33). However, concrete methodological steps are not mentioned here. The results of the study show that a properly educated citizen is seen as the basis of a competing society (cf. Fejes 2006, p. 72). This citizen is constructed as "an autonomous, self-choosing and self-regulating self who should take responsibility for his/her own life by becoming a lifelong learner" (Fejes 2006, p. 73) and who should always desire to learn something (cf. Fejes 2006, p. 75).

In summary, the examples of discourse analytical studies point to a strong impact of the international discourse on adult education policy on the national scientific debate. However, the studies are designed in such a way that they do not take the scientific discourse into account in the empirical analysis, so they do not make a systematic comparison and thus the focus remains one-sided. The two exemplary studies illustrate that discourse analysis is particularly suitable for identifying changes in political priorities over time. However, the example of a governmentality study points to the construction of the subject by adult education policy. In principle, discourse and governmentality analyses entail the difficulty of conciliating the focus on power, which is predetermined in accordance with the basic theoretical assumptions, with the claim of an open-ended analysis. This shows the necessity of a comprehensive reflection. As with document analysis, the total amount of data to be considered in this kind of methodical procedure is very large. For a reduction to a few documents that are seen as representative for a discourse, a systematic approach is necessary in which documents are excluded by means of certain criteria. When looking at discourse analyses and governmentality studies, it becomes clear that - as a consequence of the open approach – there are not always clear sequences of steps or a concrete method that serves as orientation. Even though discourse analysis understands itself more as a methodology than a theory, it does not provide concrete instructions considering the methodical design, so that often further approaches such as content analysis or grounded theory are added. Theory and methodical procedure are particularly closely linked in this type of study, so that the theoretical perspective serves as an argument for not being too fixed as regards the method.

3.3 Institutionalistic approaches

In addition to approaches of international-comparative educational science and discourse and *governmentality* studies, institutionalistic approaches are also frequently used to investigate policy in adult education. Such studies are discussed below. Although they also take a comparative approach, in theoretical terms they focus not only on comparison at the international level but also on various levels of action that are interlinked. Perspectives such as *world polity* (cf. Meyer 2005), *actor-centred institutionalism* (cf. Mayntz and Scharpf 1995) or the *governance perspective* (cf. Altrichter et al. 2007) are referred to. Not only the relation international – national, but also the linkage of the macro and meso levels are relevant in these studies. The inclusion of a multi-level perspective in consequence often leads to the choice of mixed-method designs, which link methods such as text analysis and interviews but also explicitly qualitative and quantitative approaches.

A study by Breyer and Schemmann (2018) addresses the question of how membership of an international organisation influences national policy. Theoretically, reference is made to the perspective of world polity, which assumes that global norms diffuse and that individuals, organisations and also nation states play a role in this diffusion (cf. Brever and Schemmann 2018, p. 3). Methodically, the study makes use of lexicometric analysis, a method from the field of linguistics: This allows for the investigation of large text corpora and uncovers frequencies of words as well as quantitative relationships between words and word groups (cf. Breyer and Schemmann 2018, p. 5). The study compares national reports of different UNESCO member states, which were published in preparation for the CONFINTEA VI conference, and asks the question of whether there are differences between states that are also EU members and states that do not belong to the EU (cf. Breyer and Schemmann 2018, p. 1). Since the lexicometric analysis is a method from linguistics, it has not been applied often in adult education research yet (cf. Breyer and Schemmann, p. 5). This brings with it the particularity of being able to orient oneself less to other studies and their procedures but more to develop one's own procedures. The results show that even though UNESCO organised the conference and requested the national reports - a high influence of the EU can be assumed since certain topics that the EU focuses on are also focused in the national reports of the EU members (cf. Breyer and Schemmann 2018, p. 11). This is particularly evident in the focus on formal qualifications, employability and higher levels of education (cf. Breyer and Schemmann 2018, p. 11). However, it should be pointed out that although certain patterns can be identified, it is not possible to draw a causal conclusion regarding the links between national policy and the policy of international and supranational organisations (cf. Breyer and Schemmann 2018, p. 12). Thus, this study makes clear that although conclusions can be drawn at the discursive level, further methods must be used to prove direct influence. Even though the discursive level is focused, the quantitative

approach can generate an overview of the topics across several documents and can break away from investigating single documents.

Jakobi (2009, 2006) also chooses the perspective of world polity in order to look at international organisations in a global perspective: She focuses on the question of how the worldwide diffusion of an educational policy concept can be explained and understands lifelong learning as a worldwide norm. The thesis that international organisations are the cause of the diffusion process is the guiding principle (cf. Jakobi 2009, p. 172). In methodical terms, the study triangulates content and document analysis with interviews and regression analyses, so that several different methods are applied by combining qualitative and quantitative approaches. Thereby, it is investigated what kind of global activities concerning *lifelong learning* can be identified, which positions different states have on these activities and which national policies are driven by international organisations (cf. Jakobi 2009, p. xiii). The findings show that *lifelong learning* diffuses from organisation to organisation and that four patterns of inter-organisational connections can be differentiated: First, the initiation of discussions in one organisation through the activities of another, second, the division of labour between organisations, third, jointly organised conferences, and fourth, the legitimation of one organisation by another (cf. Jakobi 2006, p. 69). Furthermore, it can be noted that the number of countries that refer to *lifelong learning* has grown since the 1990s (cf. Jakobi 2006, p. 97). However, a difference between the idea and the consequences becomes clear here: The reference to *lifelong learning* is not always necessarily followed by implementation in reforms (cf. Jakobi 2006, p. 98). Different waves of reference to the concept can be differentiated: In the 1970s, international organisations had less influence and there was no acute problem that policymakers addressed, whereas in the 1980s there was a softening of the international political environment (cf. Jakobi 2006, pp. 122 f.). The situation changed fundamentally in the 1990s: Organisations had a growing influence, the knowledge society was discussed as a political problem and there was a shift in the goals of *lifelong learning* away from personal development towards economic prosperity (cf. Jakobi 2006, p. 123). In a neo-institutionalist perspective, lifelong learning can be understood as part of a world culture that is disseminated by international organisations engaged in agenda setting - however, this study also shows that national framework conditions play a major role in the implementation of reforms (cf. Jakobi 2009, p. 186). The design of the study makes clear that the concrete implementation of reforms can be worked out by adding quantitative methods. By combining several methods, different levels can be included in the analysis.

Ioannidou (2010, 2009) combines several methods to investigate policy in the field of adult education, as well. In a study on governance, she picks out two organisations from the international structure: In a comparative empirical analysis, she examines the potential, forms and instruments of EU and OECD governance and their influence on the national level, using Germany, Finland and Greece as examples. Monitoring and reporting on education are drawn on as new instruments of governance. Questions concerning the national reception of the international idea of *lifelong*

learning are leading the way (cf. Ioannidou 2010, p. 51). The study is also understood as an international-comparative analysis, so that the contrastive selection of the states serving as cases for the study is emphasized. But furthermore it explicitly refers to institutionalistic approaches: The governance perspective, actor-centred institutionalism and the theorem of path dependency serve as theoretical framework. The focus is on the interaction between actors acting for a specific purpose (cf. Ioannidou 2010, p. 58). In addition to a document analysis and a meta-analysis of monitoring instruments, interviews were examined. The author emphasizes that their status as experts is explicitly important when researching policy: The area is characterised by a high degree of topicality making changes difficult to track from outside and furthermore, the knowledge concerning educational policy is often implicit (cf. Ioannidou 2010, p. 104). Experts were chosen from educational policy as well as educational research on the national and the international level (cf. Ioannidou 2010, pp. 107 f.). The results show that all of these experts refer to phenomena such as globalisation or the diagnosis of an information and knowledge society in order to justify the necessity of empirically reviewing lifelong learning (cf. Ioannidou 2009, p. 44). A superficial consensus can also be seen at the conceptual level: Both in the international and national context, there is agreement between the education policy actors with regard to the time dimension (learning throughout the entire life span) and the context dimension (formal, non-formal and informal learning), so that an effect of the efforts by EU and OECD with regard to the conceptual design of lifelong learning can be assumed (cf. Ioannidou 2010, p. 137). However, a look at the implementation level reveals differences: These can be traced back to cultural and historical traditions (cf. Ioannidou 2010, p. 138). While Germany focuses on continuing vocational training in terms of employability, Finland focuses on social cohesion and personal development, Greece on institutionalised adult education (cf. Ioannidou 2010, p. 193). Country-specific differences can also be observed with regard to the influence of inter- and supranational organisations: For example, while the EU is ascribed a clear steering function from the perspective of Greece, the OECD receives the greatest recognition in Finland (cf. Ioannidou 2010, pp. 197 f.). By combining various methods that go beyond the textual level, this study shows that concrete influence can be given greater consideration.

In summary, the selected studies show that the choice of institutionalistic perspectives often results in multi-methodological approaches. This is mainly due to the fact that the focus is not only on linking international and national policy but that organisations are also explicitly understood as purposeful actors and therefore macro and meso level are connected. By linking several methods, the view can be broadened beyond the discursive level and fulfil the claim of being able to work out actual influence to a greater extent. A combination of different qualitative methods such as text analysis and interviews is useful as well as the use of quantitative approaches, which are more focused on the macro perspective. The kind of studies analysed here do not only apply "classical" methods that are used in adult education research, such as document analysis or interviews, but also borrow methods from other disciplines that are not always part of the traditional repertoire of methods such as regression analysis or lexicometric analysis.

4 Discussion: Comparison of approaches in researching adult education policy

In order to structure the overview of studies in the field of adult education research that deal with educational policy, theoretical and methodological approaches that are frequently referred to were first identified. Institutionalistic frameworks can be described as explicitly theoretical while international comparative perspectives are to be understood more as methodological, thus providing orientation for certain methods that are applied. Discourse and governmentality studies combine theory and methodology: These are theoretical concepts that explain the view of reality and society but also methodologically prescribe what the focus of an analysis should be. At the same time, the analyses are understood as very open enabling deviation from the concrete steps of specific methods, such as qualitative content analysis. Since the choice of the perspectives offering orientation depends on the research interest, these can be assigned as follows: If the focus is on similarities and differences of national politics or inter- and supranational organisations, international-comparative perspectives and institutionalistic frameworks are used. Furthermore, institutionalistic perspectives are chosen if the interdependence of different actors on the macro, meso and micro level is in focus. If power and influence or change and developments over time are emphasized, the concepts of *discourse* and *governmentality* can provide orientation.

Methodically, international comparative studies often work with document analysis and apply this method through certain questions on the documents. In *discourse* and *governmentality* studies, documents also serve as analytical material, but are used less to draw conclusions about the underlying reality via the documents, but are themselves understood as a construction of reality. The qualitative analysis of documents has the advantage that current debates can be included and thus topics can be identified that allow conclusions to be drawn about political goals and discussions. Political documents are suitable as material for the analysis, since they are often comparable due to a similar structure. They are also particularly suitable for longitudinal analyses: Changes in focus over time can be easily traced and access to documents can sometimes be easier than, for example, access to experts from the field. At the same time, by including documents, one always remains on the textual level. Causal conclusions cannot be drawn and direct influence is not visible.

In comparison, institutionalistic studies tend to take a multi-methodical approach, so that e.g. interviews are included in the analysis in addition to texts. Access to the field may be difficult, for example, if decision-makers from politics are to be won as interview partners. At the same time, it has been shown that the first methodical step in the selection of material for the analysis can also require a great deal of effort and circumspection: For example, such a large selection of public policy documents is available in digital form that reducing them to the really relevant and representative documents is no simple matter. The mixed-method approach of the institutionalistically framed studies shows that, in addition to the difference between national and international, several levels can be included that play a role in the interweaving of political processes: Thus, not only the final result of a decision-making process in the form of an officially published document can be taken into account but also, for example through interviews, the events in the background that led to this publication and the aspects that are not officially announced and said but are nevertheless significant.

Overall, it becomes clear that methods such as document analysis and interviews are used often in policy research in adult education. Reference to other methods from qualitative empirical social research, for example participatory observation, however is not common.

This may be due to the fact that policy as an object is not as obviously observable as, for example, an educational teaching-learning situation. While policy that results in laws is more objectively observable, this does not apply in the same way to the area of adult education, which is little regulated by law, as here the setting of agendas is more important regarding governance. Furthermore, the circles in which policy is created remain difficult to access from outside. Despite these general conditions, it is necessary to integrate methods of qualitative social research such as participatory observation into policy research in adult education but also to be open to methods such as regression analysis or lexicometric analysis.

5 Conclusion

The aim of this paper is to provide an overview of the topics as well as theoretical and methodological approaches of policy research in the field of adult education as it is a relatively young field compared to other research strands. Examining the subject of policy in adult education brings with it a number of specifics. While other research topics in adult education, such as professionalisation or addressees and participants, can be approached via practice and thus concrete courses of action, political action is more difficult to access. On the one hand because processes that take place in the background often cannot be easily seen from the outside, and on the other hand because many different levels that are strongly interwoven have to be considered.

Theoretical and methodological perspectives can be identified that are often used to analyse educational policy: Internationally comparative perspectives, institutionalist approaches as well as discourse and governmentality analyses. Since these approaches also offer orientation in methodical terms, it is evident that studies based on internationally comparative and discourse-analytical basic assumptions often use political documents as material for an analysis, whereas institutionalist studies combine document analyses with interviews or include quantitative analyses. Policy research in adult education by now offers a broad range of research on thematic priorities and the reconstruction of changes, especially in international education policy programmes. With regard to the elaboration of the effects of political programmes, studies already have been conducted but there are still desiderata to be identified and elaborated.

The studies analysed in this paper point to the influence of international policy on the national level, both in terms of policy and science. How science and its actors position themselves towards policy is a subsequent question, as is how a concept such as lifelong learning is implemented in practice. Furthermore, it is evident that the concept declared to be decisive is primarily negotiated discursively at the international level, which raises the question why, for example, only a few documents and agendas on this topic are published at the national level. These and further questions can be emphasized in further research on policy in adult education science. Especially in the field of adult education, many levels interact since international policy also has a decisive influence on national policy-making, whereas this is not similarly the case in the school sector, for example. Therefore, it makes sense to capture and overlook the consequences of political action. In order to make the actual influence of political intentions on practice visible, multimethodic approaches are necessary since only in this way the diverse levels – beyond the differentiation between international and national levels – can be included. As a relatively new field of research, policy research in particular can advance the further development of the methodical approaches of adult education research by finding new ways of grasping various levels of political action. To be open to "new" methods respectively methods from other disciplines (e.g. lexicometric analysis) therefore is essential.

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"Lifelong learning opportunities for all": Who pays for it?

KAPIL DEV REGMI

Abstract

In 2015, the UN declared "Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" as one of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) to be achieved by 2030. Lifelong learning has been regarded as the global goal of education; however, it is not clear what lifelong learning, as a policy idea, means to different countries. This paper problematizes this policy idea by drawing a contrast between two key terms *lifelong learning* and *lifelong education* and argues that there has been an increasing emphasis on the former. The policy implication of the emphasis on lifelong learning over lifelong education is that learning opportunities are increasingly provided by private institutions and individuals are expected to manage time and resources for their learning. Because of socioeconomic inequalities not all adults are equally able to afford learning opportunities. The paper concludes that the SDGs may not be achieved by economically poor countries unless national governments take responsibility for ensuring lifelong learning opportunities for all.

Keywords: Least Developed Countries, lifelong learning for all, Sustainable Development Goals, education policy, financing for education

1 Introduction

In the context of globalisation, ideas and information are no longer restricted to the political boundaries of nation-states; one of the ideas highly globalized in recent decades is lifelong learning (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). After the United Nations declared *Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all* as the Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 in 2015, it has been a global educational agenda (United Nations, 2015). Major supranational organisations that have harmonized educational policies towards lifelong learning not only include the UN and its sister organization United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 1972) but also the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 1973), the European Union (European Commission, 2000), and the World Bank (World Bank, 2011). Until 2015 lifelong learning was the policy agenda of economically developed countries but now this idea has been a new educational policy for the economically poor countries of the global South known as Least Developed Countries (LDCs, 2020).

Since lifelong learning was declared as SDG 4 in 2015 several scholarly papers have been published. They are helpful for understanding (a) the role of lifelong learning for quality education (Webb, Holford, Hodge, Milana, & Waller, 2017), (b) how lifelong learning as a policy idea was conceptualised (English & Carlsen, 2019), (c) the role of various institutions working at macro and meso levels for increasing participation in learning (Boeren, 2019), (d) why lifelong learning should be regarded as a fundamental human right (Elfert, 2019), and (e) the connection between literacy and lifelong learning (Hanemann, 2019; McKay, 2018). However, with a few exceptions (Regmi, 2015a, 2017, 2019b; Regmi, Andema, & Asselin, 2020) there are almost no scholarly publications that focus on what lifelong learning as SDG 4 means to LDCs.

Building on the previous publications noted above, this paper explores the answers of two questions: How is the idea of lifelong learning constructed in the global educational policy discourses? What are the implications of such discourses on educational policies and plans of LDCs? For exploring the answers of those questions the paper uses key policy documents produced by the UN and its sister organisations (AAAA, 2015; LDCs, 2020; UIL, 2019; UIS, 2012; UNDP, 2019; UNESCO, 1972, 1996; United Nations, 2015), the OECD (OECD, 1973, 2019, 2020), the World Bank (World Bank, 2011) and the European Commission (European Commission, 2000) as the main sources of data. For analysing these documents the paper uses critical policy sociology (Regmi, 2019a) as a methodological framework. In the context of increasing globalisation, the educational policy landscape has shifted from the national to the global level. This shift requires policy researchers to go beyond methodological nationalism for analysing how international organisations and their networks create certain policy discourses (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Using post-Westphalian tradition of critical policy sociology (see Regmi, 2019a) I analyse how international forces affect educational policy decisions of LDCs.

The paper has two main sections. First, I introduce LDCs as a category of countries where lifelong learning, a policy strategy mostly used for creating competitive knowledge-based economies, has been a new educational policy agenda. In the second section, I explore how lifelong learning has been a controversial policy discourse in terms of the financing modality adopted by donor countries and LDC governments. The paper concludes with an appeal for an inevitable role of LDC governments to increase educational budget so as to enahane the participation of underprivileged adults such as women, racialized and indigenous people in lifelong learning.

2 Least Developed Countries

The typologies used by different international organisations for dividing countries into groups differ. For example, the World Bank Group divides countries into four income groups: high, upper-middle, lower-middle, and low. UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) also divides them into four groups but uses different names: Africa, Arab States, Asia and the Pacific, Europe and North America (UIL, 2019). LDCs were identified in the early 1970s by the United Nations as a new category of countries with a need for special support measures from the donor communities (Regmi, 2017). They are identified in terms of Gross National Income (GNI), Human Asset Index (health and literacy), and Economic Vulnerability Index (remoteness, share of agriculture in national economy, and natural disasters). Even though several developing countries, also known as Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan) and BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa), have achieved remarkable economic progress in the last few decades, LDCs have lagged behind in several development indicators such as economy, health and education. As shown in Figure 1, as of July 2020, there are 47 LDCs located in Africa (33), Asia (9), Pacific (4) and Caribbean (1).

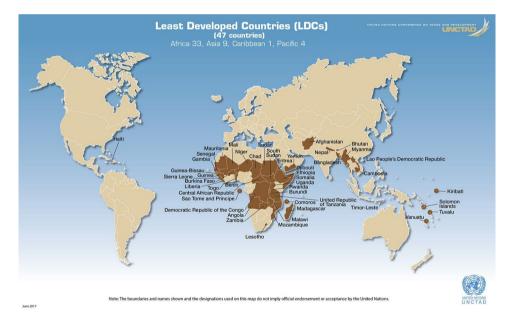


Figure 1: Least Developed Countries¹ (Source: LDCs [2020])

Historically, almost all LDCs have faced challenges brought by colonialism during the 18th and 19th centuries, domestic conflict and the lack of democracy during the post-colonial period that roughly extended from the 1940s to 1970s, and the period of structural adjustments during the 1980s to 1990s that forced them to cut funding for education and health in lieu of paying their international debt (Regmi, 2019b). These countries have continuously faced multifarious problems such as poverty, illiteracy,

¹ Link for the map: https://unctad.org/en/PublishingImages/aldc_LDCs_map_large.jpg

health related hazards, conflict and the lack of democracy (Regmi, 2017). About 14 per cent of the global population, which is over 1 billion people, live in LDCs but their aggregate share in the global economy is less than one percent. While the average GNI per capita of the OECD countries is US\$ 40,615, the average GNI per capita of LDCs is US\$ 2,630 (UNDP, 2019). This international inequality might change significantly in the post-Covid-19 period; however, it is very likely that the inequality will further increase and LDCs will continue to be a locus of poverty in the decades to come.

Despite some positive results in terms of gross enrolment rate (about 96 per cent) during Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) period (2000–2015) – that is total enrolment in primary level regardless of age, expressed as a percentage of the official age group – LDCs are not able to increase the mean years of schooling which stands at only 4.8 years as opposed to 12 years in the OECD countries (UNDP, 2019). In the context of increasing use of technology and global mobility of students and workers, mostly from LDCs to the OECD, Asian Tigers and BRICS countries, the issue of transforming LDCs economies by matching education skills with available jobs in their home countries has further worsened those challenges.

