Between Global and Local: Adult Learning and Communities Network

Learning and Living in Diverse Communities

This collection of studies was reviewed by:
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Preface: Living and Learning in Diverse Communities

In the previous conferences of 2017 and 2018 at the University of Lower Silesia in Wrocław and the Dante Institute in Opatija, central themes were the tensions across Europe and elsewhere caused by a rise of populisms and the tasks and challenges confronting the research community in response to the global targets for adult learning set by the UN 2030 Agenda. In sum, both sets of themes had to do with the changing contexts in which adult learners and communities now find themselves, and with the alternating pulls and pushes of neo-liberal or backward-looking conservative governments and the increasing demands for empowerment and self-development contained in international policy documents. A situation that requires new answers, new research practices and that asks us to look at new phenomena developing in the local and global.

The June 2019 Network Conference, the 11th of the Network since 2006 in Faro, which was hosted and organised by the Institute of Human Development and Cultural Studies at the University of Pécs and the House of Civic Communities in Pécs - Hungary, continued the discussion where it was left off in Opatija, Croatia and addressed the broad question of 'Living and Learning in Diverse Communities', communities confronted by the chances implicit in the growth in importance of Lifelong Learning policies and the enhanced possibilities of adult learning which the local implementation of widened access to learning delivers, while at the same time communities - in Europe and beyond – have been involved in conflicts around scarce learning resources and about 'entitlement'. Peaceful co-learning and co-development have been questioned or threatened by chauvinism while cultures of openness to others are still branded as naïve, impracticable or downright harmful.

This Network returns always to the centrality of the notion of 'living together' as a challenge to the tensions innate to the global-local experience. The concept of living and learning together in peace shapes and engenders the work of researchers active in varying forms of participatory research into adult learning and the learning lives of and in communities around our continent and beyond. 'Living and learning together' can give sense to what happens in people's lives, in their communities, their work, families, and in the social initiatives and movements they are part of. Living together and learning together predicates and privileges the practice of dialogue, of reflexivity, and solidarity. If we accept that diverse communities include within themselves all the diversity of the people living in them, then in this sense it can be affirmed that communities are places to learn in, places both of shelter and of conflict and debate, where 'living together in diversity' is debated, fought for and defended.

Accordingly, this volume is a collection of papers which resonate some challenging aspects of adults' living and learning in diverse communities through particular dimensions of critical insight. As Editor-in-Chief of the e-book series of the Lifelong Learning Research Centre of the University of Pécs, let me hereby thank each and all authors for their input and, moreover, the convenors of the ESREA BGL-ALC Network, Prof. Ewa Kurantowicz, Prof. Rob Ewans and Prof. Emilio Lucio-Villegas for having made strong support and work for holding the 11th Network conference in Pécs.

Papers of this volume were reviewed by Prof. Dr. (h.c) Dr. Heribert Hinzen, honoris causa professor of the University of Pécs in adult learning and education.

Pécs, March 2020.   **Dr. habil Balázs Németh PhD**
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Review Note

on the Collection of
Learning and Living in Diverse Communities
Between Global and Local: Adult Learning and Communities Network
ESREA BGL-ALC – University of Pécs, 2019 / 2020

The conference took place in the House of Civic Communities in the city of Pécs, Hungary, in June 2019. It was the 11th conference which the specialized network on "Between Global and Local – Adult Learning and Communities" of the European Society on the Research for the Education of Adults (ESREA) has been organizing ever since 2006. Partners in Poland and Croatia were the hosts in the two previous years.

"Communities" is the most commonly word used in most of the contributions which have been put together in this volume on "Learning and Living in Diverse Communities", and have send to me now 10 months after a conference that was really a living event with most pleasant organizers and hosts. Nice weather, a wonderful building and garden in the surroundings of a UNESCO Learning and European Cultural City where just outside the venue a festival of music with people enjoying together, created an unforgettable moment. Today, at the time of writing this note in April 2020 we are all living in quite a different sort of communities than most of the articles in the collection before me are writing about. Our living communities have been reduced to pairs, or small families, staying together in flats or houses, no or very little coming together for communal, cultural, or sports events. Travelling restricted, borders closed. Jogging allowed in Paris only after 19 hours, museums, theatres, restaurants and many shut down.

The COVID 19 Coronavirus is just a few months old, and has already such a deep impact on us which will be felt for many years to come, also for what the conference looked at by calling it "Learning and Living in Diverse Communities". We should be happy to have this collection of manuscripts from presentations made last year during the BGL-ALC conference. Even if the organizers would choose the same title for the conference same time this year the contributions, the discussions and therefore any subsequent collection would look quite different. Therefore let us be happy about this treasure, and it will be rich resource for any comparative study or historical comparison in the future.

I find it a most interesting collection with a broad spectrum of perspectives and views, some more theoretical, some more practical, some deeply research based, others more reflective. The numbers of articles are many although they may only be half against the

full amount of contributions that were made in the conference plenaries and working groups.

You have aspects of generations and gender in adult learning and education (ALE), and you are made to understand why Freire`s "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" is a signpost even for today. Some contributions are already discussing the growing importance of the electronic and digital resources and modes for learning; others are concerned with the economic and new industrial revolution. ALE in museums, in universities, in learning cities – what does it entail for communities and the profession called ALE? Communities living and learning together within all their diversities – you find contributions from Europe, Asia and Latin America. Everywhere there are communities – from the local to the global.

The authors retain their copyrights, and therefore are responsible for what is in their articles in detail. No need to go deeper into them here. They all start with a summary, and the table of content will lead you where you want to start reading.

What is somehow missing, especially who could not be present in the conference, is the high level of exchange between participants, in the formal meetings and informal gatherings. There was deep digestion of what was presented and it was done within lively communities.

It will be interesting to reflect on communities learning in light of the global Corona pandemic. So many examples and experiences already discussed and disseminated in the official and social media. Interpretations from political, professional and personal perspectives have started to float around. Many argue that community life will not easily go back to where it was before, and nobody knows what will stay as the new normal.

I was lucky to be invited to the ESREA conference as a key note speaker which I happily accepted as this conference was interested in and concerned with adult learning and communities from a local and global perspective, something which shaped my political, professional and personal life for more than four decades. When I received the invitation to join and share my experiences in a keynote I thought to combine biographical and historical reflections with current policies and practices in ALE. I wanted especially to look at institutions involved in ALE which may be a bit surprising in our age of digitalization and globalization driven by economic forces and technological change.

My keynote was on "Celebrations in adult education – jubilees as remember for the future: Community learning centers in a local, regional and global perspective". The local centers for adult education in Germany, the Volkshochschulen (VHS), were part of the constitution since the first democracy in 1919 following on the emperor sytem. This constitutional backing with all its follow-up in policy, legislation and financing is from my understanding most important for a system of community-based ALE which in Germany reached 10 Million adults in 2019.

It was therefore a time to celebrate. The Institute for International Cooperation of the German Adult Education Association (DVV International) was founded in 1969 and thus had its anniversary of 50 years. For me it has always been the special situation to bring the local and global together in German adult education, at the same time to support local ALE globally.

In the Corona pandemic of today all educational institutions are closed. Digital learning communities are formed: Somewhat easier on the level of university students, possible and often well done at primary and secondary schools, almost impossible on the level of kindergarten, but also in ALE centers, or Community Learning Centers (CLC), commonly called in many countries around the globe. The VHS had hundreds of thousands of courses, lectures, excursions, exhibitions for communities learning in April 2019, now in April 2020 everything is closed, they are part of the lockdown. Digitalized infrastructures for learning so far have little chance to compensate for what is being lost by coming together in communities – living and learning.