Several national and international actors such as bilateral and multilateral donors, national governments, charity organisations and philanthropic foundations have targeted LDCs for increasing their literacy rates, combating with health hazards and natural disasters, and institutionalising democratic practices. Despite these measures, problems and challenges faced by these countries have not been resolved (Regmi, 2017). For example, the adult literacy rate – the percentage of the population ages 15 and older who can, with understanding, both read and write a short simple statement on their everyday life – is below 60 per cent (LDCs, 2020). As of 2020, only five of them (Botswana, Cape Verde, Maldives, Equatorial Guinea, and Samoa) have been able to graduate from LDC status (LDCs, 2020).

Educational expansion happened in many LDCs during the post-war period of the 1950s and the 1960s. That was the time when most of them had been released from the grip of colonial powers (Regmi, 2019b). The focus on educational development was observed in terms of increased percentage of school enrolment, higher level of participation in adult education, increase in teacher recruitment and literacy programs (Coombs, 1985). But by the late 1960s it was realized that expansion in education alone did not meet their needs because, even in developed countries, there was a "marked imbalance between the number of graduates and the number of jobs traditionally available to them" (Husen, 1979, p. 206). Lifelong learning, as an education policy idea, emerged as a response to the global crisis in education, especially in the leadership of UNESCO (UNESCO, 1972) and the OECD (OECD, 1973). After 2015 this idea has been a global goal for education (United Nations, 2015) but what the idea of lifelong learning really means to LDCs is not clear, which is the main focus of this paper.

3 Lifelong learning

One of the important factors that have contributed to advance the human civilization to today's stage is human curiosity for learning, or the cognitive development that made learning possible. According to Harari (2014), the author of *Sapiens: A brief history of humankind*, the cognitive revolution, which took place between 70,000 and 30,000 years ago, was the main reason behind the emergence of Sapiens (the present-day humans) as the major species to rule the world leaving all other creatures behind. While negative learning such as the production of weapons and exploitation of natural environment has put human civilization at risk, positive learning such as the invention of new medicines, ethics, morality, law and human rights has made a great contribution towards its advancement. According to Piketty (2020), life expectancy at birth increased from an average of 26 years in the world in 1820 to 72 years in 2020. Similarly, the adult (15 years and above) literacy rate rose from 12 % to 85 % during the same period (see Figure 2).

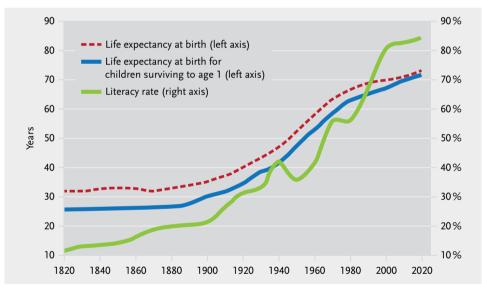


Figure 2: Health and education in the world, 1820-2020 (Source: Piketty [2020])

Harbert Spencer brought the theory of evolution developed by Charles Darwin to study organisms into social sciences, which is known as Social Darwinism. According to this conceptualisation, the cognitive power enabled humans to be competitive hence they have thrived much faster than other organisms. Social Darwinists assumed that everyone participates in a race to win others; therefore, increasing competitiveness through continuous learning is a pre-condition for living a competitive life (Brown & Tannock, 2009). In this image of reality, all individuals should be intellectually, physically and emotionally equipped to compete; which is possible only by continuous learning. The idea of lifelong learning created in this image of reality can be understood as the human capital model of lifelong learning (Regmi, 2015b). One of the key features of this model is private sector investment in education for providing more choices and options for buying learning.

As human civilisation progressed the ideas such as morality, ethics, justice, equality, and human rights came to inform decisions on who has a greater chance of becoming competitive by participating in education and learning. When the issues of racial, economic, and social inequalities challenged Social Darwinism it became increasingly clear that not everyone does have equal chances to participate in learning (Rubenson & Desjardins, 2009). Bounded by structural conditions lifelong learning has not been a reality for those who were deprived of even completing a high school degree. Hence, an alternative vision of lifelong learning has emerged, which is characterised as a human-rights approach (Elfert, 2019) as it aims to providing equal chances to everyone to participate in learning activities irrespective of their age, gender, race, and socioeconomic statuses. This idea of lifelong learning can be understood as the humanistic model of lifelong learning (Regmi, 2015b).

In a generic sense, lifelong learning recognises that much of human learning occurs outside of educational institutions, and people continue to learn beyond their school and university education (Regmi, 2020). If we look through the Kuhnian perspective of paradigm shift (Kuhn, 1962), lifelong learning can be considered as a new educational paradigm, in which learning incorporates both in-school and out-of-school activities. In this respect, lifelong learning includes all the activities that happen between one's birth and death. However, the problem with this simplistic definition is that lifelong learning may happen without one's conscious effort hence it may not need any policy or planning intervention. If this is true, why do we need lifelong learning as a global educational goal? This question warrants a necessary differentiation between the two key terms – lifelong learning and lifelong education – that I explore in the following section.

Lifelong learning vs lifelong education

Though the initiatives towards having lifelong learning as an educational goal seem to be new, the idea itself is not new. The concept of lifelong learning existed with different names such as continuing education, recurrent education, adult learning, lifelong education, and distance education (Ignatovich, 2020). Lifelong learning became an educational agenda of many developed countries after the publication of some landmark reports such as *Learning to be* (UNESCO, 1972), *Recurrent education* (OECD, 1973), *Learning: the treasure within* (UNESCO, 1996), and *Memorandum on lifelong learning* (European Commission, 2000). The idea of lifelong learning constructed by these reports are contested for their ambivalence about whether it is the responsibility of individuals or micro/meso level institutions (Boeren, 2019) to provide lifelong learning opportunities for all. Review of scholarly literature (Elfert, 2019; Regmi, 2015a, 2015b, 2017; Rubenson, 2011) suggests that the humanistic model of lifelong learning is overtaken by the human capital model.

Unlike the humanistic model of lifelong learning, the human capital model aims to increase competition not only among different countries through standardised testing systems such as the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC) but also among individuals within a nation and its communities (Regmi, 2015b). This model "gives full recognition and support to the private sector for managing, financing and governing the education system" (Regmi, 2015b, p. 137). The idea of lifelong learning is guided by the human capital model whereas the idea of lifelong education is guided by the humanistic model of lifelong learning.

Though the terms learning and education are often used interchangeably, their (mis)interpretations have significant policy implications. For example, if we draw a distinction between adult learning and adult education, the former refers to knowledge acquired by adults through their own will or personal vocation for learning, which may not need any intervention from macro-level institutions. The latter concept, adult education, on the other hand, refers to the process of imparting knowledge through some kind of state-managed system such as establishment of schools, appointment of teachers who have formal qualifications, and the use of structured curricula and published learning materials such as textbooks. Unlike adult learning, adult education is something governed, managed and funded by national governments. Learning may be lifelong but for education to be a lifelong process macro-level institutions must take their share of responsibility.

In the context of SDG 4, the idea of lifelong learning, rather than lifelong education, has been used as a policy strategy to force individuals to take responsibility, mainly to manage time and resources, for continuous learning. In this context, national governments and international organizations (the macro-level institutions) have championed the idea that everyone should continue to learn but they have taken a backseat in managing resources to support those who are already deprived of education because of structural causes such as class, race, and gender inequalities (Boeren, 2019; Rubenson & Desjardins, 2009). In this image of reality, non-participation in lifelong learning is understood as the failure of individuals whereas the governments or international organisations have focused their time and resources just for measuring what individuals have learnt on their own through standardised testing systems such as PIAAC (Regmi, 2019b; Rubenson, 2019).

4 Financing for lifelong learning

The international community outlined the financing modality for SDGs through Addis Ababa Action Agenda, in which they noted that LDCs are "the most vulnerable group of countries" that "need enhanced global support to overcome the structural challenges they face for the achievement of the SDGs" (AAAA, 2015, p. 4). However, the review of the progresses made after 2015 shows that this policy rhetoric is not translated into practice. What has really happened is the fact that LDCs are now opened for business where big corporations are encouraged to make investment in the form of commercial loans for different sectors including education. As Figure 3 shows, in some of LDCs such as Angola, private sectors invested about USD 180 million in education between 2012 and 2017. This amount may not seem big when compared to the annual budget of some rich OECD countries but total private financing of LDCs covers a significant share (about 6%) of their GDP (OECD, 2019), which add up to their existing international debt (Regmi, 2019b). Privatisation in education not only makes lifelong learning unaffordable for poor people but also creates a road-block towards the sustainable development of LDCs.

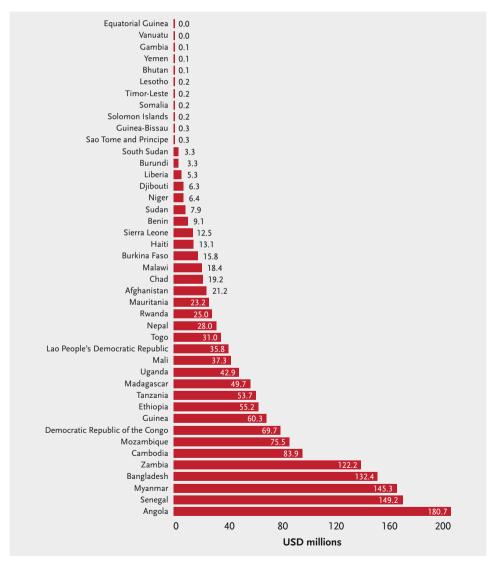


Figure 3: Average annual amount of private finance mobilised per LDC 2012-2017 (Source: OECD [2019])

Official Development Assistant (ODA) was started during the 1970s, which is the same period when LDCs were identified for the first time, as welfare development support for poor countries. Unlike private financing, ODA is concessional, with a grant element of at least 25 percent. Developed countries promised that they would provide a minimum 0.7 percent of their Gross National Product as ODA. While agreeing on action agenda for SDG financing the donor community reaffirmed the commitment of meeting the target of 0.7 per cent (AAAA, 2015, p. 26). Despite their promises, according to OECD (2019), in 2018, ODA to LDCs fell by 3% in real terms from 2017, aid to Africa fell by 4%, and humanitarian aid fell by 8%' (p. 16). As shown in Figure 4, despite several iterations of agreement, only a few countries have fulfilled this commitment and the total average amount of ODA has always been less than 0.4% of the total GNP of donor countries. My critical analysis of the educational policy documents shows that lifelong learning has been a policy rhetoric championed by the donors but in reality, it has increased educational privatisation in LDCs.

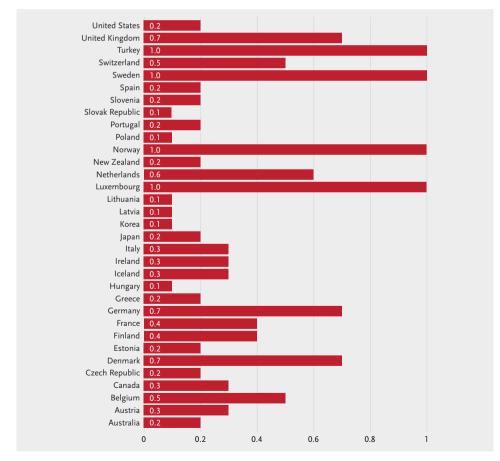


Figure 4: ODA contribution by the OECD countries, 2017 (Source: OECD [2020])

The history of identifying LDCs as a separate group of countries, the establishment of ODA as a support measure, and the multilateral support mechanism created for achieving the SDGs have been justified by the desire of the developed countries to support those who are not as par with them in development (Regmi, 2018). The declaration of lifelong learning for all as SDG 4 is a continuation of this international development model, which very much rests on cooperation among different macrolevel organisations. But with the rise of nationalism and protectionism in donor countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom this international mechanism of cooperation has been disturbed (Regmi et al., 2020). As a consequence, financial support, in the form of ODA and other grants, from donor countries to LDCs has decreased. The funding gap created by this disturbance in the international cooperation could have been filled by the governments of each LDC. But as the SDG financing modality presented in Addis Ababa Action Agenda (AAAA, 2015) and the OECD's blended financing modality suggest the funding gap is being filled, if any, by private sector financing. This financing modality is a hinderance for a sustainable development of LDCs because it is the main cause of socioeconomic inequality (Piketty, 2020).

Financing for lifelong learning in LDCs is constrained not only because of the disturbances in international cooperation mechanisms but also because of the increasing economic inequality within each LDC. Drawing on both methodological globalism and methodological nationalism perspectives of critical policy sociology (Regmi, 2019a; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010) I would argue that the economic inequality within LDCs is as detrimental as the inequality between the developed countries and LDCs noted above. Since the 1980s the wealth of the richest 10 % people (top decile) has increased in all major regions such as India, the United States, Russia, China, Europe including sub-Saharan Africa where the majority of LDCs are located (Piketty, 2020). This increase in share of wealth among the top decile "has come at the expense of the bottom 50 % of the distribution" (Piketty, 2020, p. 21).

Funding from LDC governments for adult learning and education (ALE) has decreased hence there has been a marked increase in private sector investment. The Global Report of Adult Learning and Education (GRALE) 4 (UIL, 2019) noted that in sub-Saharan Africa, where the majority of LDCs are located, 36% of the total countries that answered financing related questions, reported reductions in ALE financing and another 45% reported "no change in ALE spending as a proportion of education spending since 2015" (UIL, 2019, p. 54). On average, LDCs spend about 4% of their GDP on education, which will decrease because of the new challenges brought by the Covid-19 pandemic. For example, in its annual budget 2020–2021 Nepal, one of the LDCs located in South Asia, allocated about 11% of its total budget for education but increasing private sector investment has been Nepal's key policy strategy.

Income inequality between the top decile and the rest of the population has increased even faster in some LDCs than in the major world regions. For example, in sub-Saharan Africa, where the majority of LDCs are located, "the top decile claimed 54% of total income" in 2018 (Piketty, 2020, p. 22), which means that, in 2018, in-

equality in sub-Saharan Africa was higher than in Europe, China, Russia and the United States (see Figure 5). Inequality in wealth and income is a hinderance for an equal, just and democratic society. For promoting lifelong learning as a key social equaliser each country must provide learning opportunities to those 90% of the population who share just about 46% of the total national income. Privatisation of lifelong learning, a feature of the human capital model noted above, is a mechanism that will create learning opportunities for those top 10% people, which is just the opposite of what is needed for providing 'lifelong learning opportunities for all' (United Nations, 2015).



Figure 5: Inequality in the different regions of the world in 2018 (Source: Piketty [2020, p. 23])

5 Discussion and conclusion

A key message of the analysis presented above is that the human capital model of lifelong learning (Regmi, 2015b) very much dominates the policy and planning decisions of international community and LDC governments because lifelong learning is understood as an investment. As a consequence, especially after 2015, the responsibility for managing time and resources for lifelong learning has shifted from donor agencies as well as LDC governments to individual citizens. In this context of educational financing, both LDC governments and donor countries, have used private sector investment (AAAA, 2015; OECD, 2019) as a major mechanism of educational financing. Even if lifelong learning has been discussed as a new policy agenda in all

LDCs the opportunities to participate in it are available only for those citizens who are able to afford or buy learning provided by the private sector.

Achievement of SDG 4 is quite crucial for the achievement of the other 16 goals because education is an undeniable and fundamental prerequisite for ending poverty and hunger, promotion of health and wellbeing, achieving equality, and taking necessary actions for addressing the existential threat brought by global warming (United Nations, 2015). As I noted above, lifelong as a global goal of education puts more emphasis on providing educational opportunities for adult population. While the importance of lifelong learning has been recognized, ALE remains low on the agenda of LDCs hence funding is "insufficient" (UIL, 2019, p. 14). As GRALE 4 report clearly noted, "unless we change direction, we will, quite simply, not meet the stretching targets of SDG 4. And if we do not achieve the goal on education, the other SDGs will be placed in jeopardy" (UIL, 2019, p. 14).

Before 2015 formal education, that is learning opportunities available through school and post-secondary institutions, had been the mode of educational attainment for the majority of LDC people. They made some progresses in terms of increased school enrolment rates during the MDGs period 2000–2015, which was popularly known as *Education for All* (EFA). After 2015 *promoting lifelong learning opportunities for all* has come to influence education policies of these countries, which is a positive policy response for providing learning opportunities to adults. However, these goals cannot be achieved without making sufficient investment from national governments. The main reason, which I stressed in this paper, is that not everyone is able to make investment in education.

In addition to the regular budget allocated by LDC governments, educational funding of these countries comes from external sources such as the UN and its sister organizations, the World Bank Group, the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD, the European Union, and bilateral organisations such as the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Australian Aid, and the UK Department for International Development (DFID). In the context of increasing nationalism and protectionism (Regmi et al., 2020) in the donor countries and the economic crisis brought by the Covid-19 pandemic, funding for LDCs' education will further shrink. For achieving SDGs, lifelong learning needs more funding from LDC governments because those who lack education are also those who are not able to afford it. Without developing an appropriate mechanism to provide learning opportunities for all, irrespective of their economic status, caste, gender, language and age LDCs may not achieve SDGs.

To conclude, in the context of Covid-19 and the impact it has brought in global economy it is very likely that financial support from donors to LDCs will further shrink. Future researchers might be interested in exploring not only what the post-Covid-19 world looks like but also alternative policy and planning mechanisms for increasing LDC peoples' participation in lifelong learning.

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Regulation and Financing of Continuing Higher Education in England and Spain: A Comparison of Adult Education Governance Structures in National Contexts

DIANA TREVINO-EBERHARD, KATRIN KAUFMANN-KUCHTA

Abstract

Continuing Higher Education (CHE) as a central part of Adult Continuing Education (ACE) is designed differently in countries. When regarded as a multi-level system, the governance of CHE involves actors on different levels and may be located within Higher Education (HE), ACE or even vocational training. Generally, interrelations between these levels is a central research desideratum, in both national and international perspectives. This article applies document analyses to identify relations between the national legal and financial regulations and the provider structures of CHE in England and Spain. Results show that CHE in both countries is primarily regulated within HE and ACE, whereas each country shows strong differences in governance-related competencies and authorities. This is the first step of an in-depth theory-guided description and comparison of national frameworks and provider structures of CHE in two European countries.

Keywords: Continuing higher education, governance, document analysis, international comparison

1 Introduction

UN Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4.3 calls for inclusive and equitable quality education and lifelong learning (LLL) opportunities for all (Owens 2017). Strengthening the provision of continuing higher education (CHE) – understood to mean adult continuing education (ACE) provided by higher education institutions (HEIs) – contributes to the fulfilment of this goal (e.g., Saar, Täht & Roosalu 2014).

While CHE has been one of the first subsections of organized adult learning in many industrialized western countries (e.g., Schemmann 2014; Nesbit & Holford 2012) its institutional embedding, conceptualisations and provider structures vary significantly between countries (Dollhausen et al. 2013; Knust & Hanft 2009; Nesbit & Holford 2012). There are, for example, diverse concepts of non-traditional students (NTS), who are often referred to as the typical target group of CHE, which itself is

again subject to country specific differences (Wolter 2011). Furthermore, earlier research showed that European legislative frameworks for CHE in the context of higher education (HE) policies vary in terms of the general aim to widen access to HE for adults (Dollhausen et al. 2013; Slowey & Schuetze 2012). CHE may also be regulated in both the context of HE policy (and legislation) and also within the field of ACE or vocational training (Knust & Hanft 2009).

CHE, ACE and HE are generally hybrid fields of governance (e.g., Capano & Pritoni 2019). Their educational provision results from actions between the national and organizational level. However, their interrelation is a central research desideratum, in national and international perspectives (Rees 2013). Therefore, this article investigates relations between the national legal and financial regulations and the provider structures of CHE in England and Spain and provides a comprehensive comparative description of the institutional anchoring of CHE in two European countries (England and Spain) on the basis of uniform, theoretically founded categories. The two countries serve as a good analytical base because they differ with respect to central governance features (e.g. welfare state regulation) while sharing common major characteristics concerning European HE policies (e.g. "Bologna"). This article identifies the actors and basic structures of CHE governance concerning regulations between the macro- (national legal and financial regulation) and meso-level (providers) in England and Spain.

Based on the educational governance perspective and the multi-level system approach, a document analysis of national legal texts and policy papers on financing CHE resp. HE (and partly ACE) is performed to identify central actors and their constellations involved in regulating CHE. Aspects of educational policy analysis are covered which usually specify the institutional dimension (polity), the content related dimension (policy) and the processual dimension (politics) (Reuter 2016). In contrast to a comprehensive policy analysis, this paper deals with the polity and the policy dimension (i. e. the institutional framework for the implementation of education policy decisions as well as education policy programmes and objectives) in order to identify the basis of CHE regulation.