Actually I was getting ready to go again to Pécs soon for another event in June where the University of Pécs is partner of the INTALL consortium (International and Comparative Studies for Students and Practitioners in Adult Education and Lifelong Learning). In February 2020 the University of Würzburg had been hosting the INTALL Winter School, and it was a community of highly motivated MA and PhD students, their professors from some ten universities, and civil society partners from the ALE profession like the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE), the European Association for the Education of Adults (EAEA) and DVV International shared their experiences on comparative aspects of ALE. It was a living and learning community, and the bidding farewell was associated with a hoping of see you all soon. At that time Corona was just around the corner.

The INTALL community will not be meeting in Pécs in person this time, maybe in some digital form. But those who came to Pécs last year for the ESREA conference know that this sort of digital community is something quite different. Face-to-face on-line is gaining ground. But engaged discussions within lively groups, and then toasting to a good glass of wine from the Villainy and Barnaya grapes in real at the end of a working day spent together is different from saying cheers via skype or zoom.

However, sharing knowledge on local and global experiences of communities in living and learning will continue. Their interdependency was earlier already expressed in the word "glocal" when we looked at scenarios of development. Now the Global Education Review has issued a Call for Proposals on "Teaching, Learning, Leading, and Living in a Glocal World: Policy, Practice, and Praxis" (glocalissue@gmail.com)

Let me end by saying thank you again to the organizers and hosts of the conference, and those who have worked so hard to bring this collection together and make it available for wider dissemination beyond the ESREA community.

It is really good to have this collection on "Learning and Living in Diverse Communities" as an on-line source, and I shall help in sharing with my local and global communities.

Sam Duncan[1]

"Widening the Ownership of the Word"? – When Adults Read Aloud

Summary

This paper presents an overview of what we can learn from the three strands of the Reading Aloud in Britain Today project: questionnaire, Mass Observation and interviews. The findings suggest the ubiquity and diversity of the everyday adult oral reading practices largely overlooked in academic and educational discussions of reading, including the reading aloud of social media posts, graffiti, recipes, prayers and emails; to share, to memorize, to worship, to help others, to write and to be together. The discussion examines implications for adult literacy research, teaching and policy.

There's a double dimension, isn't there? […] It's something to do with your body, something to do with your voice, the ownership of the word widens completely and I think there's something quite mysterious actually.

This is a woman talking about reading, about reading aloud alone and reading aloud with other adults. She is saying something that will be recognisable to most readers of this article, and yet this is not what is usually discussed when we talk about 'reading' as educationalists or reading researchers in most of Europe and North America. 'Reading,' particularly adult reading, is usually understood to mean silent, individual reading. And much of our reading is indeed silent, but is it all? If we look back to the ancient and medieval worlds, reading was generally understood to be something oral/aural, with reading in silence the exception. Over the past eight-hundred years Europe (and much of the Americas) has seen a seen a shift in the dominant understanding of reading, from something primarily oral to something silent. Scholars differ in when they would pinpoint this shift (from as early as the thirteenth to as late as the nineteenth centuries) but agree on the factors at play: a greater proportion of the population being able to read, greater availability and range of texts to read, shifts in the teaching of reading and shifts in relevant technology such as reading glasses, indoor lighting and books themselves (see for example Cavallo & Chartier, 2003; Eliot & Rose, 2009; Manguel, 1996; Pugh, 1978; Vincent, 2000). However, this picture is not complete unless we realise that adults did read silently in the past, just as adults do read aloud today. Both in the past and in the present, the dominant idea of reading obscures the sheer diversity of practices engaged in by different adults, in different contexts and for different purposes (Duncan, 2015; Elster, 2003).

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So what do we know about whether, when, why and how adults read aloud today? Beyond anecdote, and a few examples within larger ethnographic studies (see for example the Quaker reading aloud practices in Mace, 2012), very little. Much is written about the *benefits* of reading to children (see for example, the recent Gurdon, 2019) and the uses of reading aloud as an educational *tool* (Gibson, 2008; Pergams, Jake-Matthews, & Mohanty, 2018; Westbrook, Sutherland, Oakhill, & Sullivan, 2018), and yet very little has been published on the reading aloud that adults may engage in across different life domains, in different formations and for different purposes. The UK Arts and Humanities Research Council-funded Reading Aloud in Britain Today (RABiT) project (https://www.ucl.ac.uk/ioe/research/projects/reading-aloud-britain-today) was developed to fill this gap and, taking Britain as its geographical context, it aimed to create the first record and analysis of contemporary adult reading aloud practices, examining the following research questions:

What, when, where, how and why do adults today read aloud or listen to others reading aloud?
What roles do reading aloud practices play in adult lives?
in order to:
- Better understand reading aloud as a contemporary cultural practice;
- Better understand the role of reading aloud in adult lives across different regional, linguistic and faith communities, including, but not exclusively, the domains of family, faith, work, leisure and the arts;
- Examine the wider significance of contemporary adult oral reading practices in relation to current conceptions/discourses of reading, that is, to expand notions of what 'reading' is, means or involves to better include the diversity of contemporary practices.

Methodology

This project is broadly based within New Literacy Studies (NLS) and the ethnography of literacy championed by the work of Brice-Heath (1983, 2012), Brandt (2001) and Street (1984, 2014), where literacy is conceptualized as multiple and evolving social practices embedded within varied social contexts. Our academic or educational understandings of reading and writing are therefore not fixed and rather require continual examinations of the real-life usages within different contexts. This is core to the overall rationale behind the RABiT project. It is also core to its methodology. The NLS perspective is often associated with forms of ethnographic observation, as researchers seek to document everyday uses of literacy. However, as both Baynham (2000) and Mace (1998) have emphasized, if we remember that literacy *practices* involve personal and social meanings within or beneath the observable literacy *events,* we cannot research through observation alone, but must also gather first-person accounts of these meanings. Shove et al (2012), writing not of literacy in particular but of the "dynamics" of social practices more generally, put forward that any social practice consists of three interrelated elements: materials, competences and meanings. I will return to this later, but for now, it is

important to note that this model also stresses the importance of the "meanings" within social practices.

Mirroring this social practice emphasis on the less-observable as well as the more-observable, both the original (1937-1950s) and revived (1981-) Mass Observation projects have been articulated in terms of multiple levels of duality: as both art and politically-aware social science; as both collaborative writing and data generation; and with a focus on both "what people do and what they think about what they do" (Johnes, 2017), the "correspondents" writing as sociologists (observing and recording the practices of others) and also as autobiographers (Kramer, 2014). This drive to collect observations of others' practices alongside individual accounts of participants' own (and the meanings and purposes at play) is what I have termed the "Mass Observation ethos" underpinning the three strands of the RABiT research design: questionnaire, Mass Observation directive and interviews.

Crucially, this methodological ethos is not only in keeping with the 'meanings' element of social practice theory but also with another key strand of NLS thinking, as emphasized by Street throughout his career (see for example Bloome, Castanheira, Leung, & Rowsell, 2018; Street, 1984, 2014): our research into literacy practices must help us challenge orthodoxies in order to see the unexpected, forgotten or invisible. This idea was also articulated by Sheridan (2017) in relation to Mass Observation: that these individual and no-doubt idiosyncratic Mass Observer accounts have the power to challenge accepted truths. This is crucial if we are truly interested in cultural diversity. 'Diversity' has become such a buzzword that it can be difficult to grasp its possible meanings, but certainly one of these meanings is around challenging preconceptions, breaking free of the blindness that comes from habit, and allowing ourselves to see and understand the variety of practice around us.

Resting on these ideas, a 29-item questionnaire was developed, piloted and distributed to adults (in English and Welsh) in the autumn of 2017 (mainly electronically with the option of hard copies) via project partners, community networks and social media across Britain, generating 529 usable responses.[i] The Mass Observation directive was written in collaboration with colleagues at the Mass Observation archive and sent out in the summer of 2017, generating 160 responses (ranging from one paragraph to 8 pages, 96 emailed and the rest posted) by January of 2018[ii]. Finally, between October 2017 and July 2018 I travelled around Scotland, Wales and England conducting 49 interviews: predominantly individual, with three paired and two groups of three. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim.[iii] For the purposes of this short paper, I am presenting an overview of the questionnaire data based on descriptive statistics with a focus on practices and purposes, followed by an analysis of the Mass Observation and interview data based on inductive thematic coding to identify patterns of practices, purposes and meanings.