Based on earlier research, the following section maps out the main characteristics of CHE in these countries. The theoretical frameworks are presented in Section 3. Then Section 4 contains our selection criteria for national documents and the analytical strategy. Empirical results of the document analysis are presented in comparison in Section 5. The article ends with reflections on the methodological approach and suggests potential research topics in Section 6.

2 Characteristics of CHE in England and Spain

Literature covering England and Spain embeds CHE mainly in the HE sector (e.g., Geldermann & Schade 2009; Osborne & Houston 2012; Mora 2001), but some contributions point to relevant regulations from ACE (Fraser & Harman 2019; Sánchez-

Martínez & Sáez 2016). Drawing on previous research, the following chapter presents central characteristics of CHE in England and Spain regarding the historical embedding, concepts, regulations, target groups, and provider structures of CHE.

2.1 England

In England, HEIs' have a long tradition in offering CHE courses for adults (e.g., Osborne & Houston 2012; Nesbit & Holford 2012). Until the mid-1970s, the tradition of liberal ACE dominated, jointly organized by universities and the Workers' Educational Organization Association (WEA) and directly funded by national government (Nesbit & Holford 2012; Osborne & Houston 2012). Reforms in the 1970s and 1990s fundamentally changed CHE financial governance. Funding was then subject to general university funding which led to a shift away from liberal ACE focus and to the closure of many extra mural departments that had offered CHE (Nesbit & Holford 2012). With CHE subsumed under general university funding, the individual universities are currently responsible for the design of CHE in England.

Terminologies for CHE vary (e. g., Geldermann & Schade 2009). Under different terms, public and private universities offer CHE programmes mainly through shortand long-term units and part-time continuing professional development courses; mainly addressing mature or part-time students (Callender & Thompson 2018). The Open University, a HE distance-learning provider, offers CHE qualifications (postgraduate degrees and smaller continuing education programmes (Tait 2018)). At some universities the tradition of CHE as liberal education and in the form of nonaccredited courses continues, sometimes even being offered in extra-mural departments (e. g. University of Leeds or Birkbeck University of London). But these are single examples (e. g., Fraser & Harman 2019).

Generally, boundaries between CHE and initial HE are blurred, as Geldermann & Schade (2009, p. 221) state: "It is not possible to draw a clear distinction between continuing higher education and basic initial education." The above-mentioned changes in CHE funding and the movement away from the liberal ACE tradition towards more accredited courses were accompanied by general changes in HE policy, focusing on the inclusion of disadvantaged and underrepresented groups in HE. Within these "widening participation strategies" (WPS), adults were among the initial target group (Osborne & Houston 2012). Currently, however, WPS mainly focus on young people from disadvantaged backgrounds and other under-represented groups (ibid.; Fraser & Harman 2019). Since CHE is so strongly bound to HE regulation, the English HE system should now be characterised.

Currently, HE in England describes qualifications from Level 4–8 within the Regulated Qualifications Framework (RQF) (Eurydice 2019a) and is provided by HEIs, alternative providers and further education colleges (FEC) (Eurydice 2019b). The latter often focus on mature or part-time learners. Due to their local anchoring,

¹ In England, "Higher education institution [...] currently means any provider which is one or more of the following: a UK university; a higher education corporation; an institution designated as eligible to receive support from funds administered by the Office for Students (OfS), aside from a further education college." (Eurydice 2019a)

FEC play a relevant role for reaching adult learners with family or job commitments (Fraser & Harman 2019).

Generally, marketized processes and forms of neoliberal public management characterize the English HE system (Lucas 2019). HEIs are autonomously acting bodies, even though they are directly funded by the government. The state monitors HEIs in order to allocate performance-based funding, according to research and teaching performance. Jungblut & Vukasovic (2018) distinguished types of marketized HE systems and describe England as an austerity market, referring to funding cuts in HE implemented in England within the last decade. Aiming to increase efficiency, universities were (among other things) allowed to pass costs for the provision of their services to students by lifting the fees cap, resulting in increasing tuition fees between 2006 and 2012 (Callender & Thompson 2018). Additionally, in that period student funding changed from grants to loans funding (Augar 2019). Even though students need only pay student fees/loans after graduation and after a certain income, the decline of part-time students by over half within the last decade and the decrease of older age groups in HE are both related to these funding changes (ibid.). These developments contrast with policies like WPS, aiming to include NTS into HE (Osborne & Houston 2012).

2.2 Spain

Since the 1970s, Spain has a strong tradition of distance learning for adults in universities (Dollhausen et al. 2013). Additionally, CHE and its provision by universities are historically shaped by EU policy-recommendations, including to align universities as providers of Lifelong Learning (LLL) (e.g., Belando-Montoro 2017). This led to the implementation of new curricula and content concepts for graduates or those with substantial professional experience (Mora 2001). Universities use various terms but LLL is the umbrella term.

In the wake of the economic crisis in 2008, Spanish CHE programmes expanded their target group to NTS, with a strong focus on fostering employability (González-Monteagudo, Padilla-Carmona & Liñán 2015). But it is not clear to what extent CHE offerings respond to the profiles of NTS types (working students; older students; older and working students) (Sanchez-Gelabert & Andreu 2017). Principle providers of CHE are public and private universities and the National Distance University (UNED). Programmes are covered by officially accredited undergraduate and postgraduate trainings, including in-house degrees like postgraduate diplomas, short-term and university extension courses. Besides that, universities sometimes cooperate with non-accredited companies aimed at graduates or experienced professionals (Sánchez-Martínez & Sáez 2016).

Generally, Spanish CHE is embedded in university governance and the HE provided by public universities covers Levels 5–8 of the RQF (Delgado 2017). Since 1985, the HE system has been continuously decentralized. HE governance is currently shared between the central state and regional authorities (Gavara de Cara 2018). Regulative powers of the central government and the regional entities relate to HE poli-

cies, expenditures and course contents. In 2012, Spanish legislation increased the independence of the Autonomous Communities (ACs) on funding public universities, including a decentralized pricing system. Thereby, regional governance modes characterize public HE funding. For example, funding can be performance-oriented or based on discretional criteria (de la Torre & Perez-Esparrells 2019; Delgado 2017). The performance-oriented funding mode includes the allocation of annual student fees and is implemented through the national government, which defines the price range to the ACs (Delgado 2017). Compared to England, fees are much lower (European Commission 2018) and impacts of fees on access to HE resp. CHE have warranted little research.

Even though CHE provision is mainly regulated within HE, research literature indicates overlaps between universities and ACE providers on the level of CHE offerings. UNED primarily provides ACE programmes through flexible and distance learning. ACE centres provide basic ACE or courses in order to facilitate access to HE (Sánchez-Martínez & Sáez 2016; Dollhausen et al. 2013).

In summary, CHE in England and Spain are primarily regulated within HE, but research indicates overlaps with ACE in the institutional anchoring (polity dimension). Furthermore, on the policy dimension, concepts and target groups of CHE are not completely identical to those of HE in general. Therefore, it is necessary to identify those overlaps and to provide a comparative overview of the institutional anchoring, applied concepts and the basic structures of CHE governance (as a specific part of ACE).

3 Theoretical framework

3.1 Educational governance and HE governance models

To better understand how legal and funding regulations shape the institutional embedding of CHE and to compare the selected countries, we refer to the educational governance perspective as a basic analytical framework, complemented by models of HE governance. The analytical perspective of educational governance is particularly suitable for describing actors, actor constellations and coordination processes in multi-level education systems (Altrichter 2015), such as CHE. Educational governance has been widely used to analyse the governance of HE (e.g., Clark 1983; Olsen 2007; Dobbins & Knill 2016; Capano & Pritoni 2019) and that of school systems (e.g., Kussau & Brüsemeister 2007). ACE has recently been the focus of the governance perspective (e.g., Schemmann 2014; Schrader 2011), also in an international comparative perspective focusing on the influence of inter- and supranational actors (e.g., Ioannidou 2010). Institution-based or organization-related theories could be alternative frameworks to analyse and describe governance related questions within multilevel systems (e.g., Austin & Jones 2016). Still, the broad theoretical categories of the educational governance perspective, the CHE multi-level system approach and references to HE governance models adequately identify the basic idea of CHE regulation based on national regulations between the macro- and the meso-levels.

In the context of multi-level systems, both governance and coordination of action are complex and non-linear actions, accounting for the independent rationality of different actors. Educational governance involves the influence of actors – the state, markets and civil society; actor-constellations and their interactions are of central importance. Further relevant categories are interdependencies between the actors, who have specific resources to reach their goals (norms and skills) and usually have alternatives for action. To describe and explain observable phenomena within multi-level systems, institutionalized, complex forms of action coordination are analytically distinguished, e.g. hierarchy, market, community and networks (Kussau & Brüsemeister 2007). Generally, governance within multi-level systems manifests itself in hybrid forms and processes of control (Altrichter 2015). Any description of these forms, considering their overall context (national, cultural and historical), would then result in temporally and locally restricted 'governance regimes' (Kussau & Brüsemeister 2007, pp. 41–44).

Since the logics of CHE action coordination are primarily defined by HE regulations in England and Spain, we additionally refer to HE governance models. Generally, HE governance models aim to reduce the complexity of governance modes to enable system-comparisons. Ideal-types distinguish the model of academic self-rule, the state-centred model and the marketized model; England represents the marketized model and Spain represents the state-centred model (Clark 1983; Olsen 2007). In the marketized model, the funding system of universities is characterized by fierce competition for state and non-state funds whereas in the state-centred model the state maintains control over funding and universities highly depend on state funds. For Spain, recent studies identify a shift towards a marketized system within state-centred arrangements, showing tendencies towards performance-based financing of HEIs and cost sharing policies between the state and regional entities (Dobbins & Knill 2016; de la Torre & Perez-Esparrells 2019). Identifying hybrid governance modes, Capano and Pritoni (2019) characterized HE governance in England as performance-based showing mixes of public funding, based on research assessment and teaching performance, external funding and high student fees. These HE governance types help to understand governance modes of CHE within the broader context of HE governance systems.

3.2 CHE as multi-level system

In accordance with assumptions of the governance perspective, Schrader's (2011) framework model of regulation in ACE offers a useful illustration of the levels involved (including relevant actors) and has been coherently applied to outline the specific constellation of CHE resp. UCE² (Schemmann 2014, figure 1).

² Schemmann (2014) refers to the term UCE and compares governance of UCE in the UK and Germany. For the UK he identifies pre- mid 1970s UCE governance to be characterized by the dominant form of coordination by community and supplemented by the coordination via hierarchy. Currently, UCE governance in the UK is characterized as coordination by market and hierarchy (Schemmann 2014) – similar to HE governance modes.

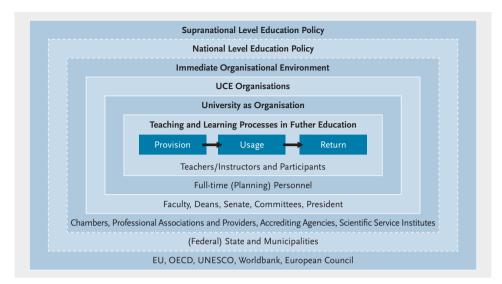


Figure 1: University Continuing Education as a multi-level system (Schemmann 2014, p. 64)

Roughly, the model distinguishes micro-, meso- and macro levels. Since regulations at the higher levels are usually designed to influence teaching and learning processes at the micro-level, this level represents the core of the model (Schrader 2011; Schemmann 2014). Regarding governance, the meso- and macro-level come into focus. The meso-level covers organizations that organize UCE – universities, units within universities and independent organizations. Actors of the organizational environment of UCE can be partly interchangeable with those of the university, like agencies for accreditation, but partly they differ, since UCE also refers to actors like advocative bodies (Schemmann 2014). The macro-level comprises national and supranational education policy. The national level frames the national legal und funding regulations. Relevant actors include (federal) states and municipalities; their influences depend on the general structure of a country's education system. On the inter- and supranational level, actors (e.g. the EU) influence national strategies or implement international reforms (e.g. "Bologna").

Focusing on the relations between the macro- and the meso-level, this framework model in combination with the categories derived from the educational governance perspective and the broad assumptions of HE governance models, allows one to comparatively describe central actors and their constellations of CHE.

4 Methodological approach

Contrastive case study design

A qualitative, contrastive case study design serves as the overarching research design. Case studies are suitable for analysing phenomena within different contexts in their full scope and for identifying typical characteristics (Bartlett & Vavrus 2017). England and Spain represent contrastive cases in terms of welfare state regimes, economic regulations, labour market features and education system characteristics. In this regard, England represents a liberal welfare state and liberal market economy with a decentralized education system following the general idea of a liberal competitive quasi market. Spain represents a conservative/familistic welfare state and a 'Mediterranean country', showing characteristics of both liberal and coordinated market economies with a rather centralized education system (Esping-Andersen 1990; Estevez-Abé, Iversen & Soskice 2001; Green 2006). As shown in Section 3.1, these countries also differ in their HE systems.

Comparable features are also required to compare cases. Both western industrialized nations are members of the OECD and (until recently) the EU, and were involved in the Bologna reform process; the latter being especially relevant for implementing comparable measures in HE, including CHE.

With reference to categories of the educational governance perspective, this analysis aims to juxtapose institutional CHE characteristics by focusing on the relations between national legal and financial frameworks (macro-level) and the provision of CHE (meso-level). Document analysis of legal texts and policy papers on financing of CHE resp. HE offers a suitable initial methodological access as documents can be regarded as "institutionalised traces" (Wolff 2004, p. 284). This allows conclusions about activities, intentions and considerations of their authors or the actors named in the documents.

Data selection and analytical strategy

Documents dealing with legal frameworks and financing elements of ACE, HE and CHE were identified by references in the research literature, supplemented by extensive research on ministerial websites.³ These documents have been collected by date, ministerial author and significance for the research focus. Besides legal texts and financial plans, strategies and policy papers from regulating bodies and ministries of the HE resp. CHE and ACE sector were included. However, only legal texts and financial plans were included in the document analysis. Legal texts provide information about the ministries and further relevant actors of CHE. Financial reports from official bodies specified target groups of CHE and the processes of resource distribution for CHE providers. National education policy documents and guidelines on HE, ACE and CHE supplemented these contents by giving context information of CHE governance structures and additional information from the remaining literature were included in standardized country profiles for both countries.

The documents collected for England amount to 4 national acts and 10 policy papers on financing. For Spain, we identified 5 national laws, 4 royal decrees, 1 order and 6 policy papers on financing. However, it cannot be guaranteed that all relevant documents were identified by the searches.

³ Language barriers for Spanish document analysis were avoided, as one of the authors is a native speaker.

Documents contents were analysed according to the method of structured content analysis (Kuckartz 2012). Data is structured along deductive (derived from theory) and inductive (derived from empirical data) categories. Table 1 lists the category system and the meaning of each category.

Category	Subcategory	Meaning
Metainformation		Information on the context in which the docu- ment (law / funding paper) was created, includ- ing information on the number of amendments to the law, and context of origin; references to other documents (laws, funding paper)
Actors		State actors and their power regulation; can be also actors from the market or civil society in- volved in regulating, funding or providing CHE
Interdependencies/ Constellations of Actors		Interrelations of the different actors, mutual dependencies of the different actors This is a superordinate category, based on the following subordinate categories
	Rights of disposal/ resources	Institutionalized rules (norms), material resources and skills that actors have in respect to regulating, funding, researching or providing CHE
	Funding mechanisms	Types of provision of public funds from different sources and responsibilities of actors; descrip- tions of different sources of income and alloca- tion methods for providers of CHE
Coordination of actions		Simple forms of action coordination like uni- lateral action, negotiation, majority decision, hybrid forms; descriptions of complex forms of action coordination, like coordination via hierar- chy, market, community or networks
Multi-level system	Regulation between different levels	Levels at which the different actors are located and by whom decisions are made
	Regulation of national and regional competences	Specific shared regulation and devolution arrangements between national actors and regional entities

Table 1: Category system of document analysis

5 Results: Actors and actor constellations of CHE

5.1 England

Supranational level

Due to Brexit, the EU is losing influence on the HE sector in England. But even in the current laws, no reference is made to EU proposals.

National level

Generally, CHE is regulated on the national level within the laws and funding mechanisms of HE. The legal framework for HE and CHE is established by the Higher Education and Research Act (HERA) 2017. Aiming to open HE to a stronger market regulated system, the HERA 2017 manifests the institutional autonomy of universities and gives selected national actors scope to regulate the HE system in England. Figure 2 visualizes the central actors and their relations.

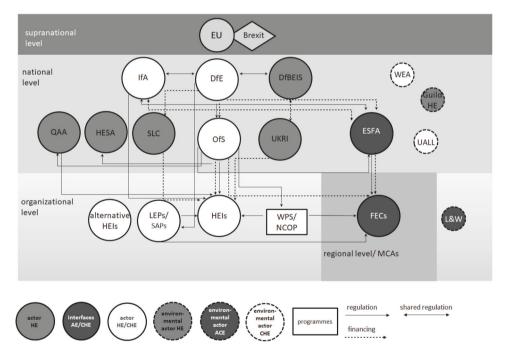


Figure 2: Chart of central actors and actor constellations of CHE in England

The act designates the Department for Education (DfE) as competent ministry and the Secretary of State for education as chief minister responsible for HE and further education (FE) policy (HERA 2017). The DfE cooperates with the Department for Business, Innovation and Skills (DfBIS) and together they develop national strategies for HE. The DfBIS provides research funding for HEIs through UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) (DfBIS 2016). Specific student funding is sponsored by the DfE and administered by Student Loans Company (SLC) (Student Loans Company 2018). Further, the DfE works with executive non-departmental public bodies like the Institute for Apprenticeships (IfA) and the Office for Students (OfS) (GOV.UK 2020). In general, the DfE provides public budgets to the non-departmental bodies and has regulative powers for guiding them. The law introduces the OfS as central regulating body, responsible for controlling funding, transparency and quality standards for HE. The OfS and UKRI cooperate on the implementation and development of funding mechanisms (HERA 2017). Further, the OfS is in charge of the registration of HEIs following a risk-based, quality-rating system. Depending on the registered category, HEIs receive degree awarding powers, the title of university and annual access to public funding by means of grants and student support loan funding. In addition, the OfS defines course fee restrictions for qualification courses, sets registration conditions for access and participation strategies and defines quality assurance recommendations for the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), an OfS designated body (Office for Students 2019a). The OAA is the executive body for evaluation and has no regulatory powers over HEIs. The Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) primarily provides data to inform the OfS on current developments within the HE sector (HERA 2017).

Organizational level

Concerning CHE provision, the OfS ensures that HEIs integrate access and widening participation strategies (WPS) for underrepresented groups in their HE courses (Office for Students 2019a). The WPS of the OfS includes subsequent programmes like civic university agreements and the National Collaborative Outreach Program (NCOP). These aim to enhance partnerships between universities, FEC, local authorities, employers and Local Enterprise Partnerships (LEP) (Office for Students 2019a). As part of the LEP, Skills Advisory Panels (SAP) address skills gaps on the local level. So, the WPS is linked to the aim of enhancing collaboration between the HE and FE sector, local ACE providers and labour market needs (ibid.). However, the documents do not explicitly mention the influence of actors of the organizational environment of HE resp. CHE providers (including advocative bodies (e.g. UALL, Guild HE, WEA)) and the Learning & Work Institute (L&W).

Since 2012, student funding changed from grants to loans funding and public teaching funds shrank. Now, only cost-intensive study subjects are publicly funded, but to a much lesser degree than before (Augar 2019). The fees cap was lifted up to \pounds 9000 p.a.; now near all full-time degrees courses approach this amount (ibid.). Research funds for HEIs, allocated by UKRI, are primarily based on a performance-based mode (HERA 2017). Furthermore, public funds also depend on the effective-ness of HEIs WPS (Office for Students 2019a).

Outside the regulative frameworks of HE, the Further Education and Training Act (FETA) 2007, the Apprenticeships, Skills, Children and Learning Act (ASCLA) 2009, and the Technical and Further Education Act (TFEA) 2017 are important laws.

They build the main regulative framework of FEC. Sponsored by the DfE, the Education and Skills Funding Agency (ESFA) is the national funding body of FE. In Combined Authorities (CA: the current regional entities in England), the ESFA is responsible for the devolution of the Adult Education Budget (AEB) to FEC and their provision outside HE. In Mayoral Combined Authorities (MCA), the local authorities are responsible for the devolution of the AEB to FEC (Augar 2019). HE offered by FEC is funded by the OfS: in such cases the funding bodies closely cooperate, e.g. monitoring the financial viability of FEC that deliver HE (Office for Students 2019b). The ESFA grants a FEC powers to award degrees when in partnership with a HEI that has degree awarding powers (Office for Students 2018). Recent regulations from the apprenticeships sector become relevant for HEIs and FEC (ASCLA 2009), since apprenticeships now cover higher levels of qualifications. HEIs and FEC represent (among others) providers of those higher degree apprenticeships (Augar 2019). The IfA is responsible for the quality assurance of apprenticeships and advises the DfE on future funding provision. For this, IfA and ESFA jointly monitor concrete policies and apprenticeship delivery (TFEA 2017). The ESFA primarily coordinates apprenticeships funding, as FEC are the main providers of apprenticeships (Department for Education 2020).