A note on the sample

The aim of the project was to gather data from as wide a range of people living in Britain as possible, but of course this was challenging. The 529 questionnaire participants are a

decent representation of the geographical range of Britain, including of the rural-urban mix. For example, the numbers from Scotland, Wales and England mirror the proportions of the overall populations. In terms of ethnicity/cultural heritage, faith and language use, the questionnaire participants over-represent diversity, that is, they are more diverse than the overall population. However, the questionnaire participants are far less diverse in terms of educational background than the wider population (being around three quarters university educated) and do not reflect the gender balance (being also about three quarters female). Similarly, the Mass Observers, a sample managed by the Mass Observation Project at the University of Sussex, are generally considered to be older, more middle class, more southern and more female than the wider population. With this in mind, I aimed to ensure that the interviewees included men and those who had less formal education, and more people from the North of England and Scotland. Additionally, in organizing the interviews, I aimed to include Celtic speakers, such as Scottish Gaelic and Welsh, as well as those using other dialects of English/Scots, such as the Shetland dialect and Jamaican English, and speakers of other languages, such as Arabic, Urdu and Spanish. It is nevertheless important to note that we cannot consider the project participants an accurate representation of the larger British population. We can, however, take them as an indication of the range of practices which are likely to be going on across the country.

Findings

The questionnaire

Practices: 91% of participants report reading something aloud either daily, weekly or monthly and fewer than 3% say they never read anything aloud. What is read aloud is diverse, but with some patterns. Social media posts, newspapers, children's books, recipes & instructions, signs/posters, poetry and religious texts are read aloud by more people, while graffiti and placards at museums are read aloud by fewer people and less often. For example, almost all participants report at least occasional reading aloud of instructions or recipes aloud and 22% reporting daily and 38% reporting frequent reading aloud of social media posts. 20% of respondents say they read emails and letters aloud on a daily basis and 23% report reading children's books out loud every day.

Purposes: Participants were invited to select reasons why they read aloud (and were able to select as many as apply to them): 89% said they read aloud "to share what I have read with someone", 72% "to read to a child", 71% "to memorize or learn something", 68% "to understand difficult text", 67% "to entertain others", 61% "to help someone," 60% "to help me write something," 56% "because I enjoy it," 55% "to help me read/learn another language," 32% "part of communal religious worship" and 26% for "individual worship/spiritual purposes." However, before seeing these eleven options, respondents were asked to write free text on why they read aloud. 397 participants did so, with versions of "to better understand a text" the most common response (84) and with 80 people writing something similar to "sharing the text," and others noting pleasures of hearing and saying words. Please see Duncan & Freeman (2019) for a longer analysis of the questionnaire data.

Mass observation

The Mass Observation responses, in common with all Mass Observation research (see Moor and Uprichard (2014) on the "unwieldy materiality" of Mass Observation data) present an overwhelming outpouring of opinions, experiences, thoughts and stories about reading aloud. Yet what they share is striking: a united expression of surprise at being asked about adult reading aloud (with one person considering it "one of the strangest directives" and another noting "adults and reading aloud don't go together") alongside a realisation of the amount of previously unnoticed reading aloud in their lives: "my first reaction – I don't do it. But the more I thought about it, the more I realised I do actually read out loud, more than I thought I did" or I imagine like other people, I had thought very little about reading aloud [...] It was something I immediately associated with childhood. However, the more I've thought about it, I've realised that I read aloud or am read aloud to in a variety of ways.

In keeping with the questionnaire data, the Mass Observers present a wide range of reading aloud practices and purposes, but with recognisable communalities forming twenty categories or groupings of practices: memories from childhood and youth; generic work practices; specific work activities; study purposes; individual and group writing processes; sharing correspondence; following instructions, recipes or reading ingredients; preparing and giving speeches; board games, quizzes and crosswords; play-reading, drama and amateur dramatics; engagement with poetry; religious worship; to help others (including a husband who reads aloud to relieve his wife's constipation); reading books or stories to other adults; listening to audiobooks; engagement with social media and the news; and miscellaneous solitary practices (including throat exercises). For a more detailed analysis of these practices, please see Duncan (2018) but here it is worth emphasising three findings. Firstly, amongst the Mass Observation correspondents, the reading aloud of social media and newspapers (a less talked about practice in our wider cultural discourses) was more commonly reported than reading aloud to children (a far higher profile practice). Secondly, a great deal of the reading aloud of books and poetry for pleasure was done by one adult to another adult, rather than with children. Finally, people write about reading aloud when completely alone (and with pets), for practical purposes such as writing or understanding instructions as well as to do with pleasures and rituals of saying and hearing words. Interestingly, while one person notes that they do not read aloud much because they live alone, two others explain that they read aloud a great deal precisely because they live alone and in this solitude they need to use and hear their voices.

Meanings: remembering that Mass Observers also write as auto-biographers, telling the stories of their lives, it is interesting to note that the majority of the stories told concern forms of 'being with others.' Here are three examples. A young woman describes being together in as a community, attending church each week, where "your voice gets lost in a mass of other people [...] It makes me feel like I belong." Another person tells a story of being with a friend:

My dying friend, bed-ridden and no longer able to go outside, particularly enjoyed listening to poems about nature and the seaside. It made her feel nostalgic and she imagined herself walking along a beach with sand between her toes.

And an elderly man writes of togetherness with the more distant, remembering something that happened to him when he was young:

I chanced one evening to accidentally receive Radio Cairo which was broadcasting, in Arabic I suppose, an extremely long reading […] by a man whose voice and style were so intense and passionate, that I was mesmerized by it all, and was compelled to listen. I didn't understand any of it, but recognised that some sentences were from time to time repeated as in an heroic poem. The passion and intensity of the reading increased to an extreme degree as the reading continued until, abruptly it ended […] as if the reader had been shot dead. I sat stunned: its emotional effect was enormous although I understood not a word. I remember it even now, more than half a century later, and can still hear that reader's passionate voice – it still has an effect upon me.

The interviews

The variety of practices and purposes raised in the interviews echo those noted in the questionnaire and Mass Observation responses, for example, reading aloud for individual study and composition purposes; reading aloud to help others at work or in the community; to share texts or entertain; reading aloud as part of individual and communal worship; and reading aloud as engagement with literature and poetry, alone or with others. In common with the survey and Mass Observation data, participants spoke of reading aloud in languages other than English: languages that they use in everyday conversation, languages they use only for religious workshop and languages they value or enjoy through experiencing poetry and literature. In addition, the dialogic nature of the interviews allowed the capture of more detailed explorations. Here, I would like to invite readers to think about the relationships between purposes and meanings in these three conversations, as these interview participants analyse their own practices.

"Reinforcement"

A: If my partner's driving and he has messages, I'll read them back to him […] I'll get them mixed up, mind […] in supermarkets I tend to read aloud […] reading ingredients and stuff […] you see a lot of people doing it […]

B: You do see people in the supermarket doing it a lot […] I do it for clarification that there's no wheat in it, it sounds silly, but in my head it makes sense and if I read it aloud, and I've read every word, and I've spoke every word, then it means that's not in it, if I haven't seen wheat in it, or gluten, then that's not in it.

A: I think it's back to, same as revision, reading aloud enforces it for me -

B: Enforces that thing. And recipes - I find if I do a recipe on my phone or on my tablet, I find myself talking to the tablet, relaying the information, 'right, now I'll do that now, I'll do that now' – and I'm relaying the information as a reinforcement that I'm doing it right, and putting the right things in at the right time and the right amount.

"A time to be together"

C: I had a recent experience where my partner was not well and it sort of, it ended up being, not quite for medicinal purposes, but 'lie down and I'll read you a story' and it brought back, not quite memories […] I was reading a novel, so, but that quiet, calm, someone not well, it was soothing, it was lovely, it was just a time to be together, it was a time to be calm […] It was quite a big emotional moment actually where the engagement of one reader and one listener was – a dead interesting thing.

D: And what gave you the idea to read to your partner?

C: He felt poorly, and I thought, actually it would be good – lie down, in bed, and so I'll read you a story, the idea came from just lying down in bed and I thought, well I'm here […] instead of me chatting […] he was tired and he was poorly and he just needed quiet time and I thought well that might sort of help to make you feel better – you've got nothing to do apart from listen – you don't need to respond – you don't need to acknowledge anything, just lie down and listen and it will be nice. […] it was an afternoon of 'let's just calm down'– the whole thing took probably about 4 and a half hours but it – it just, it flew in and afterwards we thought 'wow.' We talk about it now, but wow.

The "alive" "mystery"

E: I would read out loud in our chapel because we have our own worship so there will be readings out loud in chapel […] so out loud is quite an important thing for the rest of the community and the public to hear. […] In my own prayer life too, I will frequently read aloud, poetry for example, because I like to hear the resonance of sound, and expression and it becomes much more alive for me.

F: The fact that the words on the page are being verbalised it gives them a different, a different resonance, it gives them a different meaning […] you know when I'm in class and I'm reading the, you know, the phrase that I really wanted to, it's like 'oh yeah ok I really understand that differently now' […] there's a different resonance, there's a different feeling to it, there's a different, it's almost like a play, like, it's like 'ok I can accent this word I this way,' or I can put this emotion on this word, or I can feel text in a different way […]

E: There's a double dimension, isn't there? I would agree with you what you are saying. It's something to do with your body, something to do with your voice, the ownership of the word widens completely, and I think there's something quite mysterious actually.

Discussion & conclusion

Even this brief look at the data tells us that reading aloud, for these participants at least, is indeed a regular adult practice. We could say that it is a common practice, not necessarily something that most people do most days, but something that most people do at least sometimes and that some people do every day. We can also stop and notice that many of the above reading aloud practices are rarely talked about; they do not conform to the current adult policy/research/teaching orthodoxies of silent, individual, instrumental reading. We can observe that it was only through trying to find research

approaches which allow us to get beneath or behind 'accepted truths' that we can access this sort of genuine diversity.

The reading aloud practices raised and discussed are indeed diverse. Reading aloud medical notes or letters with a patient to present and clarify a medical history or process is different from reading (or reciting) a holy text out loud in an ancient language only used for worship, in unison with a hundred people, and reading aloud crossword clues across a café table with a family member as part of a weekly meeting is different from reading aloud to draft and refine song lyrics as part of a composition process. If we return to Shove et al.'s (2012) framework for the dynamics of social practices (competences, materials and meanings), we can see how the personal, communal, spiritual 'meanings' of reading aloud in unison in a church, combined with the 'materials' which may include the multitude of voices, the organ and the acoustics of the building, relate to the particular competences required for (and developed by) this particular reading practice. In other words, the meaning and materials have a relationship with the skills and knowledge needed to do this particular type of reading 'well.' The particular grouping of skills and knowledge may be quite different from those involved in reading aloud medical notes with a patient precisely because the meanings and materials involved in these practices are different. What it means to be a 'good' reader is something (a little or a lot) different in each case. It is not the 'same old reading' simply happening in different contexts. This is an area for more detailed examination elsewhere but for now it may be enough to acknowledge that Shove et al's (2012) framework allows us to articulate the fact that different reading practices can involve quite different competences, and while we should not underestimate these differences, and there is still the potential to 'transfer' between them because some elements of the competences (or meanings or materials) will be the same or similar.

This is not only about how we understand or conceptualize diverse practices, but this has implications for how we teach reading/literacy and organize literacy policy. The 'what' of reading (what reading means, what reading includes) must be broad enough to include all these reading practices, and more, and needs to include explicit reference to the shifting groupings of competences, meanings and materials. Adult literacy learners must be encouraged to understand the breadth of reading and writing, that different literacy practices require different competences and that the competences we may learn taking part in one practice (in a Mosque for example) may still be able, with careful thought, to support the competences we need for another (for example, a workplace practice). There is no point in us talking about welcoming diversity if we are basing our teaching and policy on a narrow and unshifting view of reading which discounts what many people do and value across their lives. Borrowing phrasing from the multilingual, septuagenarian nun who spoke about the "out loud" "widening the ownership of the word," we need to "widen the ownership" of literacy education.

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Éva Farkas[1]

Adult learning is key in the adaptation to the economic and social effects of the fourth industrial revolution

Summary

In my study I examine the features of the fourth industrial revolution as well as its expected effects on the labour market and adult education. I present the components (learning outcome-based curricula, the validation of prior learning, and the competent and talented adult educators) and developed and enhanced skills (digital intelligence, global competences) that may contribute to efficient adaptation to the challenges posed by the fourth industrial revolution. I analyse to what extent the adult education trends and practices are capable of effectively supporting adult in getting on in a diverse and transforming world?

The future starts now

The unprecedented development of digitalisation and robotics represents the most far-reaching changes in the 21st century. We have now entered the age of Industry 4.0. This denomination refers to the fourth industrial revolution. It also denotes the ever-increasing correlation between information technology and automation, and, through this, also an age that has brought about fundamental changes in production methods.
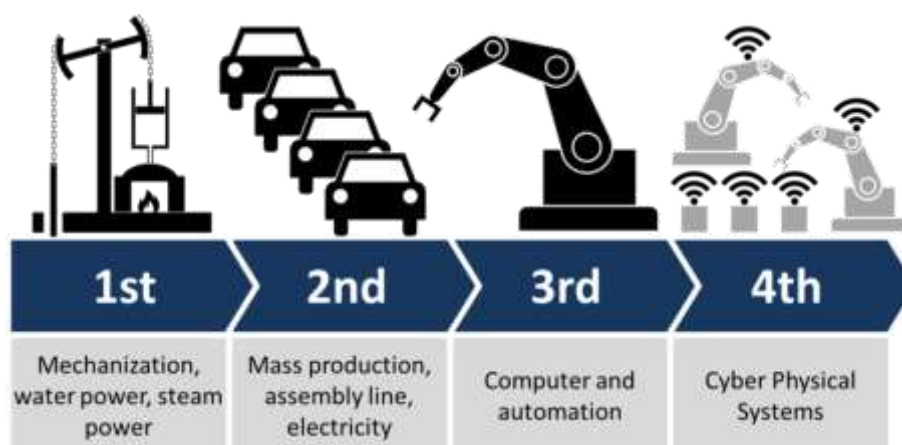
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Industry_4.0.png

While through the invention of the steam engine the most characteristic features of the first and the second industrial revolution were the spread of mechanisation and mass production, the information technology-based third industrial revolution entailed access to digitalisation for billions of people. The fourth industrial revolution – which, according to the definition of the World Economic Forum – started in the 21st century, is built in the

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digital age however it extends far beyond simple digitalisation. It incorporates new production components that did not exist before such as the Internet of Things and the Internet of Services, Big Data, artificial intelligence, 3D printing, autonomous systems, robotics, etc., by which it is possible to link physical and cyber space.