Summary

The range of legal texts and strategies for financing CHE or HE provides transparency on national policies and actors regulating and financing the providers of CHE, which can be HEIs, FEC and private training providers. Primarily, CHE is regulated within HE. There are overlaps between HE and FE as well as between HE and the apprenticeship sector when providers offer both HE / HE access courses as well as apprenticeships on HE level, which is particularly true for FEC.

Since boundaries are blurred between initial HE and CHE across England, terminologies for CHE in England vary. Even though the University Association of Lifelong Learning (UALL) is involved in defining and advocating CHE policy development (Jones & Butcher 2019), the laws do not specify its regulatory scope. In general, CHE courses are increasingly related to degrees within the RQF: courses offered from level 4 are regarded as HE, regardless of the form of study (part-/full time), student age or prior qualifications.

Both the HE and FE sectors have been frequently reformed over the past 10–15 years. Nevertheless, the basic course of governance can be confirmed, as shown by research literature for England. National legal and financial arrangements promote the autonomy of individual HEIs and competition between them; all monitored by the OfS (central regulator). By this, the central characteristics of a marketized model (Dobbins & Knill 2016) can be identified, but with a strong, state-related, regulating actor. Additionally, financing can be characterized as a performance-based mode (Capano & Pritoni 2019). CHE offerings are attached to the WPS, by which the government aims to include more disadvantaged groups into HE, including adults. Public HEI funding is partly dependent on the effectiveness of WPS strategies. Therefore,

HEIs have an incentive to provide courses for specific target groups, including adults. But, according to Fraser & Harman (2019), the WPS still mainly focus on younger students, not so much on mature students. This could be explained by the fact that part-time course provision is more complex than for full-time study courses and is correspondingly less valued in the effectiveness balance of a university (Callender & Thompson 2018). So, based on the documents included and with regard to the educational governance perspective, the primary form of action coordination of CHE in England can be described as coordination via market and hierarchy, as also revealed by Schemmann (2014).

However, there is little transparency as to how national strategies are implemented on the regional level. Tangible strategies like the WPS or cooperative arrangements of HEIs, FEC and SAPs are reflected in specific local arrangements. Subsequent programmes of the national WPS aim toward locally oriented cooperation between universities, FECs, local authorities and employers. However, the FE and apprenticeship sector are much more decentralized than the HE sector and are strongly market-based. Whether these regulations lead to competition or cooperation between CHE providers (or even have a unifying effect on the form of CHE offerings of HEIs and FEC) cannot be answered at this point and needs to be the subject of further inquiry.

5.2 Spain

Supranational level

Spanish national HE priorities and ACE objectives are often built on EU frameworks and concepts (e. g., Ministerio de Educación 2011; REUPEP 2019). EU Commitments, especially Bologna reforms, were incorporated in Spanish legislation and form the basis for structural changes of HE governance (LOMLOU 2007). This strong influence is also apparent in references to EU concepts of LLL, used in policy papers for both HE and ACE (e. g., Consejo de Universidades 2010).

National level

Similarly to England, CHE is primarily embedded in the field of HE. The current national university code includes all legal standards for the field of public HE and shows that almost all actors of HE governance and their competences are regulated by law (University Code 2020). The implementation of the national HE framework is enacted by separate HE laws in the ACs of Spain. Figure 3 shows the central actors and their relations.

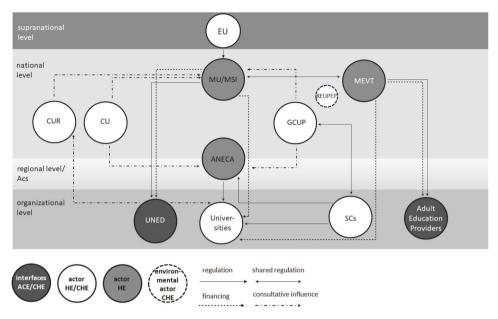


Figure 3: Chart of central actors and actor constellations of CHE in Spain

The LOMLOU 2007 is relevant to CHE because it establishes academic coordinating and consulting bodies like the General Conference on University Policy (GCUP) and the Council of Universities (CU) under the aegis of the Ministry of Universities (MU), which is currently combined with the Ministry for Science and Innovation (MSI) (LOMLOU 2007). The MU, the MSI and the associated bodies, with the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MEVT) are responsible for the academic coordination, cooperation, public funding on the national level. They also have the overall regulatory policy powers in Spanish university matters. The CU and the GCUP are consultative bodies and responsible for the coordination of all forms of nationally accredited HE offerings. Especially the Conference of University Rectors (CUR) acts as a consultative voice between the national ministries and universities (University Code 2020). The National Agency for Quality Assessment and Accreditation (ANECA) represents an autonomous quality assurance body and follows the criteria established by the CU for the recognition of official titles into a national register (Royal Decree 1112/2015). Thereby, the ANECA and its regional quality agencies in the ACs examine university offers and set the basis for whether a university offer is registered or not. Registered providers have access to public financial support through regional education authorities (Royal Decree 1393/2007). However, the concrete regulation of such offerings is subject to specific university laws of the ACs (University Code 2020).

Current financial regulation actors of the ACs and universities are the MSI, the MEVT, the GCUP, the CU, ANECA and the Social Councils (SCs). In 2010 the CU and GCUP agreed on a basic formula funding system for public prices according to

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the number of matriculated students per university, including the establishment for the price range of tuition fees (Consejo de Universidades & Conferencia General de Política Universitaria 2010). Furthermore, the MEVT funds the ACs through student grants and loans and is responsible for the distribution of European funds, whereas the MSI is responsible for funding specific research programmes (CRUE 2019). Generally, funding from the Spanish government and regulations from the relevant bodies like GCUP and CU only represent vague distribution rules to provide public funding to the ACs. Only the National Distance Learning University (UNED) is subject to more concrete financial regulations from the central government; however, its concrete funding mode is not specified in law (LOMLOU 2007). UNED also offers (alongside accredited HE courses) basic ACE to give adults over 25 access to Spanish universities. It is regulated within a separate national order of HE (Order 1663/2016).

Organizational level

As the state transfers only basic funding to the ACs, these then establish annual university budgets in their own legislation (Royal Decree 14/2012). Each AC is assigned one SC that is responsible for the supervision of all economic activities of universities. Jointly, ACs and SCs develop multiannual funding models that set out resource allocation criteria for their universities and jointly report to ANECA (Conferencia de Consejos Sociales 2015). Additionally, the GCUP is involved in monitoring universities (LOMLOU 2007). GCUP and SCs report to ANECA on the university funding system and make proposals to improve its quality and efficiency. Specific laws of the ACs often include aspects of teaching, research and innovation activity and the number of students matriculated in each university to allocate public funds (CRUE 2019). However, strong regional differences exist.

CHE in Spain can be characterized by courses offered by public and private universities, mainly through post-graduation masters and continuing education programmes which do not necessarily lead to degrees certified in the national qualification framework. As an advocative body, the university network for postgraduate studies and continuing education (REUPEP) is involved in creating a common national understanding of CHE (the term used is LLL at universities). REUPEP defines recommendations for all CHE courses by referring to CU statements.

The legislation of ACE regulates the provision of basic ACE, enabling access to HE. In general, ACE regulation is part of the educational legislation of Spain and is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education and Vocational Training (MEVT) (Ministerio de Educación 2011). The Law for Education (LOE) 2006 and the Law for the Improvement of Educational Quality (LOMCE) 2013 specify ACE objectives to give all persons over the age of 18 the opportunity to improve professional qualifications and skills, and social participation. The framework curriculum of basic ACE courses is nationally regulated (Order ECD/651/2017) and implemented by the MEVT. Within the LOMCE 2013 the responsibility for the provision of basic ACE is assigned to the ACs. Also, UNED offers basic ACE to enable access to Spanish universities.

Summary

In Spain, CHE is also regulated within HE, but in contrast to England several national regulating bodies are involved, without a central regulating body like the OfS in England. Forms of CHE are region-specific because the Spanish HE system is largely formalized through legislative regulations on the national level, yet substantiated in ACs specific legislative regulation. Nevertheless, basic regulation structures are the same in all ACs, with the SCs and GCUP being responsible for monitoring and reporting on the economic activities of universities to ANECA. The mixture of legislative initiatives between national actors and the ACs shown in this analysis reflects a strongly regulated system and thus affirms with state-centred governance modes of HE (Dobbins & Knill 2016). Likewise, funding structures of public universities are hierarchical, divided in national and regional funding regulations, but with certain characteristics of a marketized model. Generally, funding regulations from the Spanish government only represent vague distribution of performance-based rules to provide public funding to the ACs. National HE bodies seem to mainly set public fees for official accredited degrees of students. To a certain extent, ACs can vary the amount of tuition for each course, and define own policies for specific target groups (de la Torre & Perez-Esparells 2019). Presumably, non-accredited studies or continuing education trainings at universities are solely funded by student fees (Reunión de Defensores Universitarios 2015), since the documents only describe public funding for officially accredited studies.

Although specific examples of AC regulations are not included in this analysis, overall results of the document analysis confirm previous HE governance studies characterizing the Spanish HE sector as a marketized system within state-centred arrangements. Regarding governance, CHE can be described as primarily coordinated through hierarchy, with shares of market-oriented control (Dobbins & Knill 2016).

In contrast to England, the conceptualization of CHE in Spain is less degree-related and is overall influenced by the EU concept of LLL, which follows a broad understanding of further education. Generally, CHE provision by universities is linked to labour market needs and aims to enhance professional development of adults, but usually not leading to degrees within the RQF. Whereas, ACE providers tend to enable adults to catch up with school-leaving qualifications and offer courses that lead to certificates to get access to HE.

Similarly to England, overlaps with ACE exist, since ACE centres offer HE access courses for adults. Regulations for these courses follow a similar mixture of national regulations and regional rules. ACE providers and UNED offer this basic ACE. Overall, ACs specific funding models and supply structures of CHE can be assumed.

5.3 Comparison

The following table gives a comparative overview of the most important and previously described results of the document analysis (Sections 5.1., 5.2.), supplemented by information on the state of research that covers central features of CHE.

Characteristics of CHE	England	Spain
Historical embedding	Traditionally part of liberal ACE pro- vided by extramural university depart- ments	Traditionally part of ACE distance learning programmes by universities; strong orientation towards the Euro- pean concept of LLL
Definition and concept	Currently, variety of terms used; strong focus on formal degrees for disadvantaged groups	Currently, common term but also subordinated terms used; focus on formal and non-formal degrees for professional qualifications and labour market needs
Target groups	NTS covering adult students in HE	NTS targets older and working students in HE
Governance model	Marketized model including perform- ance-based funding mode	Developments towards marketized model in ACs with tendencies towards performance-based funding mode
Governance mode	Governance via hierarchy and market by strong forms of neoliberal public management processes	Governance primarily via hierarchy and strong regional specifications
National regulation	National legal framework and policies of HE, but strong autonomy of HEIs for implementation	National legal framework for HE, but strong autonomy of ACs for imple- mentation in universities
Financing	National public HE funding for teach- ing (by study subject and perform- ance-oriented) supplemented by stu- dent fees within a state-regulated and state-supported student loan system. HEIs set own tuition fees within government-defined upper limits. Decentralized ACE funding	National public HE funding for teach- ing and research (by definition of global budgets) and region-specific student grant support system, based on discretional criteria or perform- ance-oriented. Tuition fees are set within government-defined price- ranges for ACs. Centralized and decentralized ACE funding
Regional regulation	Soft regional regulation, WPS and NCOP promote local arrangements between HEIs in regional entities (CAs, MCAs)	Strong regional regulation, AC legisla- tion leads to different forms of univer- sity governance in regional entities (ACs)
Regulation of providers of HE/ACE	Depending on the type of offering (HE, FE or apprenticeship), providers are regulated by HE, ACE and appren- ticeships regulations	Depending on the type of offering (HE or ACE), providers are regulated by HE and ACE regulations
Providers	HEIs, FECs, Open University, alterna- tive providers	Universities, UNED, ACE providers

Table 2: Comparative overview of CHE characteristics in England and Spain

6 Conclusion

This article provides a comparative description of the diverse institutional anchoring of CHE in England and Spain on the basis of uniform theoretically founded categories, by means of identifying actors and basic governance structures between the national and financial regulation and providers. Categories derived from the educational governance perspective and heuristics of CHE as multi-level system have proven helpful to structure and describe comparatively actor constellations and their interrelations involved in CHE governance. As CHE is primarily regulated within HE in both countries, models of HE governance mostly correspond with findings on CHE regulations and financing. Furthermore, overlaps with ACE regulations exist in both England and Spain, primarily regarding non HEI providers offering HE courses or HE access courses. Therefore, a separate and focused consideration of CHE beyond HE is important to identify basic structures of CHE governance.

Compiling the central characteristics of CHE (including the primary governance modes) provides a reduction of complexity, which enables a comparison of heterogeneous system characteristics and still leaves scope for a broad picture of how CHE is defined and regulated. Since certain parts of ACE – like CHE – are always influenced by other sectors of education, it is necessary to consider the respective regulations of overlapping areas of education, in order to analyse how framework regulations shape governance structures.

Reflecting on the methodological approach, the limitations of a nation-wide perspective become evident. This is apparent for Spain, where regional regulations play a crucial role for HE governance and consequently for CHE. The same applies to England, where national regulations provide a clear framework, while empowering individual universities.

Further, the nature of the data does not allow one to cover actors and interactions that are not formally addressed, but may nevertheless impact CHE provision. Thus, actors characterized as organizational environment of providers offering HE resp. CHE and their informal role within the macro- and meso-level are not considered in this analysis, even though these are necessary to better understand the interrelations between different actors of state, market and civil society. Regarding action coordination between providers of CHE, this is particularly evident when studying WPS implementation in England.

Thus, fully understanding and identifying complex forms of hierarchical, competitive or cooperative forms of action coordination between different CHE providers would require interviews with national experts on the different levels of the multilevel system, including the analysis of provider structures within regional contexts. For this one should consult national experts from both the HE and ACE sectors, competent authorities on national and regional level as well as representatives of providers with a special focus on organizational environment. Such expert knowledge can reveal less formal aspects of action coordination between different CHE providers (e.g. advocative bodies) as well as on specific regional features of CHE. This would allow conclusions as to what extent the formal description is sufficient or needs to be supplemented with informal and regional knowledge and inform an approach to the indicator-based description and comparison of national ACE resp. CHE systems.

Finally, the analysis does not cover CHE related specific characteristics on the level of programmes and access regulations. Future research would therefore need to investigate whether these categories could also describe CHE system characteristics. In addition, further countries would need to be considered that differ from the central system characteristics of England or Spain, e.g. a Scandinavian, East-European or Non-European Country.

In summary, document analyses of national legal and funding regulations provided a starting point towards a comprehensive picture of action coordination between CHE actors in different countries. The application of theory-based categories to the empirically retrieved country-specific information allows the comparison of basic system structures and characteristics for a specific field of ACE. By combining the current state of research and the empirical results, this paper offers an analytical heuristic for the comparison of country specific CHE governance mechanisms. In this regard, the findings could inform education policy on how to systematically compare CHE systems, as a first step towards a deeper understanding of governance dynamics between the macro- and meso-level of one subsection of ACE.

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An Analysis and Critique of U.S. Adult and Workforce Education Policy in a Historical Perspective

Elizabeth A. Roumell, Florin D. Salajan, Aaron J. Reyna

Abstract

It is essential to cultivate a more nuanced understanding of the federal level policies that established Adult and Workforce Education (AWE) as we currently know it. Looking at the governance structures and codified values regarding the education of adults in the form of legislation and federal policy helps us more accurately ascertain the relationship between institutional arrangements and nationally valued educational ends. Examining national-level policy through a historical lens to more recent developments provides deeper insight into and sheds light on the current climate for public AWE programming. Our aim for this article is to present an overview and *précis* of our historical analysis pertaining to the AWE policy domain in the United States, with emphasis on the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) of 2014, for a broader international audience.

Keywords: Adult education, workforce training, federal policy, United States

1 Introduction

Scholarship regarding United States educational policy intended to establish and develop public programming to support learning in adulthood has waxed and waned over the decades. A few historical overviews exist (ED, 2013; Eyre, 2013; Stubblefield & Keane, 1994), and various critical analyses emerged investigating the philosophical underpinnings of educational programming for adults (Amstutz, 2001; Amstutz & Sheared, 2000; Belzer, 2003; Hill, 2010; Milana & McBain, 2015; Mortrude, 2018; Rose, 1994, 1999) as a response to various pieces of legislation that brought substantial changes to the sector. Only within the last decade have detailed reviews of the legislative documents and systematic examinations of the evolution of policy and systems become available (Belzer, 2017; Brown & Holcomb, 2018; Cushing, Therriault, & English, 2017; Jacobson, 2017; Pickard, 2019). More recently, there has also been a flurry of interest across international literature pertaining to policy development, adult education, and lifelong learning (e.g., Elfert & Walker, 2020; Milana, Klatt, & Tronca, 2020; Palumbo & Pandolfini, 2019; Roumell & Roessger, 2019; Tuparevska,

Santibáñez, & Solabarrieta, 2020; UNESCO, 2009). What has been clear in the U.S. literature on adult and workforce education (AWE) policy is that there is no real consensus on the nature, function, and scope of public educational programming for adults (Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2020). Therefore, the purpose of this particular exegesis will be to present a limited overview and *précis* of the analyses we have conducted over the past five years pertaining to the AWE policy domain in the U.S., with emphasis on the Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA) of 2014, for a broader international audience.¹

2 Background

It is essential to cultivate a more nuanced understanding of the federal-level policies that establish adult and workforce education as we currently know it. Looking at the governance structures and codified values regarding the education of adults in the form of legislation and federal policy helps us more accurately to ascertain the relationship between institutional arrangements and nationally valued educational ends. Examining national-level policy and recent WIOA 2014 developments provides deeper insight into, and sheds light on, the current climate for public adult educational programming in the U.S.

The official origin story of the field of adult education in the U.S. is often pinpointed at the passing of the federal-level Adult Education Act (AEA) of 1966 (see the list of legislation in Table 1), although programming and other initiatives existed at the state level across the country, and other forms of education and training for adults had already been in existence for at least a century prior to AEA. Long before AEA, the federal Morrill Act of 1862 was the genesis of land-grant universities in the U.S., which established public institutions in each state with the purpose of providing educational opportunities to people in professions that were considered "practical" at the time. The Morrill Act underscored the establishment of "Extension Services" in the form of continuing and outreach education, which became one of the core functions of U.S. public, state universities.

These public, educational outreach programs were intended to disseminate innovative information and techniques for agriculture and industry in order to promote economic and social development across the great expanses of the country. These "outreach" schools often consisted of agriculture experimental stations, and other forms of education and training to support the continued economic, agricul-

For a historical overview of Adult and Workforce Education (AWE) policy, see Roumell, E. A., Salajan, F. D., & Todoran, C. (2020). A survey of U.S. education policy regarding the education of adults. *Educational Policy*. doi:10.1177/ 0895904818802416.

For an overview of AWE policy development over time applying a systematic policy framework, see Roumell, E. A., Salajan, F. D., & Todoran, C. (2019). An analysis and illustration of the U. S. adult and workforce education policy domain. *Adult Education Quarterly*. doi: 10.1177/0741713619856097.

For a detailed description of the framework applied, see Roumell, E.A. (accepted). A framework for capacity building in adult and workforce education programming. Adult Literacy Education: The International Journal of Literacy, Language, and Numeracy.

tural, industrial, and social development, and to help stabilize the varying levels of development between states. In establishing this sort of publicly funded training and education from the federal/national level, a model for providing opportunities for advancement and learning in support of national interests and economic improvement emerged. Even as funding streams, national aims, purposes, and various approaches have been, this model of public, state-centered, federally incentivized programs established a foundational architecture for AWE education that remains today. From its origins, AWE policy in the U.S. has been framed in terms of supporting public education as an instrumental means in response to national economic and social demands.

We cannot offer encyclopedic coverage of the historical advancement of U.S. AWE policy within this allotted space, but we can offer a sketch of the current policyscape within the U.S. In order to do so, we will succinctly present the policy analysis framework we have developed in past work, the methodology we employed to examine AWE legislative documents, and will offer some highlights from our research findings.

3 Architecture of the AWE System

In the United States, educating children and adults is chiefly the responsibility of states and local governments under the principle of subsidiarity, with limited federallevel involvement or centralization (Schmidt, 2008). Federal attention to adult and continuing education mostly grew as a mechanism for supporting adults who were unable to complete basic compulsory schooling (Rose, 1999). In some ways, AWE policy has been more centralized than other educational domains in the U.S., as many of the initiatives originated at the federal level and have been funded by federal flow-through dollars. The first office of adult education was created as a branch of the federal Department of Education (ED). Today, the Division of Adult Education and Literacy falls under the direction of the Office of Career, Technical and Adult Education (OCTEA) within the ED. And yet, at present, no fewer than five different federal agencies administer similar AWE services, making it difficult to ascertain an architecture or coherent strategy. Several federal agencies - e.g., the Departments of Education, Labor, Health and Human Services, Defense, and Justice - apportion funds and implement AWE services. This multiplicity of actors and purposes is reflected at all levels of the AWE polity.

The AWE policy arena is jointly constituted across various levels of governance (e.g., national, state, and local governments) with ideational input from the global community (i.e., education is a human right and essential for economic development). The national policies are often enacted in the name of international economic competition, but the scale of policy and implementation is actually quite localized (Belzer, 2003). Individual states partner with both the federal and local governments to implement educational programming for adults. Historically, the AWE stakeholding community has been drawn from a range of political and bureaucratic institutions, including national government agencies and state departments, local educational authorities, national professional associations, training boards, trade unions, individual institutions including universities and colleges, the not-for-profit sector, faith, community, and other civil-society groups. Paradoxically, the plurality of actors involved in delivering programming locally creates an impression of a loosely-organized amalgamation of systems that appear to lack coordination and clarity in administration and execution.

The varying levels of each of the implementing systems are somewhat, but not entirely, autonomous. The vertical dimension of policy legislation is multiscalar and the movement of federal policies is top-down – from ideation as statutes down to their implementation when program managers and instructors act on them. Withal, states, providers, program managers, practitioners, staff and volunteers are not mere passive receivers of dictates. The horizontal, multi-institutional implementation process is also subject to various interpretations and applications, and must cater to a multiplicity of stakeholders. Each level of actors responds to and reshapes education initiatives based on the state, local community, program, and even classroom level context. All told, adult education programs in the U.S. are delivered by a diverse network of 3,500 to 4,000 service providers, including local school districts (over half), community colleges, volunteer literacy organizations, public housing authorities, public libraries, community and faith-based organizations, and other non-profits and private organizations.

4 Methods

4.1 Document Selection

In our original analysis, we examined U. S. legislative documents spanning the years 1862 to 2014 that served as the foundational architecture for the AWE polity and policy area. For analysis, we selected 22 key legislative documents that either initiated new public educational programming for adult populations, shifted the nature or focus of, or significantly altered public, adult educational programming. More specifically, we focused on public laws enacted by Congress, with power to enforce legal stipulations and provisions at federal level, and excluded rejected bill proposals, reports, or white papers.

In the U.S., adult and continuing education generally comprises adult literacy and education up to secondary-school levels, adult vocational training, and non-credit post-secondary schemes supported by federal programs (ED, 2008). Because adult educational programming in the U.S. is offered and regulated by no fewer than five different federal agencies, the variety of documents selected for review included legislation pertaining to workforce and job development; adult literacy and basic education (including English language learning, high school equivalency, and family literacy); various types of remediation and postsecondary preparation; vocational and career and technical education; and higher education, among others. Prior to conducting our analyses, we also reviewed literature about AWE policy and documents published by the U.S. Department of Education (ED) about AWE history and policy to make sure our work was also properly historically situated (Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2020). We selected and coded the textual content of 22 foundational federal legislative documents using a policy matrix made of nine policy dimensions we had developed in our previous work (Roumell Erichsen & Salajan, 2014) (see Table 2 in the appendix for the policy analysis framework).

4.2 Policy Analysis Framework

Our approach relied on two instruments combined in one analytical matrix, with policy functions arranged horizontally and policy facets arranged vertically (see Table 2). The policy functions were adapted from Mendez and Mendez's (2010) three-pronged policy analysis framework they utilized in their study on comparative federalism related to privacy regimes in the United States and the European Union. In this tri-partite framework, *policy framing* is construed as the ideational process through which institutional actors interpret external or internal threats to define a policy issue of importance for the polity they administer. Next, *policy dynamics* represents the interaction between the aforementioned actors and the roles designated to them in the course of carrying out policy decisions or actions. Finally, *policy instruments* are the concrete devices through which policy is implemented, ranging from discrete behavioral norms to financial provisions necessary to operationalize policy directives.

The policy facets in the vertical plane of our analytical matrix address aspects of provisions in broad policy areas related to adult education, ranging from the improvement of training programs or financing of such programming to the interaction between various actors with vested interests and to social implications of the policies enacted. These facets were informed in part by work on U.S. policy development conducted by McMillan Culp, Honey and Mandinach (2003) and by Brown, Anderson and Murray's (2007) analysis of global policy trends in e-learning. Furthermore, it should be noted that, for the purpose of the current analysis, we re-adapted some of the policy facets we initially employed in our comparative work on e-learning policy in the EU and the U.S. (see Roumell Erichsen and Salajan, 2014) to better reflect the particularities of adult education and vocational training policies.

4.3 Process and Procedures

A couple of distinct approaches can be taken when it comes to the content analysis of policy documents: inductive or deductive. An inductive approach, or one of context discovery, is where researchers explore textual content for broad patterns, themes, narratives, images, rhetoric, and qualitative characterizations in order to develop thorough descriptions or to generate new theories. For the purpose of our policy analyses we chose a context justification approach, which is a deductive approach that applies already established models or coding systems to selected content, to transform the data (Krippendorff, 2018). We assigned codes to each line of text in the

selected legislative documents and entered each of the codes into the analysis matrix shown in Table 2. We each parsed the policy documents separately, then reconciled our parallel attribution of codes through a dialogic process to establish the final location of each code in a merged matrix. Each code was thus placed at the intersection of a specific policy facet and a policy function. We then totaled the number of codes in each category as a representation of policy emphasis in each of the defined dimensions, allowing patterns of policy development to emerge over time.²

5 Policy Trends Over Time

As formulated by the federal and state governments, AWE policies have been political responses to events like the Great Depression, World War II, shifts in the economy, or the 2008 financial crisis. Additionally, cumulating data about general adult skill levels in the U.S. help refocus attention on the need for continuing education and training. Below we present an overview of the broader trends in AWE policy development emerging from our analysis. First, we provide a synopsis of the *policy framing, dynamics*, and *instruments* employed in the legislative discourse, then we tease out the evolution of each policy facet in thematic sub-headings.

5.1 Policy Framing

AWE policy is the "result of a complex, uneven, and multilayered set of cross-cutting processes and loci of interaction that assign value (social and economic) to the education and training of adults across time and geography" (Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2020, p. 27). Analyzing legislation in the AWE policy arena not only reveals how multiple actors (e.g., federal agencies, states, nongovernmental organizations, and local providers) come together to exercise authority and allocate resources, but also how conventional cultural understandings and norms regarding the purpose, function, and scope of adult and workforce education are codified and translated into national and state infrastructure for educational programming.

What has been consistently reiterated across legislative documents over time is a grand narrative about establishing an architecture of public institutions to be leveraged as a means for pursuing national economic aims. Even so, American idealism has also regularly been signaled in sweeping statements communicating larger social values such as promoting the individual pursuit of "the good life"³ (Baritz, 1988), improving access to education for underserved populations, and seeking social and economic justice.

² For a more detailed description of the policy framework and research methods, please see Roumell, Salajan and Todoran (2019).

^{3 &}quot;The good life" refers to Aristotle's theory of ethics, where a human being can live the way that is most suitable for a human within reason. Reason, as it stands, is what separates humans from animals.

5.2 Policy Dynamics

Prior to WIOA, references to more general education reform were rare, perhaps because much of the AWE policy and programming was integrated piecemeal into other forms of educational legislation. The lack of references to broader educational reform in AWE policy may also indicate that the AWE system itself has been underdeveloped. The aim of the new legislation is to create an interface between AWE programming and the more formalized education system. Under WIOA, states are now required to align federal and state AWE standards, and to align AWE standards with both K-12 and higher education standards. Adult basic education programs are also increasingly being required to partner with workforce development and job programs. This synchronized alignment with the other levels and kinds of education which heretofore had been developed independently within their own areas - constitutes major policy shifts that carry far-reaching implications for programmatic structure, partnerships, and data requirements, all of which requires substantial systemwide capacity development. Additionally, to better address the obvious siloing effects and duplication in the AWE policy domain, mechanisms requiring increased partnership across AWE systems, networks, and actors are notable changes to improve feedback mechanisms between provider, state, and federal agents.

5.3 Policy Instruments

AWE policy instruments primarily consist of the financial appropriations for adult education programming. Only a few of such policy instruments exist in the earlier stages of policy formulation, but emerge with the George-Deen Act of 1936, and became more complex, extensive and diversified with the passing of the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The expanse and substance of the financial instruments embedded in AWE legislation reach a culminating point with the more recent combined legislative packets of WIA 1998 and WIOA 2014, in which interconnected and complementary adult education and literacy programs, as well as vocational programs for youth and vulnerable populations, receive record Congressional appropriations. Apart from financial instruments, over time, successive amendments or repeals of legislation represent the secondary type of policy instruments operationalized in AWE policy formulation. Such targeted revisions and reformulations of policy instruments consistently occur in the course of AWE policy development, particularly as later legislative packages combine multiple titles and programs operating under parallel or complementary legislative acts that are periodically amended.

5.4 Accessibility and Flexibility (Facet F1)

The first policy facet we examined represents legislative references aimed at improving accessibility to educational programming and making new kinds of training available. Within this policy facet, programs were either created, maintained, expanded, or somehow further developed. References for this facet were primarily categorized under the function of policy framing, meaning the legislative language is outlining the rationale and need for AWE provisions. The more recent integration of adult literacy, education, and job training programs into the workforce development system at the federal level, starting with the 1998 Workforce Investment Act (WIA) and then the 2014 Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA), is a moniker of change in federal AWE policy framing. Linking the AWE policy arena more explicitly with workforce development programs profoundly altered the AWE polity in terms of purpose (framing), who the partners are and how actions are carried out (dynamics), and scope of action (instruments created to carry out the policy intent) (ED, 2013). This 21st century integration demarcates a philosophical shift where AWE has been increasingly subsumed within the workforce development system, as opposed to being (partially) integrated into the broader national educational policy arena. Generally speaking, programs for adult learning have not been expressly represented within broader national educational reforms, but rather as subsections of landmark omnibus legislative acts, in almost ad hoc fashion, which is why AWE policy can be found embedded in a wide variety of legislative acts.

There has also been a marked shift toward Career and Technical Education (CTE) in policy framing, a current reality affecting both adult and higher education, indicating the prioritization around preparing all youth and adult students for success in college and career (ED, 2014). Globalization has also sharpened the competitive market in higher education, causing universities, colleges, and technical schools to offer services that increasingly overlap with adult education programming. Ultimately, the increasing competition for learners may turn out to be problematic for adults who need more traditional adult educational services than those typically offered through universities and community colleges (Pickard, 2019). This development is also paralleled in resource allocation patterns, where AWE programming has also experienced diminishing state and federal funding as priorities continue to change (Wheelan, 2016).

While the notion of lifelong learning is increasingly part of mainstream national educational dialogue and discourse, AWE policy initiatives and strategic goals for education reform are increasingly functioning as an instrumental mechanism for improving other economic and social goals. Between AWE policy being integrated within workforce initiatives, and the new emphasis on the alignment of postsecondary, career, technical and other educational and workforce systems to create more streamlined "Career Pathways," the rationale in how AWE policy is being framed has become almost monolithically embedded within the economic and human capital development paradigm.

5.5 Software and Product Development (Facet F2); Teaching and Learning (Facet F3)

We coded references to affordances for or the use of technology in the delivery and improvements to teaching and curriculum under the second and third policy facets, respectively. WIOA 2014 mandates state to include a section addressing provisions for technology use in learning, both for educators and for learners in their AWE plans. Programming should include technological improvements to facilitate access to, and improve the quality of, services and activities such as: the enhancement of digital literacy skills; the acceleration of the acquisition of workforce skills and recognized postsecondary credentials; and strengthening the professional development of providers and workforce professionals (WIOA, 2014). Building on WIA 1998, AWE policy has also included a growing number of references to the improvement of teaching and learning practices, requiring more specificity in teaching practice and measurement of teaching effectiveness. Recent legislation also outlined curriculum and teaching practices including: improving distance education; promoting and improving the use of technology in the classroom, especially in English language acquisition for English language learners; and assistance in the development and dissemination of evidence-based models for adult basic education, literacy programs, and digital literacy skills.

5.6 Financing AWE (Facet F4)

The AWE policy area has been steadily subsidized by the federal government for over a century, and many of the federal AWE programs are long-standing. Four main funding mechanisms are utilized by the federal government to support AWE, including grants-in-aid, contracts for services, direct operational support, and aid to adult learners. Of all funding mechanisms, the most attention has been given to the distribution of federal grants-in-aid to each of the individual states to implement programs like adult basic education, vocational education or rehabilitation, English language learning, or employment services. Significant financial aid has also been provided to adult learners on a large-scale but sporadic basis in the form of educational benefits to veterans, scholarships for teachers of foreign language, science, mathematics, and other subjects, and providing education and training for employment transitions.

AWE funding structures are multifaceted, involving multiple agencies, sources, and levels. In recent decades, total state and federal expenditures for AWE programming have remained stagnant. The growing number of references under the funding facet reflects the increasing complexity in the financial structures for the provision of AWE programming nationally. The policies also specifically create room for the incorporation of financial resources outside of federal and state funding, outlining the process of braiding multiple resources to deliver services. Consequently, providers today are subject to fluctuating state and federal oversight and can be funded through several combinations of public (federal, state, and local) and private funds, such as donor gifts, accrued endowment interest, and tuition revenues. This mixture of institutions and funding sources has made it even more difficult to identify a coherent national AWE policy commitment and agenda (Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2019). While it certainly can be said there has been a substantial policy overhaul via WIOA, resources have not kept pace, and the localized impact of the federal mandates remains to be determined.

5.7 Diversity of Stakeholders and Partnerships (Facet F5)

The aim of recent federal policy and legislation has been to clarify, streamline, reduce duplication, and improve funding coordination for more targeted AWE programming. Within this policy facet, AWE policy is growing in complexity as the relationships and responsibilities between the federal government, state governments, regional workforce boards, and local service providers have been increasingly formalized and stakeholder representation diversified. In looking at the increasing formalization of roles and partnerships, we have argued that the architecture of a more comprehensive system within the AWE realm is slowly being built (Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2019). WIOA has contributed to a clearer definition of the AWE architecture, defining who the official actors should be at each level, and designing how the workforce, social, and education systems are to work together to improve educational, social, and employment-related services for adults. With this situatedness in mind, it will be particularly important for AWE researchers to identify and trace the impact and actual educational access and economic outcomes of these policy initiatives.

5.8 Collaboration, Cooperation and Consortia (Facet F6)

Although references to programmatic cooperation and collaboration are scant throughout much of the history of AWE policy evolution, frequency increased as the scope of the legislation expanded, enhancing coordination between various federal agencies. Initially, the Department of Labor was primarily tasked with overseeing vocational training programs, and in successive legislation this responsibility was gradually shared with the Department of Education. Additionally, state education agencies charged with the actual implementation of AWE programs are dependent on federal financial provisions and obligated to cooperate with federal agencies. WIOA 2014 policy discourse became more explicit concerning roles and cooperation, requiring not only the functional cooperation and coordination on administrative duties among agencies at various levels, but also cooperation on the substance of communication related to such programming. In this respect, a greater emphasis on cooperation toward greater integration of complementary programs and services is notable in more recent legislation, including provisions for ensuring the welfare of vulnerable populations experiencing disadvantaged or discriminatory circumstances.

5.9 Data, Evaluation, and Research (Facet F7)

In the U.S., the Departments of Education, Health and Human Services, and Labor are authorized to design, conduct, and disseminate high-quality research to support improvements in the area of AWE. The Office of Career Technical and Adult Education's (OCTEA) investment in research helps develop evidence-based practices in literacy education, English language acquisition, high school completion, adult education curricula for improved program performance and outcomes. The Institute of Education Sciences (IES) provides empirical evidence developed through rigorous research to serve as a basis for education policy and practice. The DOL's Employment and Training Administration (ATF) contributes research toward the more efficient functioning of the national labor market by informing high-quality job training, employment service programs, labor market information, and income maintenance services (i. e., unemployment insurance), which are primarily delivered through state and local workforce development systems (ED, 2008).

In 1998, WIA legislation mandated the creation of a performance accountability system to assess states' progress in providing services in order to ensure an improved return on the investment of federal funds in AWE programming. Unlike previous accountability measures, where local programs were held accountable at the state level, Title II of WIA 1998 made states accountable to the federal ED in a systematic way. Title II of WIOA 2014 amended requirements within the performance accountability system, requiring providers to get approval by demonstrating measurable participant outcomes and other specified program goals. Under WIOA, federal requirements for funding stipulated greater coordination of learning outcomes and program standards, increased accountability, implementation of evidence-based programming and practices, and enhanced overall federal oversight. These new requirements went into effect in 2016, meaning program evaluations, state reporting, and current implementation and translational research will play a critical role in identifying the overall impact of recent legislation. It is imperative that these implementation trends be followed and mandates examined in close detail to see how services have been transformed and adult learner populations impacted.

5.10 Wider Educational Reforms (Facet F8)

Except for mandated amendments to intersecting or complementary legislation, such as the Elementary and Secondary Education Act or Higher Education Act of 1965, AWE policy is largely silent on promoting reforms in the broader educational domain. Notably, the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 sets objectives for colleges and universities to accommodate vocational and agricultural training through extension work. This signaled a need on part of higher education institutions to adapt their curricula in meeting these goals and, therefore, suggested a modest reform process to this end. Such calls are reiterated later in the policy evolution process, particularly in the Perkins Act of 1998, which advocated for the integration of vocational and technical instruction in secondary and postsecondary education. For the most part, however, AWE policy has a marginal impact on wider educational reform processes, operating minimal and implicit adjustments to other educational sectors only through amendments to a limited number of policy instruments it complements, or on which it relies, to deliver AWE programming.

5.11 Equity, Inclusion, and Social Dimensions (Facet F9)

Jacobson (2017, p. 22) explained how "under WIOA, state and local systems are expected to provide a full range of services to marginalized populations with the understanding that learners will not be successful in education or training without them", which emphasizes the dimension of social inclusion in AWE policy. It could be argued that the alterations in federal-state relations and policy dynamics, the expansion and diversification of policy actors, and an upgrading of AWE as a national priority are legitimate efforts toward meeting the needs of vulnerable adult populations in a more comprehensive way. Even so, researchers express concern about the possible unintended consequences of the mandates. Although WIOA prioritizes services for diverse populations of adults who are deemed 'basic skills deficient,' it may prove difficult for these difficult-to-reach populations to adequately demonstrate improved learning outcomes in terms of test scores and employment. This increasing pressure on providers to meet performance benchmarks could spur them to prioritize the enrollment of individuals who can more easily and quickly "meet the mark." Ultimately, such quality measures may unwittingly further marginalize the adult learners who are most in need of educational services (Jacobsen, 2017; Pickard, 2019) instead of improving support for them.

6 Observations and Discussion

Now that we have offered an overview of the nine policy facets and a concise description within the U.S. context, we will briefly cover the patterns and trends observed through our deductive analytic process of applying the policy coding matrix. Once coding of selected legislation was completed, we quantified the number of references within each of the policy facets. Next, we collapsed totals of the three columns and converted the numeric data into a bubble chart to visually illustrate the growing emphasis in each of the policy facets over the decades. Figure 1 provides a visual illustration of the results of our content analysis.

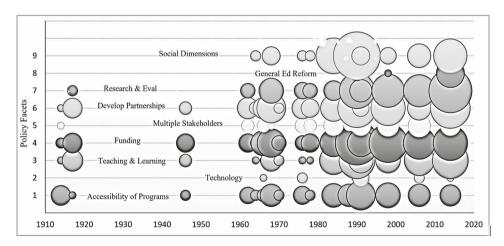


Figure 1: Change in historical policy facet and function emphasis across AWE legislative documents (Note: First published in Adult Education Quarterly [Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2019])

6.1 Detecting Policy Patterns

The deductive analytic process of quantifying referent codes and locating them under particular facets and functions within the policy matrix revealed patterns in the overall development of AWE policy, where legislation seemed to surge in particular decades (1910s, 1940s, 1960s, 1990s, and 2010s). Legislation and amendments were passed during intermittent years, but primarily to amend or add to policy provisions. As can be seen in Figure 1, there seem to be a few prominent "eras" of AWE policy development (Roumell & Martin, 2020).

The first policy era (ca. 1862–1917) came during the Industrial Revolution, when programs were established in response to changes in the economic and social spheres. In that period, additional programs were developed to help adults integrate into the national economy. In the second era (ca. 1918–1961), legislation was again passed in response to new social issues and economic patterns including the Great Depression and World Wars. It must be noted that several documents created in the first half of the 20th century have endured throughout the decades, and are still referenced in new legislation (for example the GI Bill).