Source: https://www.abtosoftware.com/blog/industry-4-0

We are still at the onset of this transformation, and we shall see even more fundamental changes in the future. We are now at the onset of a revolution, which will make core changes in our lives, work and relationships. It will transform the labour market and the work performed in existing workplaces. Since we do not have previous experience that we could rely on in this case, we cannot develop an exact model for the effect of Industry 4.0 on the labour market and education. Research institutes forecast complex and contradictory effects. It is certain that organisations and types of employment will transform, and, due to the growing number of digital instruments and expectations a significant ratio of jobs will also be different. Due to the data clouds, the world-wide web and distant jobs part of the workplaces may be transferred to different countries, and it may be more and more difficult to determine the location and time of work. As a result of digital technology, co-operation will be placed on new grounds, which then will not be restricted to staffs since companies in an increasing degree will involve their clients also in this. Man will have to work in alliance with machines applying artificial intelligence as if they were co-workers (McKinsey&Company 2018; PWC 2016; World Economic Forum 2018).

Because of increasing automation and the spread of robotics it can also be expected that workplaces will be terminated. At the same time however new workplaces will be generated. The largest rate of increase may be predicted in the service industrial branches such as legal, accounting, research and development, promotion, administrational, consultation and support services. Significant growth can also be prognosticated in trade,

sales, transportation, furthermore in cleaning services, care and personal services. It is also certain that it will be necessary to have high level qualifications for 4 out of 5 occupations (CEDEFOP 2018).
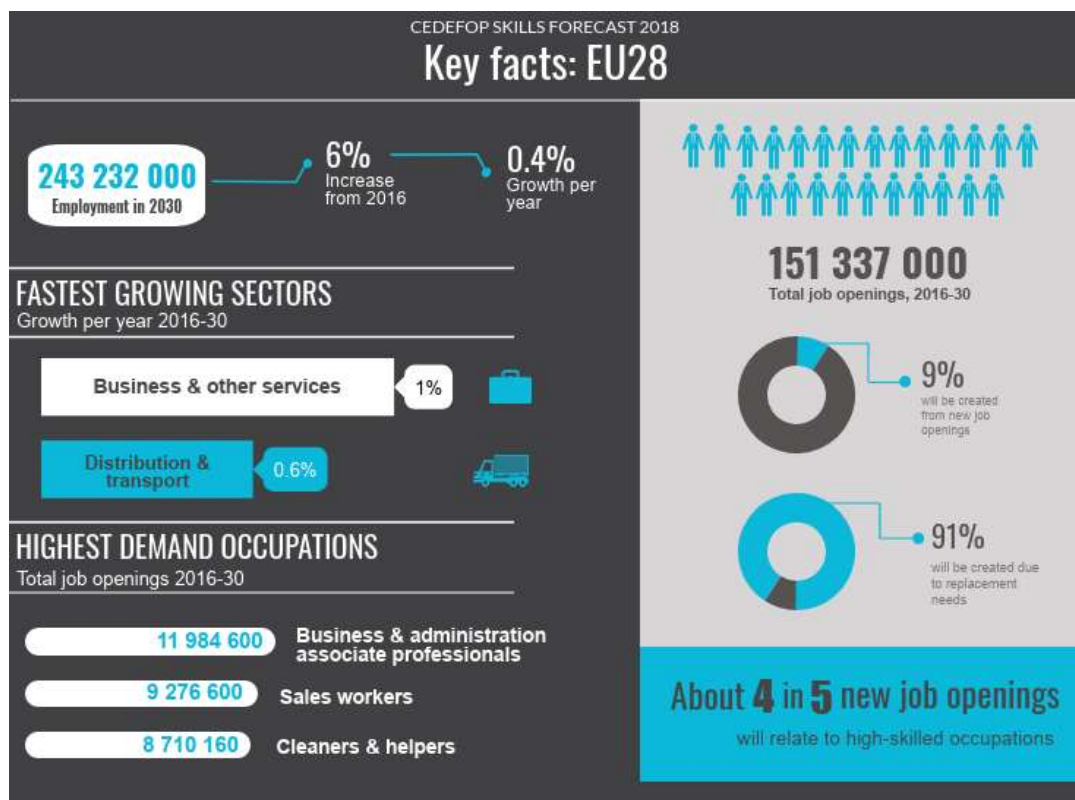
Source: CEDEFOP 2018

According to a study published by McKinsey in May 2018, automation will have a substantial effect on 1 million workplaces in Hungary. 49% of working hours can technically be automated even today (McKinsey&Company 2018). An immediate advantage of automation is that it may provide a solution for labour shortages that are becoming critical at present, and which hold back economic growth even today. At the end of 2018 there were 83,337 job vacancies in Hungary, out of which 60,269 occurred in the competitive sector. The highest rate of labour shortages occur in the processing industry however a significant number of employees are also missing in areas such as health care, social services, trade, vehicle repairing and administrative as well as service support (KSH 2018). Automation may have a positive effect also on economic development since by fostering the growth of productivity, it may expedite the rate of economic growth in Hungary by an annual rate between 0.8% and 1.4% (McKinsey&Company 2018).

Learning is key

The fear that human work will become unnecessary within a short period in the future because of automation is without foundation. For the time being automation will certainly not replace human work however it will more radically than ever change it, and, due to this transformation, employees will have to possess completely different knowledge than

what they have had so far. They will have to acquire skills that can be regarded dispensable today in order for them to become easily employable. "Future jobs will require advanced cognitive capabilities and creativity, higher educational attainment and well developed social and emotional skills. In this context a wide-scale redistribution in labour markets can be expected since the most educated, flexible and mobile workers will follow higher income jobs." (McKinsey&Company 2018:19)

Technical abilities, problem solving in a complex and digital environment, knowledge about how to set algorithms, the ability of deep understanding, critical thinking and creativity will become the most important competences for employees. The so-called global competences will also gain more value. These competences will be manifested in understanding and assessing local, global and inter-cultural affairs, in communication and co-operation abilities with persons representing different countries, cultures and religious faiths as well as in the expression of respect for human dignity and diversity (OECD 2018).

The livelihood of physical labourers and persons with low level qualifications is threatened most seriously however continuous renewal of abilities will also be necessary in higher prestige jobs that require higher qualifications. New knowledge areas will develop and, as a result, we shall be permanently forced back to education. Thus knowledge will have an ever increasingly important role. Therefore we can declare it with certainty that learning will be key in the adaptation to accelerated technical development, and that true life-long learning will gain more genuine importance than ever before.

"We are seeing the emergence of a Skills Revolution — where helping people upskill and adapt to a fast-changing world of work will be the defining challenge of our time." (ManpowerGroup 2016:2) Those, who possess adequate skills, will have the opportunity to select how, where and when they would like to work. Those, who do not direct their attention in the direction of the future, will not recognise how they may be able to improve their chances. (ManpowerGroup 2016). "Skills and talent matter even more in a Skills Revolution. Skills cycles are shorter than ever and 65% of the jobs Gen Z will perform do not even exist yet." (ManpowerGroup 2016:5).

44%	90%	40%	65%
of Europeans between 16 and 74 (169 million people) do not have sufficient digital skills.	of jobs in the future will require some level of digital skills.	of European businesses seeking to recruit ICT specialists struggle finding them.	of children entering primary school will find themselves in occupations that do not exist today.

Source: European Commission 2017:7

While due to the challenges posed by Industry 4.0 the key competences will transform, we must also acknowledge the fact that a significant number of youths and adults perform at a low level even in the area of basic competences. In Europe, 64 million persons in the

group of adults aged 25-64 years are low skilled (the highest qualification in this group is ISCED 2). These adults hardly participate in learning, they are mostly long-term unemployed people and, if they work, they have low prestige jobs and live in poor conditions[iv]. In Hungary 2 million 217 thousand persons over 15 years of age had basic level or lower qualifications, which means that 27% of persons aged 15 or over completed the 8th grade at primary level at most (KSH 2017). While the rapid spread of digitalisation is unstoppable and digital competences and problem solving competences in a digital environment are required in 90% of jobs, 44% of persons aged between 16 and 74 years (169 million adults) do not even possess basic level digital skills. In Hungary this ratio is 49% European Commission 2017a).