The third era of AWE policy development (1962–1997), a renaissance in humanistic adult education, began in the 1960s. The legislation establishing federally funded adult basic education programs originated from the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which provided a suite of federal programs to address issues related to poverty in the United States (ED, 1991; Sticht, 2002). The Adult Education Act of 1966 formally established adult education as an independent area of educational policy at the federal level. Within a span of two years, every state in the nation implemented a system of adult education and delivered instruction via local providers. The Civil Rights Movement also spurred the expansion of adult literacy services, and adult educators argued that the field should also embrace the fight against racial, gender, cultural, and other forms of discrimination, and the ongoing pursuit of social equity and justice. Policy analysis of legislation in this decade revealed further articulation across nearly all policy facets, indicating more comprehensive AWE policies. In the 1960s, the fourth policy facet signifying funding, displayed regular fiduciary increases as new AWE programs were established, reauthorized, and/or amended into the 1970s.

Many of the policy codes that occurred in the late-1980s into the 1990s were a result of AWE policy being "reorganized." During the 1990s AWE funding priorities and programming options were impacted by New Federalism policies of devolution (Hayes, 1999). Devolution sought to transfer policy responsibilities from the federal government to state and local governments. Several legislative acts were also passed as the basis for "welfare reform" and reshaped the role of adult literacy education. The shifting economy and technology became a focus of policy development, and programs were continued, replaced, or expanded.

During the fourth AWE era (ca. 1998-present), consistent additions were made to the architecture of the AWE policy arena, with additional references across the majority of policy facets. The reference counts provide evidence that more comprehensive policy provisions were developed to support AWE. As can be seen in Figure 1, around the turn of the century, a large increase in codes can be seen across all policy areas.

First, AWE programs were mandated to partner with state and local workforce development systems, and the expansion of non-traditional policy actors continued, including public libraries, community centers, faith organizations, and a variety of not-for profit, private, and public service providers [F5]. Between these collaborators, AWE systems and providers were also required to "braid funding" and work toward streamlining and reducing duplication of services [F4]. Equally important, WIA and WIOA promoted greater interagency cooperation in order to serve commonly held clientele (offering literacy programs and job placement programs in the same location, e.g., "one-stop shops") representing a paradigm shift in the provision of joint adult education and job training [F6].

Title II of WIA also legislated the creation of a performance accountability system which, unlike previous measures requiring programs to report to their state agencies, systematically held states accountable to the federal Department of Education [F7] (ED, 2013). The 2006 Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act (Perkins Act) was enacted with the goal of transforming Career and Technical Education (CTE), introducing Career Pathways-focused initiatives and advancing integration of AWE programming across educational systems. Notably, in this most recent policy wave, there were more references to general education reform [F8], perhaps signaling alignment and integration of AWE with the massive K-16 education systems.

The aim of recent legislation was to coordinate programs housed within multiple agencies, bringing them together under the scope of the Career Pathways initiative (DOL, 2012). Under WIOA, AWE programming was further integrated under and embedded within the expanding workforce development system at the local, state, and federal levels. While most AWE program implementation is still primarily the responsibility of states and carried out locally, the federal dictates and requirements for funding have moved toward greater centralization of standards, data requirements, and accountability and promotion of evidence-based programming. Consequently, federal oversight of state and local programming has increased.

Over the past two decades, a cumulating effect in complexity of policy development with the gradual legislative additions and amendments in the AWE policy area can be discerned. Under new mandates for partnering with local workforce development boards, coalitions, and other stakeholders [F5, F6]; increasing data, assessment, and evaluation requirements [F7]; mandates aligning standards and curriculum with secondary, postsecondary, vocational, and higher education [F8]; and the ongoing need to offer wraparound services to address sociostructural barriers to adult learner participation [F9], the leaders in adult education, educators, staff, and volunteers themselves face immense pressure to further develop their own professional gambit [F3]. Unfortunately, quality and consistent professional development can be difficult to find [F3], is time consuming, and also often presents an unreasonable cost burden for educators who are poorly remunerated (Housel, 2020). Despite the last two decades of efforts in AWE policy reform to enhance interoperability at the federal level and across states, the U.S. AWE polity still remains only loosely coordinated, the diffusion of policy attenuated, and the goals, means, and ends of the initiatives unfocused (Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2020).

6.2 Policy Adjustments and Adaptations

Using a systematic, deductive analytic approach as applied to key legislative documents not only helps us better understand the elaboration of a policy area over time, but also identify areas of policy development that need attention. Having examined policy development trends over time, we also speculate that the evolution of provisions for educational services, and the legislation in which these provisions are codified, are becoming more sophisticated and encompassing. Engendering a more nuanced examination of the evident adaptations of educational policy with such an analytical framework may also help better understand how educational systems change to meet societies' shifting demands.

6.3 Final Thoughts

As evidenced, the U. S. has a long history of articulating policy regarding the education of adults, under the auspices of national aims, with WIA 1998 and WIOA 2014 representing the most recent efforts at developing a more coherent policy architecture for AWE programming. It seems, however, like serious conversations are still required about the capability of states and communities to implement such initiatives, especially in light of the pittance of funding dedicated to adult literacy and learning [F4]. Despite the wider federal policy overhaul through WIOA 2014, it is possible that AWE programming may have only limited impact simply due to a lack of political will to adequately support the changes (Roumell, Salajan, & Todoran, 2020). Many strident calls for improvements in educational and workforce planning abound, but the question is: does the present policy architecture address the realistic needs, capabilities, and requisite mechanisms for these aims to be successfully carried out?

While the application of the policy matrix helps provide an overview of how AWE policy has developed over time, and gives us some clues as to the increasing sophistication and coverage of the policies, the reality is that much more needs to be done to more fully address the limited literacy and learning capabilities of some 43 million adults in the U.S. (COABE, 2019). Policy development in the AWE realm leaves the impression of isomorphic mimicry (Andrews, Pritchett, & Woolcock, 2019). The notion of *isomorphic mimicry* conveys the tendency of systems to mimic other systems' successes, as an attempt to replicate their structures, processes, and even their examples of "best practices," in hopes of attaining similar results. From this view, "form and function are conflated, where 'looks like' substitutes for 'does'" (Andrews et al., 2019, p. 31). One may even go so far as to argue that such policies produce the appearance of administrative structures that mimic educational systems, but that the cobbled together AWE system of adult education programming may not actually fully function as a coherent lifelong learning system. Our concern is, under

WIOA, that the AWE system continues to appear "as if" it were a real educational system with lifelong learning aims, but merely functions as an ad hoc arrangement that inadvertently reproduces more of the same disproportionate outcomes.

Despite recent, ambitious legislation and ongoing policy revisions and amendments, Cyril Houle's (1968) description of the U.S. adult and workforce education system still rings true:

"To many observers, American adult education seems very much like the United States itself: decentralized in some respects and centralized in others; showing extremes of poverty and wealth; built up from a hundred different sets of assumptions and directed toward a thousand goals; concerned with the ways of doing things and sometimes heed-less of why they are done; given to fads and overemphases, quickly followed by boredom and disillusionment; incorporating countless cultural and ethnic value systems; operating in geographic and social environments of great diversity; looking always toward an expanding future; uncoordinated; unintegrated; and often loudly contradictory. Much of this picture may lie only in the eyes of its beholders, but much of it is also true." (Houle, 1968, p. 166)

Even so, despite perennial concerns about retrenchment, somehow AWE programming continues to be funded and is expanding. Ironically, it is the pluralities in purposes and approaches; the flexibility of federal guidance that allows for local-level experimentation; the ability to tolerate systemic ambiguities; the openness to creating new partnerships and consortia; the stubborn refusal to prioritize one educational view over all others; unrelenting U. S. pragmatism; and the indelible belief that individuals should have multiple pathways in pursuing their personal improvement and social station, that drives adult and lifelong learning to continue to grow and sprawl in innumerable directions across the policy(?) expanses of the United States.

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Appendix

Year	Policy	Description		
1862	Morrill Act	Established institutions in each state to educate people in "practical" professions, through extension services and continuing and outreach education.		
1887	Hatch Act	Funded agriculture experimental stations.		
1890	Morrill Act extension			
1906	Adams Act	Direct federal payments to states for vocational educa- tion purposes.		
1914*	Smith-Lever Bill	Entry of US government into Adult Education. Improve agriculture making it efficient and profitable through co- operative agricultural extension work.		
1917*/19/24	Smith-Hughs Vocational Act	Promote vocational agriculture to train people "who have entered or are preparing to enter upon the work of the farm."		
1917	The Board for Vocational Edu- cation was created			
1918*/1919*	Vocational Rehabilitation Act	Rehabilitate soldiers discharged from service.		
1929*	George Reed Act	To further develop vocational education		
1933	Wagner-Peyser Act	Established a nationwide system of public employment offices, to improve the functioning of the nation's labor markets.		
1930/1943	Federal Emergency Relief Ad- ministration	Ameliorate the effects of the Great Depression.		
1936*	George Deen Act	To further develop vocational education		
1944	GI Bill	Tuition for war veterans to obtain education and training to reintegrate into the economy.		
1946*	George-Barden Act	Expansion of career education programs to serve the needs of a growing population.		
1954*	Smith McConnell Act	Amend the Vocational Rehabilitation Act		
1960s	As of the 1960s, there were about 350 separate Adult Education programs scattered through the executive branch			
1962*	Manpower Development and Training Act	Authorized a three-year program aimed at retraining workers displaced by new technology.		
1963*	Vocational Education Act	Marked a new era of vocational education to maintain, improve, and extend VocEd, provide better access to vo- cational training and re-training for gainful employment. Broadened the definition of vocational education and ex- panded the delivery systems.		

 Table 1: Adult and Workforce Education Policy Documents
 (Asterisk * indicates legislative documents selected for coding)

(Continuing table 1)

Year	Policy	Description	
1964*	Economic Opportunity Act	Mobilize human and financial resources to combat poverty in the U.S.	
1965*	Vocational Rehabilitation Act	Amend the VRA for more flexibility and financing admin- istration of programs, expansion and improvement of services and facilities including those with developmen- tal challenges	
1966*	Adult Education Act	Codification of Adult Education principles and as a dis- tinct field. Adult literacy and high school equivalency, aimed at developing a more literate and skilled work- force (deficit model).	
1967*	Vocational Rehabilitation Act	Extend and expand rehabilitation services, establish- ment of National Center for Deaf and Blind Youth and Adults, provide assistance for migrants	
1968*	Extension Adult Education Program	Adding private and nonprofit stakeholders for Adult Ed, extend services to territories,	
1968	Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act	Emphasis for funding changed from expansion to pro- gram improvement and serving at-risk populations, with 2 goals: 1) Improve skills of the labor force and prepare adults for job opportunities; 2) provide equal opportuni- ties for adults in vocational education.	
1970*	Amend Adult Education Act	Expand educational opportunity through adult and con- tinuing education programs and occupational training	
1976*	Education Amendments 1976	Extend and revise 1963 Vocational Education Act, revi- sion of public library resources, student assistance grants, occupational training, women's education equity, amend AEA 1966, report on high school equivalency, migrant programs	
1978	Community Schools and Com- prehensive Community Edu- cation Act, Title XIII, Part A	Expanded educational opportunities for adults and en- couraged the establishment of further Adult Educational programming.	
1979	Department of Education Organization Act	Separated Education from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and created the Department of Education at a national cabinet level.	
1984*	Perkins Vocational and Tech- nical Education Act	Funded community colleges and technical schools in response to the economic downturn in the 1970s.	
1990	Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Act	Organized educational programs in current or emerging occupations requiring credentials other than a bacca- laureate or advanced degree.	
1991*	National Literacy Act	Strengthened and coordinated adult literacy programs to enhance literacy and basic skills of adults. Renewed focus on basic education programs.	
1993	Government Performance Results Act	Required federal agencies to develop indicators of pro- gram performance to demonstrate they are meeting goals. 1996 a system for program accountability was developed by the ED.	

(Continuing table 1)

Year	Policy	Description		
1997	National Reporting System	Developed an outcomes-based reporting system for state administered federal programs.		
1998*	Adult Education Family Liter- acy Act (AEFLA) (combined with WIA below)	Replaced the Adult Education Act and the National Liter- acy Act.		
1998	Workforce Investment Act	Reformed the diversified and complex delivery system of adult and basic education, authorized the National Literacy Act to coordinate literacy services and policy which was further approved through No Child Left Behind legislation.		
1999/2000	National Reporting System for Adult Education	Established accountability to assess the effectiveness of eligible agencies in achieving continuous improvement in Adult Education and literacy activities.		
2006*	Carl D. Perkins Career and Technical Education Act (Perkins Act) was enacted with the goal of transforming Career and Technical Educa- tion (CTE)	Supported secondary and postsecondary programs to build academic, career, and technical skills. Supported Tech Prep, an educational model that articulates secondary and postsecondary career and technical education (CTE) in a multiyear program in such areas as engineering, technology, applied science, health, and applied economics.		
2009	Families Learning and Under- standing English Together Act	Improved the literacy and English skills of limited Eng- lish proficient individuals, and for other purposes.		
2009	Naturalized Citizens Assis- tance Act	Authorized awards for adult education and literacy pro- grams for naturalized citizens.		
2009	National Adult Education and Family Literacy Week	Designated a National Adult Education and Family Liter- acy Week. Encouraged support of communities in need of adult education and family literacy programs.		
2010	Ready-to-Compete Act	Amended the 1965 ESEA and the 1998 WIA, and awarded grants to prepare individuals for the 21st cen- tury workplace and to increase US global competitive edge. Authorized grants to public television stations that formed partnerships with states, state workforce invest- ment boards, or institutions of higher education to develop, disseminate, and provide online and on-air education and training services for adults.		
2011	Workforce Investment through Local Libraries Act "WILL"	Amended WIA 1998 to integrate public libraries into state and local Workforce Investment Boards.		
2011	Native Culture, Language, and Access for Success in Schools Act	Established an American Indian Tribal College or Univer- sity Adult Education and Family Literacy program (amended WIA 1998).		
2011	Helping Individuals Return to Employment Act	Authorized the Secretary of Labor to award grants to eli- gible entities to hire unemployed individuals age 16 and older to work (minimum of 20 hours per week) to bene- fit certain communities, including activities such as pub- lic works, beautification, historic restoration, tutoring, and adult education.		

(Continuing table 1)

Year	Policy	Description	
2011	Strengthen and Unite Com- munities with Civics Educa- tion and English Develop- ment Act	Strengthened communities through English literacy and civics education for newly arrived Americans.	
2013	Adult Education and Eco- nomic Growth Act	Increased access to adult education to provide for eco- nomic growth.	
2014	Building Upon Unique Indian Learning and Development Act	Authorized appropriations for scholarships and adult education and special higher education scholarships under the Snyder Act.	
2014/2016*	Workforce Innovation and Opportunity Act (WIOA)	Replaced WIA 1998 to strengthen and improve the pub- lic workforce system for youth and those with significant barriers to employment into high-quality jobs and ca- reers and help employers hire and retain skilled workers.	
2017	Strengthening Career and Technical Education for the 21st Century Act	Reauthorized the Carl D. Perkins CTE Act of 2006 (Per- kins IV) and continued Congress' commitment in pro- viding CTE programs for our nation's youth and adults.	

Table 2.: Adult and Workforce Education Policy Analysis Framework

Policy Functions Policy Facets	Framing	Dynamics	Instruments		
Fl	Policy provisions for: Improving accessibility and flexibility of (re)training programs.				
F2	Policy provisions for: Software, materials and product development.				
F3	Policy provisions for: Transforming teaching and learning (technology/ online/information literacy, support, professional development, etc.)				
F4	Policy provisions for: Multiple funding streams and sustainability.				
F5	Policy provisions for: Multiple stakeholders, public and private interested groups, entities, institutions, etc.				
F6	Policy provisions for: Development of consortia and institutional/regional agreements, collaboration and cooperation.				
F7		licy provisions for: Increasing and/or diversifying research, evaluation, sessment and dissemination.			
F8	Policy provisions for: Promotion of wider education reform processes.				
F9	Policy provisions for: social Issues, all-inclusive society, societal benefits, social model, social progress, individual needs, etc.				

Note. A fuller description of the framework is presented in Roumell, Erichsen & Salajan (2014).

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Lifelong Learning Policies in Thailand: A Comprehensive Analysis and Reform Recommendations

Suwithida Charungkaittikul

Abstract

The advancement of lifelong learning (LLL) is a crucial agenda for many countries, especially for Thailand. It meets the rising demand for continuous learning which is mainly focused on economic drivers that improve the quality of life. This study applies a qualitative research approach with the primary objective to analyze and synthesize various documents using an integrative literature review and a content-based approach for identifying promising LLL policies in Thailand. The paper is comprised of four main parts: providing an overview of the Thai educational system; defining terminology, and specifically the terms that explain LLL in Thailand; analyzing the status quo (opportunities and challenges) of LLL policies in Thailand; and providing recommendations to strengthen the role of LLL in Thailand. The study further demonstrates an understanding of Adult Learning and Education (ALE). It concludes that every sector should develop and promote LLL, making it an evolving and integrated kind of education for life and learning society. It also articulates that LLL has now become a vital tool to promote economic and social development in Thailand. While the advancement towards a LLL society will continue, Thailand has a number of actions to implement before it can proclaim the achievement of education for all by 2030. Lessons learned from the preliminary findings may help to identify the key facilitating factors as well as bottlenecks that can be useful in the formulation of comprehensive and applicable LLL opportunities for all.

Keywords: Lifelong Learning; Lifelong Learning Policies; Policy implications; Thailand

1 Introduction

Thailand is the only country in Southeast Asia without a history of colonial rule. It is composed of seventy-six provinces. The current population of Thailand is 69,834,119, 51.1% of the population is urban (35,698,325 people in 2020) based on the Worldometer elaboration of the latest United Nations data. Thailand is the world's 50th largest country by total area. The country faces transitioning from rural areas to an urban

society. As a result of the compartmentalized development of urban and rural areas, there is an imbalance in the development of rural communities (e.g., uneven development of economy, unequal distribution of learning resources, the infrastructure of information technology systems, and exclusive public services). The society faces several obstacles that include the low quality of education in several regions; an unequal opportunity of access to learning of people who live in some rural areas; and lack of skills and ability to adapt upgraded knowledge into practice, which results in low labor productivity (Charungkaittikul et al, 2013; National Economic and Social Development Board, 2017; Pongpaiboon, 2007). Consequently, it indicates an urgent need to provide LLL opportunities to all and to balance national developments (Charungkaittikul, 2019).

Within this context, the Thai government has announced several national development policies aiming to build a learning society, including the 12th National Economic and Social Development Plan 2017–2021; the National Education Act 1999 and its amendment; the National Education Act Amendment (Issue 2) 2002; the Non-formal Education and Informal Education Act 2008; and Thailand's 20-Year National Strategy and Thailand 4.0 Policy (a digital economy and social development strategy). These initiatives have collectively helped lay a significant foundation for the development of building a learning society. These related LLL society policies represent an important opportunity to help the education system deal with global change. The government has emphasized greater efforts towards the building of a LLL society, which acts as a major mechanism for the national economic and social development (Charungkaittikul, 2016a, 2019). At the same time, it helps ensure LLL opportunities and enhance access to education and quality education on a national scale.

The aforementioned consideration indicates the country-wide benefits of continuously searching for proper strategies to enhance LLL development, to in-depth investigate the understanding and practices of LLL from a different angle, particularly the practices that drive individual learning, organizations, as well as the learning society. It is essential to investigate the potential of the LLL concept for the personal and collective development of people in general and future societies. Additionally, this study aims to propose a practical application of LLL policy as a critical vehicle for locally and regionally creating a sustainable LLL society using an integrative literature review to find out and propose feasible recommendations for bringing this idea to reality, as well as strengthening the role of LLL in Thailand and other countries. This study makes an effort to clarify the concept of LLL, to review its application in the local context, and to consider the most appropriate policy options to pursue the goal of building a learning society in the changing global situation.

Research Objectives, Methodology, and Procedure

An integrative literature review is a form of research that "reviews, analyzes, and synthesizes representative literature on a topic in an integrated way such that new frameworks and perspectives on the topic are generated" (Torraco, 2005, p. 356). The extensive background to this paper consists of national policies and documents (ONIE, 2019; Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 2017; Office of the Education Council, 2003; ONIE, 2008; Stiglitz and Greenwald, 2014; UIL, 2019), and recently conducted research studies by the author (Charungkaittikul, 2011, 2016a, 2016b, 2019; Charungkaittikul & Henschke, 2014; DVV International, 2020). In each research procedure stage, the data will be analyzed utilizing content analysis by the researcher using an analysis form.

The author's intention in this article is to provide an overview of the current situation of LLL in Thailand (i. e., terminologies, the current system, and challenges), to indicate several key aspects that can be useful in the formulation of comprehensive and applicable LLL opportunities for all in the local context, and to derive from this practical strategies and appropriate policy initiatives for promoting learning activities toward building a dynamic LLL society in Thailand.