The polarization of the population that is playing out in front of our eyes as a result of the technological transformation is no good for society or for business. The challenges may be met by human capital investment. "We need aggressive workforce development to address the widening gap between the Haves and the Have Nots". (ManpowerGroup 2016:2). An adequate reform of education and training (including adult education) is an area where governments may react to technological changes. Countries that follow this path in Europe (e. g. The Netherlands and Sweden) are at the forefront of innovation however they are also able to preserve high level rates of employment and social cohesion (Andor 2018). European education policy urges higher level rates of employment and, in order to achieve this, the development of human capital, the increase of investment in education, a future-oriented reform of vocational training and the enhancement of the number of persons participating in higher education and adult education as well as the transformation of the content of education (curricula). Hungary in the first place must/should cope with the challenges of the fourth industrial revolution by increasing its human capital investments that better fit the European trends. Flexibility required by economic competition must be harmonised with the stability of employment and social cohesion. The question is whether the system of adult education is prepared for this. Is it capable of flexible adaptation, renewal and development? What components should be in the focal point of adult education? We shall make an attempt to find an answer to these questions as described below.

The role of adult education in the adaptation to the economic and social effects of the fourth industrial revolution

The quality and efficiency of learning in adulthood as well as the individual, social and economic benefits are key issues also because of the significant material expenditures and participation activity. The quality of adult education can be addressed and ensured at the level of training programmes. Quality depends on several components. Learning outcomes-based curricula that consider the needs of target groups and ensuring prior learning assessment and recognition are fundamental requirements. Professional preparedness, andragogical, methodological and communicational competences of adult educators are of key importance. A tool for quality development during the course of the development and implementation of adult education programmes may be the application of the learning outcomes-based approach that is becoming more and more widespread.

Learning outcomes serve the purpose to exactly determine competences, through which the knowledge, skills, attitude and the level autonomy and taking responsibility during the work performance of individuals can be identified. The learning outcomes-based approach has become the most effective development tool and the most important component in the reform of education in Europe during the past few years. Hungary must also make efforts so that the qualifications and training programmes shall genuinely be based on learning outcomes, and that this approach permeates every form and level of education.

Learning outcomes are statements that describe the knowledge and understanding of students and what they are capable of doing autonomously by the end of a learning process regardless of where, how and when they acquired these competences. Learning outcomes therefore describe the outcome requirements that students acquire by the end of a learning process. It is a context-based competence description on active level defined in the terminology of knowledge + skills + responsibility/autonomy adjusted to the EQF. Setting requirements based on learning outcomes means a type of change of culture, and it requires that we think in terms of a different approach to learning and teaching. It is a value orientation process in which the focus is on learning and on the students, and in which the essential parts are the learning process and the competence development achieved by the students.

For the time being the learning outcomes-based approach has not become wide-spread in the sector of adult education in Hungary. At the same time the need for higher quality requirements and the responsibility for adult students oblige every trainer and training developer to learn this new approach, thinking and method, which is not merely a new technique, but a radically novel way of thinking. It is not becoming ever so important in respect of the internationalisation of education and the growing geographical and vertical mobility only, but also for the reason of better satisfying the needs of the labour market, strengthening the relations between education and the world of work and last, but not least, also for enhancing the quality of learning in adulthood.

The level of qualifications of the population in Hungary has grown significantly during the past two decades. Due to European Union resources the rate of participation in adult education has also increased. In spite of this international statistics indicate that Hungary is ranked in the last quarter in the area of the participation ratio in adult education[v]. The enhancement of the number of participants alone in adult education however is not an appropriate solution if the content of education remains unchanged. One of the fundamental task in adult education continues to be high level training of skilled workforce and advanced training. This however must be performed in a future-oriented way, and must also be harmonised with current requirements. As for the content of education, preparations must be made for an increasing role of life-long learning. The conception therefore that the scope of adult education is narrowed down to vocational training and to satisfying the short-term needs of the labour market is wrong. Apart from the development of vocational competences linked to jobs efforts must also be made to achieve that adults acquire as many as possible "horizontal skills" such as digital, global, transversal and social competences.

Digital competences are much more far-reaching than using information technology devices as a normal skill. Adaptation to digital transformation that fundamentally changes everyday life and the worlds of work and education requires a new type of intelligence. Digital intelligence incorporates factors which, if we possess them, we can become successful members of the digital ecosystem. Digital contents must be incorporated in curricula, because problem solving in a digital environment will become one of the most important competences. Not only adults, but also youths need digital intelligence development. Although the members of the Z generation were born in a digital world and live in a permanent online presence, and the virtual environment has become part of their everyday lives, they use digital instruments mainly for communication and maintaining contacts. Youths and adults alike must be supported in order that they acquire the necessary digital skills and be able to utilise and dedicate for learning purposes the infinite opportunities that smart devices provide.

The development of global competences is more and more appreciated. It is important that youths and adults can manage the vast amount of information and news that is inundating them by from the media, and that they can distinguish genuine news from fake news. They should clearly understand the threat that global warming and xenophobia pose on all of us. They should be able to make themselves understood by and work with people, who represent different countries, cultures or religious environments, and they should also respect human dignity and diversity.

The growing complexity of society also makes it more and more difficult for people to find their way in it. Our existence is burdened by a growing number of stress factors. Entire groups in society find themselves in uncertain living conditions. These factors are the ones that also make it important to address adult education. In this respect what is and will be needed in the first place is not vocational training-type activities, but rather courses in and attention paid to psycho-social support, mentoring, counselling-problem handling and personality development. Adult education will have a core role in this since there is an ever-growing individual and social demand for the above functions of adult education. Adult education is an instrument for social integration or, from a social perspective, it can be an antidote for exclusion. Therefore adult education should serve the cause of not only the employability, but also the personality development of individuals. This is the reason why initiatives such as the recognition of learning outcomes acquired in non-formal or informal learning context are so important, because this reveals and makes visible the diverse knowledge of individuals excluded from organised education thus providing a chance for them to reduce their exclusion rate. Validation is also the key element for ensuring flexible upskilling and reskilling learning pathways. The Hungarian adult education system performs poorly in this area. The Act on adult education in Hungary contains provisions that preliminarily acquired learning outcomes that cannot be certified by documents may be assessed and recognised at institutional level. The recognition of prior learning however has been incorporated in adult education practice in Hungary merely as an administrative step. There is no validation system functioning at system level; there are isolated good practices that are implemented in very different quality and intensity. In order for validation to function, it would be necessary to have

Governmental commitment, social trust in validation, the application of learning outcome-based curricula, to function the national qualification framework and to train validation professionals.

As regards the achievement of goals as described above and the efficiency of learning in adulthood it is of key importance that talented and competent teachers teach in adult education. Professional, methodological and human preparedness of adult educators are determining factors for learning efficiency, therefore particular attention must be paid to training new generations of adult educators and to continuously develop their competences. In Hungary today there is a peculiar legal situation in which the relevant laws in this area do not contain standard requirements concerning teachers working in adult education. The required qualifications depend on the forms and locations of education. Thus, even if the target groups may be similar in some cases, there are different requirements for those who teach in courses organised in the regular school system, and for those, who teach in courses outside of it. A regrettable common feature however in either case is that it is not a requirement in either of these cases that the teachers possess special knowledge and maybe qualifications or competences acquired in non-formal circumstances certified probably within the framework of validation procedures about adults, their psychological characteristics, motivation and learning methods. Unfortunately further education courses cannot eliminate this deficiency, either. There is no single law that would stipulate that teachers working in adult education and training are obliged to participate in further education courses. There is not a great variety of opportunities, either, in this area. Training adult educational professionals at higher educational level (andragogy BSc, teachers of andragogy) was terminated by the Government in 2016. At present legislators are of the opinion that there is no need for adult education professionals. While we regard it natural that physicians and nurses work in health care and panel beaters work in auto body shops, it is not clear that the basic condition for professionalism in adult educational activities is an array of area-specific professional qualifications.