2 Background on Thailand and the Educational System

The Kingdom of Thailand (Thailand) is located in the heart of the Southeast Asian mainland. With a total population of 69.7 million (UN, 2019) that comprises 55 million adults, it is the world's 21st most populous country, and the fourth most populous nation in ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) after Indonesia, the Philippines, and Vietnam. The country has one of the world's fastest aging societies. Its literacy rate in 2015 was 92.87% (World Bank, 2020). In recent years, the Kingdom has increased education facets in other areas as a result of a high literacy rate. For example, the Kingdom's human resource initiatives have been its highest priority, i.e., national economy maturity. Its economy depends on agriculture, with 70% of the workforce in the agriculture sector and 60% of all export products being agricultural (International Trade Center, 2015). Thailand is gradually progressing from a primarily agricultural society to a manufacturing, industrial, and service society, and on to becoming a learning society. The country demands to offer its people more LLL opportunities and support to continuously upgrade their lives (Charungkaittikul, 2019).

Thai Education System

As stipulated in the National Education Act of 1999 and its amendment, the National Education Act Amendment (Issue 2) of 2002, the Ministry of Education (MOE) is the leading agency responsible for promoting and overseeing the provision of education at all levels. These levels include basic and higher education and all types of education, i. e. formal, non-formal, and informal education. In a similar vein, formal education is divided into two levels: basic and higher education. Basic education in Thailand refers to six years of primary education (G1-G6), three years of lower secondary (G7-G9), and three years of upper secondary education shall be extended from six to nine years, covering six years of primary education and three years of lower sec-

ondary education (G1-G9). Students having completed compulsory education are eligible to choose between two parallel tracks: general or academic education and vocational education. The act also specifies that not less than twelve years of education shall be provided free of charge. Moreover, an initiative to provide three years preprimary up to the completion of upper secondary education free of charge was initiated in 2009. The Thai education system has since provided 15 years of free basic education (Office of the Education Council, 2017). Vocational education offers are structured in three tiers: upper secondary level, leading to lower vocational certificates; post-secondary level, leading to higher vocational certificates; and tertiary vocational education, leading to bachelor's degrees. Higher education is provided at a diploma or associate degree level, and degree levels, ranging from bachelor's degrees to doctoral degrees (Office of the Permanent Secretary, 2017).

Administrative and organizational structures of the Thai education system

Considerable changes in the structure of management and administration have taken place in order to auspice the key teaching and learning changes stipulated by the act. The emphasis is on the decentralization of administrative responsibilities to the local level with the consolidation of education planning at the central level. The reformation process of the Thai Education System led to the establishment of 175 Education Service Areas in 2003, and this number augmented to 185 in 2008. A new structure for the organization of the Ministry of Education at the Central Level has been reinforced since 2002 (Office of the Permanent Secretary, 2017). Thailand's new Ministry of Higher Education, Science, Research, and Innovation has recently been appointed to advance a concentration on research and innovation integration. The new ministry plans to emphasize the promotion of research endeavors for commercial purposes, producing human capital and resources in response to future needs, and developing innovation on a full-cycle basis, as well as to promote education and training to strengthen each learner's occupational skills and LLL.

Toward Thailand 4.0

Education is a crucial sector in the Kingdom's progress to Thailand 4.0, as established by the National Strategic Reform for Thailand 4.0. It aims to dispense citizens who have the necessary skills to develop the nation, possess critical thinking skills, and the ability to deal with change, endorse LLL and be good citizens overall by 2036 (Office of National Education Council, 2016; Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 2017; Maesincee, 2020). According to the recent "Stability, Prosperity and Sustainability" policy 2020, the country needs collaboration commitment, and concerted efforts from all sectors in order to achieve the goal (National News Bureau of Thailand, 2016). Due to a fast-changing environment including lifestyles, learning and work culture, population structure and limitations of the present educational system, there is a need to drive the country into a LLL society direction promoting LLL for people and providing an ecosystem for LLL as a tool for developing the quality of life.

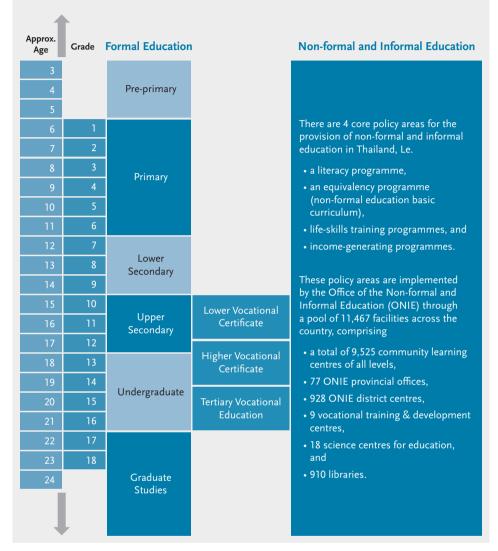


Figure 1: The Thai Education System

3 Definition of key terminology: Adult Learning and Education (ALE), Non-formal Education (NFE) and LLL in Thailand

The following section provides differentiated definitions of key concepts (LLL, ALE, NFE) and policies and analyses how these are put into practice in Thailand, including an analysis of the socio-historical backgrounds and revelant actors in the field. The concept of LLL is deeply entrenched in Thai culture and tradition (Charungkaittikul, 2019). The evolution of LLL in Thailand can be drawn back to the Sukhothai period (1248-1438) before the law on compulsory education. During this period, education was provided in the temples, mostly for boys, in the King's palace and individual scholars' houses, mostly for princes, princesses, the children of nobles, and courtiers. The Inner Palace became a school for women and girls, usually of the middle class, whose parents sent them to live in the palace so that they could gain kinds of education in craft and etiquette in the family. Girls were taught by their mothers and relatives. Their education included arts of handicraft, weaving, sewing, cooking and helping in the fields, etc. in terms of informal learning and leisure activities. Thai local wisdom plays a prominent role in enabling LLL in Thai society. It strengthens the community's economic situation on the basis of self-sufficiency. LLL also boosts moral values and local culture among community members. Local wisdom is defined as basic knowledge, abilities, and skills gained from living in balance with nature and accumulated through many years of experiences, learning, development, and transmission. This wisdom and culture have helped to solve people's real-life problems, uplifted the community's economic situation, and contributed to the development of the way of life by the changing time and environment.

Thailand has a long-standing history of giving priority to adult and non-formal education as a means of providing LLL opportunities to the out-of-school population. Non-formal education services were initially aimed at literacy and primary levels; it has expanded significantly into secondary and vocational levels.

ALE is perceived as part of continuing lifelong education and LLL in the context of Thailand. It is known as Non-Formal Education (NFE), and Informal Education (IFE) for adult learners which provides equal access to educational opportunities addressing people's needs in their daily lives, and decentralizes governance to enable a variety of organizations and networks to participate in conducting educational programs and activities. It was officially introduced in Thailand in 1940 when the Adult Education Division, Department of General Education, Ministry of Education, was established. The work on adult education has been conducted since then with changes along the way to respond to evolving contexts of modern and historic Thai society. Thailand has been promoting and developing ALE in terms of educational opportunities and improving the quality of education for more than a decade. ALE in Thailand has developed through the collaborative efforts of various government organizations, NGOs, and development actors in the private sector. These ALE actors work in a coalition with one of them coordinating programs and activities at the national, regional, provincial, district, village, and community levels.

According to the study entitled "The role of adult learning and education in Cambodia, Laos PDR, Vietnam, and Thailand - Country studies" (DVV International, 2020), ALE has played a massive role in the Thai education system. Nevertheless, the terminology and its notion have been increasingly incorporated into LLL. The concept has also been integrated into non-formal education curricula at some higher education institutions, such as King Pradjadhipok's Institute, Top Governance Training (Nor-Por-Sor), and continuing education curricula conducted by universities. At the community level, Community Learning Centres (CLCs) are a local educational institution set up and managed by communities themselves to provide various adult learning opportunities with the support of the government, NGOs, and the private sector. Literacy, post-literacy, income generation, life skill programs, and basic education are provided at CLCs. The learning programs as well as the size of CLCs, vary according to local needs and contexts. In Thailand, there are various types of CLCs located in numerous different places, such as district administration offices, temples, schools, community halls, local elders' houses, factories, and prisons. In 2013, there was a total of 8,764 CLCs all over the country (Office of the Non-formal and Informal Education, 2013). Thailand has been expanding the number of CLCs, in order to reach out to more people in an effort to provide better literacy, vocational and life skills (UNESCO Bangkok, 2015). There are CLCs established in particular target areas, including ones for ethnic minorities such as the Mlabri people (Phi Tong Luang), the Mogan (Surin Islands) as well as Pondok schools in southern border areas populated by ethnic Malays (UNESCO Bangkok, 2013). In addition, the Ministry of Education (MOE) has initiated a new literacy promotion project to develop community reading houses (or the smart book houses) to assist local people throughout the country in the pursuit of LLL. Currently, the total numbers of these reading houses are 21,350 in 77 provinces around the country. In 2020, the report by ONIE's Data Management Information System (DMIS) showed that there are approximately 3,271,209 people using the services. 24,579 activities were organized and 1,441,400 people participated. Moreover, 1,480,549 printed books were distributed to each community reading house (DMIS, 2020).

Different stakeholders have carried the responsibility of managing, administrating, and coordinating ALE within the MOE over time. They have worked with the Department of Non-Formal Education (DNFE) from 1997 to 2003 and the Office of the Non-Formal Education Commission (ONFEC) from 2003 to 2007, and from 2008 to the present time. ONFEC became the Office of the Non-Formal and Informal Education (ONIE) in 2008. This action constitutes a promotion for both the office as well as the role of informal education in Thailand, which was done according to the country's educational and bureaucratic reform at the same time. The 2008 Non-Formal and Informal Education Promotion Act later declared education to be a lifelong process. Participants of LLL are from a wide range of backgrounds, such as individuals, families, communities, local organizations, NGOs, private sector actors, vocational organizations, religious institutions, entrepreneurs, and other social sectors. The nonformal and informal education system aims to translate the principle of LLL into effective practices to enable people to continuously improve their quality of life (ONIE, 2008). Thailand strives to develop a learning society promoting local wisdom in this manner because it is assumed to make the country internationally competitive.

According to the National Education Act of 1999 and its amendment, the National Education Act Amendment (Issue 2) of 2002, "lifelong education" as education resulting from the integration of formal, non-formal, and informal education is meant to facilitate continuous lifelong development of quality of life (Office of the Education Council, 2003). The Act further prescribes that all learners must have access to formal, non-formal, and informal education. The results of the non-formal education implementation activities reported by ONIE (ONIE, 2019) indicated that there are 2,016,991 Thai citizens who have been involved in the continuing non-formal education activities, e.g., 78,952 for literacy development, 381,175 life-skill activities, 942,178 career development (through community learning centers: CLCs), 345,092 NFE social and community development, 192,150 sufficiency economy learning, and 77,444 for non-formal education for hill tribes, and other similar demographics. However, other non-formal education, such as the non-formal basic education has also received better rates of graduates with 98,669 in the first semester and 112,110 for a second semester. In total, there are approximately 210,779 qualified students passing a certain degree of basic education (ONIE, 2019). In Thailand, CLCs have been the main driving force for fostering various learning opportunities for local people. CLCs support empowerment, social transformation, and improvement of the quality of life of the people. The main functions of CLCs are to provide education and training, community information and resource services, community development activities, and coordination and networks. Most CLCs in Thailand apply the sufficiency economy philosophy, a method of development based on moderation, prudence, and social immunity, one that uses knowledge and virtue as guidelines in living.

On the other hand, other educational institutions, families, communities, community organizations, local administration organizations, the private sector, private entities, social institutions, and all relevant parties are required to collaborate in making learning readily available to everyone, regardless of time and location (Office of the Education Council, 2003).

The term "lifelong learning" is widely used in different contexts (Charungkaittikul and Henschke, 2014). LLL shares two primary meanings for the Thai community. The first meaning is the education that precipitates throughout people's lifetime, starting from the first day to the last day of their lives ("cradle to grave"). In addition, LLL with the consideration of the first meaning is also regarded as being a part of people's daily lives. The second meaning of LLL is a combination of the different systems of Thai education which helps people continue to develop their lives. It can be observed that the role of educational institutions and agencies is to provide several educational activities for people in society. However, it is often overseen that the emergent stage of LLL depicts the deep learning propensity of a self-directed, autonomous, and independent 'active learner', that focuses on an individual's learning as lifelong human development or LLL pathway (Charungkaittikul, 2016a). Therefore, LLL should rather be seen as an overarching framework that recognizes a lifecycle perspective as a firm foundation for an integrated system of all models of education and modes of learning that people should be encouraged to continue throughout their lives (UNESCO, 2015).

Strategies for establishing this framework in Thailand include developing a range of life skills through distance learning, establishing workplace learning and CLCs, and promoting the joint sharing of resources with the formal school sector. In order to support the promotion of a LLL culture in the non-formal education sector, internet connections have been made increasingly accessible in all areas and system improvements have been implemented to provide recognition of prior learning and facilitate credit transfer.

Further, the development of the LLL society in Thailand is also based on the proactive partnership approaches of various networks which are willing to organize LLL activities. Those networks hold the right to and responsibilities in organizing LLL. Meanwhile, a holistic and integrated approach needs to be applied in order to create a balance in organizing LLL activities. Learning is aimed to be integrated with the citizens' ways of life and it should address different needs of different target groups as well as the social conditions of each target group. Finally, it has been recommend that curricula be adjusted to be in line with the changes in the economy, society, politics, administration, and environment in order to develop the nation in a sustainable way (Charungkaittikul et al. 2013).

However, the terms described in this section have been utilized by various stakeholders with different meanings in separate contexts. To effectively develop LLL in the country, the establishment of an applied framework and outcome-based goals are crucial requisitions. In Thailand as elsewhere, lifelong education and learning increasingly play an essential role in national development and reform agendas, which has an impact on various stakeholders across key sectors of the society and economy. Appropriate public funding and general support are relevant to all citizens. Based on the current national policies (e.g., the 12th National Economic and Social Development Plan 2017-2021; the National Education Act 1999 and its amendment, the National Education Act Amendment (Issue 2) 2002, the Non-Formal Education and Informal Education Act 2008, and Thailand's 20-Year National Strategy and Thailand 4.0 Policy: A digital economy and social development strategy), Thailand is moving forward to promote and support LLL activities among organizations and communities by engaging in basic informal education, literacy promotion and continuing education, developing educational resources and educational technology in all types of education (formal, non-formal, and informal), and implementing research and activities among members of all backgrounds (Office of the National Economic and Social Development Board, 2017).

Thai LLL has historically been associated with adult learning and education and non-formal and informal education, yet the conceptualization of LLL has developed and gone beyond those concepts in terms of expanding the education system and integrating various types of approaches. Policies and laws are supposed to help ensure that non-formal education and informal education support LLL for all and that all people have opportunities to learn and develop their potentials. Research and activities in the fields of LLL would pertain to the further development of the national human potential and the sustainable development of the country. Based on these reflections, the vision of LLL in Thailand thus needs to include strategies for the development of a knowledge-based and learning society. It can be recommended to emphasize the promotion of human resource development for integrity, knowledge, and resilience, where different kinds of learning will be developed throughout life in groups of all ages. In the Thai context, it is recognized as essential to also include aspects of local wisdom and local culture in future LLL since this has played a substantial role in the national economic and social development (Charungkaittikul, 2011).

4 An analysis of the opportunities and challenges of promoting LLL policies in Thailand

The country has faced several opportunities and challenges of promoting LLL at all levels which will be discussed here in detail against the background of the previous analysis. The challenges include, for instance, the climate crisis, technological changes, shifts in demography, population displacement, educational equality and accessibility as well as changing patterns of consumption and production. These challenges, combined with the growing complexity and uncertainty of modern life and work, demand a population that is adaptable, resilient, and sensitized to learning and a system of LLL that both fosters and embodies these qualities by providing opportunities for adults to learn throughout life (UNESCO, 2016). Therefore, Thailand needs to focus on four priority areas: review curricula and set common standards for students, build the capacity of students at all levels, prepare teachers and school leaders, and improve teachers' skills in technology and foster rural internet access. Moreover, other suggestions include having a clearly structured system of education administration, dynamic, innovation-driven education management of international quality, pre-school education as the strong foundation for the country's development, and basic foundation education (K-12) should reach international level quality. It should also encompass teacher training of high quality (Office of National Education Council, 2016). Further, there is a need to increase and widen participation in ALE, particularly for the least advantaged people, investing more and doing more to raise demands while improving data on what works and which groups are being left out (UIL, 2019). The central challenge for Thailand is bringing about the change that is envisioned.

The Office of Non-formal and Informal Education (ONIE) is a critical agency in charge of promoting LLL among Thai people. Its mission is to ensure that all Thai citizens are given LLL opportunities as well as professional training in order for citizens to find quality jobs in the present and future markets. It assumes that this will help create permanent employment as well as a knowledge-based society (ONIE, 2011). However, ONIE is facing several challenges. A central problem is how to transfer and/or recognize credentials, study results, and/or experiential outcomes between formal, informal, and non-formal systems of education. In contrast to formal education contexts, non-formal education in Thailand involves even more comprehensive or more significant learning needs, more diverse target groups, and the shortage of complete or up-to-date database systems to assist education managers with this process. For instance, ONIE (2011) recognizes that some supporter networks are neither motivated nor have a clear understanding of their roles and responsibilities. The Office of the Educational Council (2010) ascertained that learning results of learners in the non-formal system remain below standard. Similarly, the National Education Plan (2009–2016) recognizes the related problem that this system is currently unable to meet the demands of many key target groups. Therefore, the vague association between non-formal education and LLL held by some stakeholders is also a source of confusion for many public and private organizations trusted with the responsibility of promoting more effective lifelong education (and thus a learning society) in Thailand (Charungkaittikul, 2016a).

The wealth of the nation and the educational agenda have to be aligned. Many studies (e.g., Hencharoenlert et al, 2016; Charungkaittikul, 2019; Maesincee, 2020; Lerttaweepornkul, 2020) have stressed the need for the government to create an information and LLL ecosystem that is quickly and widely accessible to all people and that is providing them with current information about in-demand work and life skills. Also, the policies that promote a transformation of a nation into a learning society are markedly different in various countries; as noted above, especially in terms of the distinction between developed and developing countries. One area that would also be important for developing countries such as Thailand concerns the link between education and the challenges of an emerging global economy. This link is central for many Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries, such as Australia, Canada, Finland, Sweden, Japan, Korea, United Kingdom or the United States, to promote the concept of a learning society. Operating successfully in the knowledge economy requires mastery of assets of knowledge and competencies (Callieri, 2001; OECD, 2002), such as acting autonomously, using tools interactively, and functioning in socially heterogeneous groups. The concept of competency has several features. It is strongly related to contexts that combine interrelated abilities and values, is teachable (although it can be acquired outside the formal education system), and is displayed as a continuum. Achieving these goals requires a fundamental change in the way learning takes place and in the relationship among the different stakeholders.

Thailand has been working on ASEAN integration, specifically since the establishment of the ASEAN Economic Community (AEC) in 2015. ASEAN citizens are now easily able to transfer labor, goods, technology, services, and cultures to other member countries. The country needs collaborative and concerted efforts from all sectors to achieve its goal, according to the policy dimension "Stability, Prosperity, and Sustainability". There is a need to engage national policymakers and stakeholders in a dialogue on LLL, helping governments formulate visions and concrete action plans to establish both LLL and innovation frameworks appropriate to each country's context.

Due to a rapidly changing environment including lifestyles, learning, and work culture, population structure and due to limitations of the present educational system, there is a drive to direct the country into a LLL society that promotes LLL for all people and to provide an ecosystem for LLL as a tool for developing the quality of life. Charungkaittikul (2019) pointed out that Thailand needs to reconsider the current national policies and strategies in this new normal to meet the growing diversity of economic and societal imperatives and to ensure positive learning outcomes. Future policies of a LLL society in Thailand could thus be oriented towards typical policy responses other countries have used (Peterson, 1979; Tuckett, 1997; Roth, 2001; Leader, 2003; Han, 2011; UNESCO, 2014; UIL, 2017; 2019), including improving access, quality and equity, ensuring foundation skills for all, recognition of all forms of learning not just formal courses of study, mobilizing resources, rethinking resource allocation across all sectors, settings and over the life-cycle, and ensuring collaboration among a wide range of partners (OECD, 2010).

In relation to the example of a future Lifelong Learning Promotion Act, Charungkaittikul et al (2013) have identified that the central problem to be tackled is how the scope of LLL remains generally unclear to the broader society in policy as well as in the practice. The authors propose that a new, improved version of the act should also focus on encouraging a better understanding and practice of the process of LLL as well as provisions such as learning resources or opportunities in a lifelong context. It is based on whether it is acknowledged that there is a lack of clarity between the concept of LLL and lifelong education. That is, Charungkaittikul et al (2013) point out that the LLL process needs to be encouraged independently from both the notion of educational management and also from the related confusion between formal, non-formal, and informal systems of education. They recommend an amended policy by including organizational and educational management as well as legal and transformational dimensions. Charungkaittikul et al (2013) further recognize that cooperation of all parties and relevant partnership networks is required. Effective national policies of LLL, therefore, need to achieve a convergence between economic imperatives and the societal demands as to promote social cohesion by providing long-term benefits for the individual, various organizations, and society more generally. Implementing a LLL system is complex, and many aspects should be taken into consideration, including prerequisites for policymaking, educational tradition, demographic structure, educational content, economic parameters, individual choices,

preferences, and needs. Under such circumstances, implementing LLL policies is incremental. The challenge is to ensure the implementation of an incremental approach within an agreed framework for the long-term realization of LLL.