Instead of a summary

One of the highest rejection rates (38%) for the spread of robots and artificial intelligence within the European Union is measured in Hungary, while survey respondents provide positive evaluations for the effect of digital technology on the economy (75%), society (61%) and their own personal lives (67%) (European Commission 2017b). However technological development is unstoppable, and the life-cycle of skills is shorter than ever before. Adaptability is becoming of key importance, and life-long learning is gaining real sense. And while effective co-operation among corporations, social partners and training institutes is gaining more and more recognition, there is still a void between training and the world of work, and the gap is getting wider between the knowledge developed by the educational and training system and the needs generated by general development. The structural changes that have been performed during the past few years in the school system do not help either with meeting the challenges posed by the new technological revolution. "Lowering the age limit for compulsory education, the acceptance of trends in

favour of segregation, the stagnation in the area of teaching foreign languages are all indicative of the fact that Hungary may find itself in a more and more worsening position in international economic competition. All this may create conditions that will undermine social cohesion." (Andor 2018) Due to the deepening functional disorders in the regular school system, the absolute lack of workforce resulting from employment and demographical processes, the permanent economic-social-technological changes, the accelerated social model change, and the multiplication of crisis situations learning in adulthood will gain more and more significance and appreciation. The primary goal of adult education may be to make youths and adults capable of adaptation, learning and co-operating with others. In order for the adult education system to be able to efficiently satisfy a growth in the demand for skills (digital intelligence, the knowledge of the English language, intercultural communication, global competences, etc.), we should (re)think over and review the entire system of adult education including its structure, function, and also the curricula, the issue of training adult learning professionals as well as the teaching methodologies used so far. It is a sad fact that there is no substantial professional and social dialogue about these issues in Hungary at present, although there is no time to lose! Otherwise we shall be hopelessly lagging behind the rest of the world!

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Krisztina Fodorné Tóth[1]

Diverse Electronic Learning Support – University Target Groups

Diverse Electronic Learning Support is concerned not only with technological innovations but much more with core learning and teaching skills, methodology and community development. Since electronic learning is no longer a lonely activity, but a highly community-based one, really significant is, what participants – both learners and educators – know or are capable to. This paper intends to reveal knowledge, skills and perspectives of the university members regarding e-learning through our wide-ranged research related to EFOP-3.4.3-16/1 project (EFOP-3.4.3-16-2016-00005/A1-3 „Building electronic learning support framework", the scope of the project is how to develop and implement an adequately flexible, institution-level e-learning framework at the University of Pécs/PTE). This research issues how different groups of university students and lecturers/professors can see role and area of electronic learning support during tertiary education and studies of adult learners. The results are based on the poll taken during 2018 spring among educators and Hungarian students at the University of Pécs, focused on three main areas: knowledge, experiences and image/expectations of participants about electronic learning support. Development of poll and assessment of data – including interpretation – are built on key concepts of digital anthropology such as appropriation of technology (Horst – Miller 2012) and pedagogical approaches to 21th century's higher education learning support connected to student diversity and engagement (Biggs – Tang 2012, Brabazon 2016).

E-learning: check point to 21th century learning and teaching

According to Trilling and Fadel (Trilling – Fadel 2009), 21th century learning and teaching skills cover a wide range of topics, including the following (highlighted by the author):

Information and media literacy, which is equally essential for learning and learning support/teaching, for students and educators: in a world where most of our experiences come from digital sources, we need to be able to find and assess every piece of information we face, in order to decide, which are adequate to learn from or to be provided for learning.

Independent and continuous learning: independency, self-direction and lifelong responsibility for our own learning path ensure that learners are persons who are able to adapt their knowledge and skills to the constantly changing world.

Online course design: learners need platforms, contents and activities designed and organized in the best way to support their individual learning paths, so educators need to

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know, how to plan online learning paths and use tools which are safe, ergonomic, simple, logical and not only easy to use, but it is also motivating for their students.

Activity-based learning process support: the benefits of active learning are not parts of the newest discoveries (Bonwell – Eison 1991), but towards the 21st century, when students get more and more used to gain information, joy, gratification and even community status through regular and very frequent digital activity, it seems to be nearly the only way to reach and motivate our digital learners.

Encouraging interest-given learning: motivation of students is not a permanent and independent condition; motivated students have their own reasons to be motivated, and they need the internal and external conditions to stay motivated. One of the most important condition of motivations is the opportunity to learn about things they are interested in. However helping students to find their interests is one traditional role of the educator, the nearly infinite and inapprehensible information sources of our century highlight this aspect of teachers' work more than ever.

From the short selected list of learning and teaching skills above, we can se electronic learning support as one key part of 21st century learning, so as an essential skill set of every active educator of our times. Therefore, modern educational institutions cannot afford to lack systematic e-learning support for every learner, whether full-time or part-time students, children, adolescents, young adults or adults. Universities, being traditonal deposiories of knowledge sharing, need to take the lead in the process.

At the start of our project at the University of Pécs, we defined some previous parts and conditions of our future e-learning support system (system is meant here as a conceptual and organizational framework, and not only a platform and its terms of usage).

First of all, our framework must be developed for institutional level: there are several case studies and best practices available which cover only a project or a faculty or even a smaller part of the university, and most of them are not able to reach a broader learning community, and they don't provide help for every students, only for certain groups of them.

Through scrutinizing previous e-learning development projects of the university, we noted dissemination of results and developed new practices is not really effective even inside the university's teaching community. Besides, educators not always have the essential methodological skills to start an electronic supported course design process. For these two reasons, we thought it could be useful to provide core models for each

- type of courses (lecture, seminar, practice, skills development etc.)
- level of education (Bsc, Msc, PhD etc.)
- area of studies
- special target group (adults, students with disabilites etc.).

Attached to the core models, we could use a sample course catalogue and our own university learning content database (with various types of content and activities), both of them based of former development projects and best practices. For educators and staff members, who are not familiar with the process of e-learning development (which means

a relatively high proportion of them), workforce development can be needed: framework and concepts of e-learning, functions of electronic learning support in higher education, and first of all, course development and implementation.

Since in Hungary, higher education learning schedules are very conservative; educators and students equally have really high numbers of classes, and e-learning support is not a recognized workload of educators, it can be neccessary to reorganize scope of professors' duties – e.g. how online teaching activities and/or content development can be recognized as part of regular teaching for educators. This can be, combined with the workforce development part, the core of a more modern, flexible HR planning for learning support.

Research questions, tools and methodology

As it was mentioned in the introduction of this paper, our research data come from a university survey cunducted at PTE as part of the project EFOP-3.4.3-16-2016-00005/A1-3 „Building electronic learning support framework" in 2018.

Below point 1. of the paper is described, what previous findings and assumptions is the survey based on. Our main research questions targeted university professors'/educators' and Hungarian students' knowledge, experiences and skills regarding e-learning solutions:

- What do they know about e-learning? (Including processes, technological cirsumstances, human resource requirements and methodology.)
- What role e-learning has in their individual teaching practice? (Only professors/educators.)
- What experiences they have had so far with regarding e-learning?
- Which ICT tools they use and/or know related to studies or teaching practices?
- What image they have about e-learning and distance education?
- What expectations they have against university e-learning support?
- What educational needs can they formulate in order to aim better individual e-learning practice? (Only professors/educators.)

Expectations of researchers come from previous experiences (see point 1.) and former higher education studies (King – Boyatt 2014, Gaebel et al 2014). They affect knowledge, experiences and claims, and focus on differences between the two main target groups:

- Educators have limited experiences regarding e-learning.
- Educators use ICT tools for learning support less than students do.
- Educators do not focus much on e-learning support during their course development.
- Educators have fragmented and diverse methodological competences.
- Educators can see the need of e-learning support and they are ready to develop their skills – but only under certain circumstances (technological support, more time/money).
- Students have more experience with e-learning than educators.
- Students use ICT tools for learning support, but not really systematically.