There is a general policy agreement in the practice that Thailand should promote LLL and encourage the emergence of a related LLL society. The country has continued to face significant global and internal changes and other dynamic phenomena that may either pose threats or provide opportunities for the nation's development. A key challenge is to ensure equitable opportunities for access to quality education. A related issue is the need to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the education system and raising standards. This scenario will be key to producing a more skilled workforce and strengthening the competitiveness of the nation within the global context. Therefore, there is a need to clarify the concept of LLL, to review its application to the local context, and to consider the most appropriate policy options to pursue the goal of becoming an effective learning society within the new global situation (Charungkaittikul, 2019).

The concept of lifelong learning society indicates a collective entity (society) that develops institutional and organizational structures to promote relevant learning opportunities for all members of that society. Thus, reflecting on the needs of different stakeholders among policymakers - government, providers, and learners shall help to develop appropriate policies, planning strategies, and funding allocations (Charungkaittikul, 2019). Concisely, it is a challenge for the government, for the domestic and international policymaking community, and stakeholders across sectors. These bodies need to put LLL (through embracing all forms of learning, including formal and informal, and of people of all ages) at the center of all efforts to achieve sustainable economies and societies and recognize its vital role in developing integrated, holistic solutions to the problems faced, as well as facilitate the prosperity and the well-being of its people. As Stiglitz & Greenwald (2015) deduce, the link between everyday experiential learning and the wider social learning of regular knowledge building is the key to a society that can also achieve sustainable as well as innovative development. Building a LLL system is not limited to "adding" adult and continuing education (as well as non-formal education) on top of the existing school system. It requires a fundamental process of the structural adjustment of the whole national education system from the perspective of the systems approach. As Han (2001) identifies, this requirement involves various 'border-cross' challenges of integrating diverse educational domains within a whole learning ecosystem. The right policies to assist this process are thus crucial.

There is a need for proper lifelong policies with effective implementation through the flexible delivery of various activities and services, governance and measures, and coordination mechanisms that are most likely to be relevant to Thai culture and local learning habits. A lifelong learning system to ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote LLL opportunities for all; this concept is depicted in Figure 2.

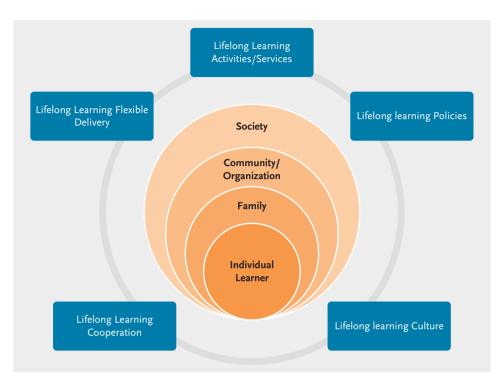


Figure 2: Lifelong Learning System

5 Recommendations for the operationalization of LLL

LLL in Thailand aims to focus on the triangle of knowledge, skills, and mindset that enhance employability, personal development, active citizenship, and social inclusion. To strengthen the role of LLL, this study puts forward the following recommendations.

Building an understanding internationally and fostering a local LLL mindset: The right perspectives of LLL require a personal interest from the learner to grow at every stage of their career, supported by constant encouragement and motivation from leaders, management, and an environment that is conducive to learn. This initiative needs to include the role of local agencies and international organizations. For instance, The International Council on Adult Education (ICAE) aims to create an open stage for international opinions where policymakers and implementers of adult education can exchange their experiences and learnings and build-up a common interest and understanding on LLL.

Extending of the definition, target group, and dimension of adult education: ALE is an integrated LLL system. In order to respond to the learning and skills training needs of the Thai adult population, the definitions and meanings of adult education, as well as the extent of adult education programs, should be reviewed and redefined.

Besides, flexible adult learning and education systems that enable learners to move within and across education, training, and employment, and informal learning should be applied to provide learning opportunities for all people.

Sharing and strengthening suitable practice lessons: Various significant learnings are related to the designing of learning programs through the application of innovative/technological media, promoting learning effectiveness among adults who have different social backgrounds, creating associate networks, participating in adult learning by various sectors of society, managing basic and administrative structures in promoting LLL for adults, applying legislative measures to promote significant participations among associate networks, and supporting the promotion of adult learning and education or LLL for adults, etc.

Training and development of LLL providers and facilitators: The lack of high-quality teachers and other education personnel remains an essential limitation to the quality of education, especially regarding the educational achievements of learners. Therefore, the government should emphasize the training of teachers and concerned facilitators.

Ensuring public-private partnerships: All LLL involves collaboration among a wide range of partners. Establishing linkages and forging partnerships are critical. Bringing together government, NGOs, businesses, and private sectors, communities, and other stakeholders is a challenging but necessary task. The convergence of actions and strategic partnerships could pave the way for more effective LLL responses, and the results can be expected to be powerful.

Applying research outcomes: Although there have been many studies focusing on the access to educational opportunities, the efficiency, and achievement of strategies on educational services, or the quality of the delivery approach system, several units in the MOE still lack a sound system of synthesizing research findings. Collaboration, as well as unity among agencies, could be improved to support the data for further LLL development in all dimensions.

Developing different LLL policies and programs: In the development of education today, Thailand has materialized the necessity of making services more accessible to the people by means of coverage, equality, equity, and quality under efficient management and administration. The country needs to put more effort into developing appropriate LLL policies and programs. Although the Thai government is finding new and innovative ways of engaging individuals to learn, the country is required to enhance the participation of learners through different networks, innovative grants and contribution projects, innovative funding arrangements, awareness-building activities, and to elaborate new strategies by developing or implementing new, comprehensive, strategic adult-literacy plans and frameworks.

To effectively promote LLL for all citizens, the country must have a systematic policy for LLL, a holistic and integrated approach to creating an overall LLL development that helps balance LLL activities and address different needs of diverse target groups. The proposed transformation cannot be successful without the cooperation of all related parties and effective law enforcement as well as various partnership networks that will help manage education. It is appropriate to identify clear responsibilities regarding LLL for specific organizations. The organizational dimension and education management aspects are also essential to manage and promote LLL that is relevant to Thai society. In addition, there should be systematic measures and indicators, as well as guidelines to make LLL possible. Ideally, a way to enhance policy coordination and coherence between the different partners involved is to create LLL institutions for policy formation and program delivery country-wide. The proposed institution can act as a coordinator, an advisory body, or an actual policymaking body. Many aspects must be considered, including the prerequisites for policymaking, educational tradition, demographic structure, educational content, economic parameters, individual choices, preferences, and needs. The challenge is to ensure that an incremental approach is planted and implemented within an agreed framework for the long-term realization of LLL opportunities for all. The central government needs to create a space for meaningful and representative engagement to build trust and a shared understanding of respective responsibilities with all education actors.

Within this uncertain world where disruption is a new normal, it is the opportunity for each individual as a learner to transform themselves to become an active LLL with the support of real-life systems in a dynamic LLL environment in society.

6 Conclusion

Throughout the past decade, Thailand has continued to conduct research on the best and most innovative measures and good practices to promote the development of LLL among people as well as supporting the participation of all concerned sectors in society. The research, development, and innovation of LLL targets two crucial issues. First, to find a system that promotes the development of a universally accessible high-quality education with an inclusive framework for disadvantaged groups. Second, to find an effective way to develop the quality of education and learning as education or learning opportunities that help people to lead a decent life in terms of health and well-being, culture, spirituality, and in all considerations that contribute to personal development and dignity.

To transform the current policy, the Non-Formal and Informal Education Promotion Act B. E. 2551 to the Lifelong Learning Promotion Act, it is essential to define the national scope of lifelong education and the overall picture of LLL in terms of philosophies, concepts, and strategies. Basic information about the transformation should be promoted to society to see a clear direction of the proposed action through legal channels. Finally, people and systems must be fully prepared to adapt to future changes and reap future benefits by keeping up with globalization, building resilience, and developing LLL societies to enhance the well-being of individuals and society. This study offered unique insights into the current state of LLL in Thailand and assessed its contribution to SDGs. It recommended actions to be taken in order to ensure SDG 4 which states – 'ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all'.

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Review: Classroom Behaviour Management in Further, Adult and Vocational Education

Gwennaëlle Mulliez

Denise Robinson (Ed.) (2019): Classroom Behaviour Management in Further, Adult and Vocational Education. Moving Beyond Control? London: Bloomsbury Academic, 151 pp.

The anthology comprises ten literature-based and practice-oriented contributions that deal with the topic "Classroom Behaviour Management" in adult education and further education. The editors' aim is to support teachers and prospective teachers in their professional training and development. In addition to providing practical advice on how to deal with the participant behaviour in the course, the central concern is to develop a deeper and critical understanding of the social conditioning of both their own professional intentions and the behaviour of participants in the classroom. The necessity to deal with this complex of issues, which the authors from the UK see as particularly justified by the fact that, as a result of various political activities and guidelines, there is a change in the professional self-image of teachers in the neoliberal world: "Teachers, as reconstituted 'classroom and learning managers', are no longer primarily there to teach but to manage future human resources; and students subconsciously or consciously recognize this" (Robinson, p.2). These changes are particularly obvious in the school context but are becoming increasingly relevant in the area of vocational training. In terms of content, the contributions in the anthology cover a wide range of topics, from linguistic reflection on the linguistic representation of disorders and conflicts in the course process, considerations on affirmative leadership in the field of mental health, ethos and culture in formal and informal sectors and their effects on behavior management, criticism of general approaches to behavior management, to the examination of the use of professional standards for teachers and trainers to promote positive behavior.

Two of these contributions will be highlighted due to their particular potential for the practice and research of adult and continuing education:

In his contribution, Pete Bennett discusses the effects of the political discourse on behaviour management and the related reinterpretation of the role of the teacher as 'classroom manager'. Using Foucault's genealogical approach, the author combines elements from politics, philosophy, autobiography and practice. He argues that educational aspirations are increasingly shaped by the myth that investment in education can be equated with future economic gains and social advancement (Bennett, p. 20). Instead, education must recall its emancipatory claim. This can only happen if, instead of the deficit perspective on learners, the relationship between learners and teachers is renegotiated, taking equality and social justice into account. The prerequisite for this, however, is that teachers also learn to emancipate themselves in their professional actions (in the sense of Rancière: model of 'universal teaching').

The importance of evidence-based recommendations for teaching practice in continuing education is the focus of another article in the anthology that deserves special mention. Following Schleicher, David Powell emphasizes that advice without empirical evidence represents only well-intentioned opinions. Overall, a synthesis of teaching-led research and research-led teaching must be aimed for in the educational context. However, this requires a certain amount of know-how on the part of the teachers in particular regarding the evaluation and implementation of study results into their own practice. The author calls this ability 'research literacy' (Powell 2019, p.72). First, studies relevant to the context of continuing education and classroom behaviour management are summarized in an overview. Powell notes a serious research gap with regard to quantitative research methods for evaluating the effectiveness of classroom management strategies and the lack of studies explicitly related to the context of continuing education. He critically emphasizes that school-related studies are often provided with a note on their transferability to other educational contexts. In particular, the studies by Parry and Traubmann (2013) and Marzano et al. (2003) are discussed in detail and their implications for classroom behaviour management are questioned. From this, Powell derives his plea to shift the focus to teachers and their relationship to participants in the future. In conclusion, the author offers three methods - action research, self-study and living theory - which are intended to encourage those involved in further education to empirically and scientifically accompany their organizational and pedagogical-didactic actions.

The explicit examination of classroom management in adult and continuing education still represents a desideratum of research on professionalism in adult education. The diversity of contributions in this anthology clearly illustrates that the perspective of classroom management is promising for the investigation of problems regarding the organization of interaction contexts in courses. Especially following Powell's contribution, empirical follow-up questions can be formulated with regard to the appropriateness of pedagogical options for action and the implementation of research results in practice. The subject of all contributions is formal adult education. In addition, it should be investigated to what extent classroom management becomes relevant for other areas of adult education against the background of social change processes. The central objective of the anthology, to support teachers and prospective teachers in their professional development, is fulfilled by the authors in that each contribution is completed with case studies, questions for reflection or references to further literature. This encourages readers to critically examine their own teaching behaviour and the reactions of their course participants and to recontextualize disturbances.

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Rezension: Rekrutierungserfahrungen und -strategien von KursleiterInnen und TrainerInnen

Eva Bonn

Schneider, D. (2019). Rekrutierungserfahrungen und –strategien von KursleiterInnen und TrainerInnen. Über den Zugang in und die Zusammenarbeit mit Bildungsorganisationen. Bielefeld: wbv, 255 S..

Lehrpersonen gelten als Schlüsselfaktor für die Qualität von Weiterbildung. Bisher existieren jedoch weder einheitliche, formal geregelte Voraussetzungen für die Lehrtätigkeit in der Weiterbildung, noch gibt es trägerübergreifende Standards für deren Ausübung. Vor diesem Hintergrund erhält die Rekrutierungssituation eine besondere Bedeutung, da hier der Zugang zu einer Weiterbildungsorganisation geregelt wird und Aushandlungsprozesse zur Auftragsklärung stattfinden. Die Dissertation von Dorett Schneider setzt an diesem Punkt an und fokussiert Rekrutierungserfahrungen und –strategien von Lehrenden in der Weiterbildung. Die Arbeit entstand im Rahmen des DFG-Projekts "Rekrutierungspraxen und personaldiagnostische Kompetenzen des Weiterbildungspersonals bei der Auswahl von Lehrkräften, Trainern und Beratern", das am Deutschen Institut für Erwachsenenbildung – Leibniz-Zentrum für Lebenslanges Lernen e. V. durchgeführt wurde.

Mit der Fokussierung der Rekrutierungssituation rückt die Autorin einen bisher wenig berücksichtigten, aber für die Weiterbildung konstitutiven Schnittpunkt in den Blick und setzt sich zum Ziel, einen Erkenntniszuwachs zur Zusammenarbeit mit und zum Zugang in Weiterbildungsorganisationen zu generieren. Dabei soll auch berücksichtigt werden, ob und wenn ja welche Unterschiede sich in Abhängigkeit von den jeweiligen institutionellen Rahmenbedingungen und Handlungslogiken zeigen. Grundlage für die Unterscheidung institutioneller Rahmenbedingungen bildet das Modell der Reproduktionskontexte nach Schrader (2010).

Dieser Zielsetzung folgend wird zunächst eine umfassende Beschreibung des Forschungsstandes vorgenommen (Kap. 1). Unter Rückgriff auf aktuelle empirische Studien und Berichtssysteme stellt Schneider zunächst die Beschäftigungssituation von Lehrenden in der Weiterbildung dar. Aufbauend darauf beleuchtet die Autorin den Zugang in Organisationen der Weiterbildung, indem organisationale Rekrutierungsprozesse und daraus abgeleitete Implikationen für die Auftragsakquise fokussiert werden. Hierbei werden auch kontextspezifische Rekrutierungssituationen in differenzierter Form in den Blick gerückt. Anschließend werden Bewertungen der Rekrutierungssituationen unter Einbezug von Befunden der Akzeptanzforschung aus dem Bereich der Personal-, Arbeits- und Organisationspsychologie diskutiert, die unter anderem als Einflussfaktoren für Strategien zur Passungsherstellung ausgewiesen werden. Des Weiteren wird der Forschungsstand zur Zusammenarbeit von Lehrenden und planend-disponierendem Personal herausgearbeitet. Hier wird das erwachsenenpädagogische Planungshandeln entlang konkreter Tätigkeiten und hinsichtlich der prototypischen Zuständigkeiten aufgeschlüsselt.

Kapitel 2 differenziert die Zielsetzung der Arbeit über vier Forschungsfragen aus. Die Forschungsfragen zielen auf Erkenntnisse zur Beschreibung und Bewertung von Rekrutierungssituationen, wobei insbesondere Prozesse der Kontaktaufnahme und der Auftragsklärung fokussiert werden (Forschungsfragen 1+2). Die dritte Forschungsfrage expliziert ein Erkenntnisinteresse zu Strategien einer langfristig erfolgreichen Auftragsakquise von Lehrenden in der Weiterbildung. Der vierte Fragenkomplex bezieht sich schließlich auf die Erfassung kontextspezifischer Unterschiede.

Die Offenlegung und Begründung des methodischen Vorgehens erfolgt in Kapitel 3. Einem qualitativen Zugang folgend stützt sich die explorative Arbeit auf problemzentrierte, leitfadengestützte Interviews mit elf KursleiterInnen und TrainerInnen, die inhaltsanalytisch ausgewertet wurden. Die Vorgehensweisen zu Datenerhebung und -auswertung werden in diesem Rahmen in detaillierter und reflektierter Form wiedergegeben und begründet. Besonders hervorzuheben ist dabei das mehrstufige, theoretisch fundierte Verfahren der Stichprobenziehung, das innerhalb der konstant gehaltenen Rahmengrößen eine größtmögliche inhaltliche Sättigung zum Ziel hat und die Limitationen einer eher geringen Stichprobengröße auszugleichen versucht.

Die mit dieser Methodik generierten empirischen Erkenntnisse werden in Kapitel 4 deskriptiv dargelegt und anschließend diskutiert (Kap. 5). Die Rekrutierungssituation wird als zentrales Moment der Zugangsregelung zum Feld der Weiterbildung ausgewiesen. Die Auswahl von Lehrenden zeigt deutliche Parallelen zu Selektionsprozessen für Festanstellungen, obwohl die Verfahren und Kriterien häufig variieren, da ein allgemein anerkannter Eignungsnachweis fehlt. Neben der Zugangsregelung erfolgt im Rahmen der Rekrutierungssituation auch die Auftragsklärung, die geprägt wird von den professionellen Selbstverständnissen der beteiligten Akteure. Aus dem Datenmaterial erwächst schließlich eine differenzierte und umfassende Typologie zur Zusammenarbeit von Lehrenden und planend-disponierendem Personal in der Weiterbildung. Insgesamt wird deutlich, dass die in der erwachsenenpädagogischen Literatur bislang verankerte Vorstellung einer prototypischen Aufgabenteilung zwischen Lehrenden und Planenden in der Praxis nicht zwingend vorzufinden ist, sondern dass durchaus Variationen und Abweichungen von der als typisch angesehenen Aufgabenteilung zu beobachten sind. Es bleibt zu prüfen, ob sich diese Ergebnisse auch in einer größeren, heterogenen Stichprobe wiederfinden oder ob sich in der Breite möglicherweise doch eine weitgehende Orientierung an den prototypischen Tätigkeitsabgrenzungen manifestiert. Die kontextspezifische Betrachtung der Ergebnisse zeichnet ein eher uneindeutiges Bild. Während sich zwar durchaus kontextspezifische Rekrutierungserfahrungen der Lehrenden offenbaren, bleibt unklar, ob deren Strategien zur Auftragsakquise eher kontextspezifisch ausgerichtet sind oder sich primär über das eigene professionelle Selbstverständnis entwickeln.

In der Zusammenschau ist festzuhalten, dass Dorett Schneider in ihrer Arbeit mit dem Fokus auf Rekrutierungssituationen eine hoch relevante Schnittstelle der Weiterbildung beleuchtet, die bislang kaum Berücksichtigung gefunden hat. Dabei eröffnet sie nicht nur neue Perspektiven für das Forschungsfeld der Erwachsenenund Weiterbildung, sondern bietet auch Anknüpfungspunkte für Reflexions- und Entwicklungsbemühungen in der Praxis. Insgesamt kann der theoretische und methodische Ansatz dieser Arbeit als erkenntnisreicher Beitrag und als vielversprechender Ausgangspunkt gewertet werden, um die Schnittstelle von Programm- und Veranstaltungsplanung in den Fokus weiterer wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten zu rücken.

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Internationales Jahrbuch der Erwachsenenbildung International Yearbook of Adult Education

Researching and Analyzing Adult Education Policies

The focus of this year's issue is adult education policy. The volume takes up theoretical foundations, discusses methods and presents current empirical findings from selected research projects. First, theories and theoretical approaches in educational policy analysis are discussed and research questions and methodological approaches are presented, followed by selected empirical findings. In various contributions, the authors analyze educational policy measures and strategies as well as regulation and funding in the USA, Great Britain, Spain, Thailand, and in least developed countries, each with a different focus.

Reviews on "Recruitment Experiences and Strategies of Course Instructors and Trainers" and "Classroom Behaviour Management in Further Adult and Vocational Education" complement the yearbook.

Im Internationalen Jahrbuch der Erwachsenenbildung (IJEB/IYAE) werden gegenwärtige und grundsätzliche Fragen der Bildung im Erwachsenenalter in internationalvergleichender Perspektive diskutiert. Dabei widmet sich jede Ausgabe einem Schwerpunktthema, das in englischen und deutschen Artikeln verschiedene Aspekte wissenschaftlich betrachtet. Beiträge zu aktuellen Themen und ein Rezensionsteil ergänzen die Ausgaben.

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