- There is a wide range of ICT tools students use every day but they do not focus much on productive usage.
- Students are confident about their ICT knowledge and online learning skills.
- Students have strong and progressive but not very focused (and sometimes not realistic) claims against e-learning support.

Built on the research questions and presumptions, we created two questionnaires, one for educators/professors and one for students. Professors answered 32 questions, 7 of them open-ended, and students answered 25 (3 open-ended).

Sections of professors' questionnaire:
- ICT: knowing and (productive) using softwares and platforms
- knowledge and experiences about e-learning
- knowledge and experiences about distance learning
- own learning support practices
- own electronic learning support practices
- concepts, suppositions and expectations towards electronic learning support
- needs and resources regarding effective electronic learning support.

Sections of students' questionnaire:
- ICT: knowing and (productive) using softwares and platforms
- knowledge and experiences about e-learning
- concepts, suppositions and expectations towards electronic learning support
- needs and resources regarding effective electronic learning support.

Data collection was carried out through EVASYS survey system, during March and April 2018. Survey information was sent to every professor and to every Hungarian speaking university student of PTE with a personal link via e-mail. Answers were anonimized after the fill-in period has been closed. We reached 2293 student respondents (15,6% of the population 13-20%/faculty) and 358 professors/lecturers (20,9% of the population, 12-37%/faculty).

Quantitative data were assessed with the methodology of descriptive statistics. For qualitative data assessment – answers to open-ended questions and as „other" possibilities of closed questions – we featured keywords and key phrases which came up in several answers; after this, we identifyed thematic branches and hubs based on them, and looked for collocations in order to interpret key phrases and symbols.

This paper summarizes response data about e-learning experiences, knowledge/image, attitudes and expectations about electronic learning support on PTE.

How educators/professors see e-learning opportunities

For this paper we divide response data into three sections: experiences, konwledge/image/attitude (what they know or believe, but they haven't experienced)

and expectations (what they think the university should do about electronic learning support in order to make it work).

Experiences of professors/educators show that they meet systematic e-learning support mainly in the framework of international projects and/or certain project practices and much less during everyday teaching practice. As their own electronic learning support practices they describe activities like uploading and sharing content, or content types like syllabus, slides, readings, illustrative contents or practices. They don't mention much difference regarding e-learning support of different course types or different study schedules – only of different study areas (e.g. some of them claim that e-learning is not sufficient for medic studies).

Knowledge/image/attitude section exposes some interesting conceptual findings. Professors tend to identify e-learning as „online education" (digital distance education), since they have some mainly theoretical knowledge about electronic supported distance education. This knowldge covers mostly e-learning 1.0 version, which was prevailing before Web 2.0 tendencies of learning support. In contrast, some of them took part in relatively modern practices which highlight students' activity, productivity and peer-to-peer content sharing. All in all, they have very various knowledge about processes, approaches, planning and technological conditions of e-learning. Many of them highlight organizational and/or pedagogical limitations of e-learning, or mention lack of necessary resources and know-how, what they think inhibit them from accomplishing good e-learning practice. As for attitude, responses show aversion and openness alike: professors/educators see international samples and best practices, and they would like to know more about them, or rather follow them in their own teaching practice. On the other hand, they do not feel to have the adequate knowledge and information; in their answers they even remark upon their lack of information and their uncertainty about the topic.

Professors' expectations can be seen as four well distinguishable groups of areas. „Infrastructural and technological" expectations cover network quality, hardware devices and LMS – professors are not very pleased with the current platform and their devices, either. Answers in group „administration and organizations of teaching" focuses mainly on recognition of online learning support and online teaching. „Information and education of educators" group means they expect continuing orientation regarding current practices and achievements of e-learning at the university; in addition, they would welcome regular education for themselves about electronic learning support topics, from primary ICT-skills to content development to e-didactics. „Systematic support" group of expectations extends that towards mentoring of individual e-learning development and implementation process, including regular technological and methodological support (helpdesk).

What students say about e-learning

Experiences of students differ more from expectations of the researchers, than professors' answers do. Although they also have kind of limited experiences, and those seem correlative with professors' practices described in their responses, students focus their

expectations in another way. However they mention online contents provided by the professor similarly (syllabus, readings, slides, averay rate of frequency: 3,95 of 5), and online communication with the professor, they highlight that this communication is not very effective (average rate of frequency: 3 of 5), the infrequency of online assignments and exams, MOOC-style online courses, and they describe how sparsely they can access essential learning contents (many times they need to use different platforms and/or sites of learning for each study or course).

As for knowledge/image/attitude of students: they show strong needs, which are more modest and more realistic than researchers would have expect. They think about e-learning as an inevitable part of today's learning processes, they believe electronic learning support holds its benefits for every student, and they claim we do not exploit the opportunities of e-learning, not by a long chalk. Younger full-time students seem to think about e-learning as mainly online education, but more experienced part-time students, older students and students with significant international experiences have also more specific thoughts about the topic. They specialize these thoughts in their answers of expectations. Their expectations outline four main areas: accessibility of contents and tasks, content status, content types and organization of learning. „Accessibility of contents and tasks" is described as every necessary learning content needs to be accessed at the same platform (uploaded or linked), and students need to be able to see and use everything they need with the same student ID. Besides, accessibility means independence from time, place and device, in order to make possible for students to use their own devices and learn wherever and whenever they want to. „Content status" is very simple and logical: students want to have solid accesibility of regularly updated contents. They do not want to deal with outdated or missing contents; they want to learn from carefully selected and maintanied sources, which is really understandable, since one of the most important 21st century teaching tasks is providing guidance in the digital world (see point 1, information and media literacy and online course design).

As for „content types", students conceive the full range of essential learning contents for their studies needs to be accessed online (not only slides and readings but also video footages, lectures, practices, tests, sample assignments etc.).

„Organization of learning" means something different in student responses than in professors'. It has two main aspects: opportunity given by the university for personal learning paths, and support of self-directed learning. As mentioned above, Hungarian university study schedules are relatively conservative, so regulation of personal learning paths and validation of prior knowledge acquired by atypical learning forms are not comprehensive and flexible enough to enable students designing their own learning paths.

Conclusion: what to expect – realities

To resume results of the study desribed briefly above, we can say there are some significant differences between experiences, knowledge and expectations of students and educators/professors regarding electronic learning support. They have different needs and ideas as well. Most research hypotheses listed above (point 2) have proved well, but

some of them have not or not completely. Here we feature researchers' expectations which proved to be more problematic than others:

Educators use ICT tools for learning support less than students do. – It is not completely true, because educators/professors report several electronic supported projects and many elements of their teaching practise. But their everyday practices are mostly limited to sharing certain kinds of content and communication with the students. So we can say they use ICT tools for learning support just as much as students, but the usage itself is not really diverse or progressive. Besides, students seem to follow their educators' type of usage: there are not many students responses about independent, productive and creative usage of ICT tools for learning support.

Students have more experience with e-learning than educators. – It is partly true, since there are some groups of students, who have attended online courses or e-learning based company education (mostly part-time students), and some other groups who have met e-learning solutions during their secondary studies (younger students), but there are huge numbers who only know their university professors' practices.

Students have strong and progressive but not very focused (and sometimes not realistic) claims against e-learning support. – Students' expectations are very variable, but a lot more realistic, than we would have thought previously. They count realistic and also progressive from pedagogical and organizational view, but form technological aspect not so much modern. It seems they understand opportunities and limitations of big educational institutions, but they have trust in significant development of education in the near future.

When we review differences between students and professors/educators image and expectations about e-learning, one of the most important one is that opposite to the realistic and practical approach of the students, educators responses show a more conservative, sometimes open, sometimes doubtful attitude. They complain about lack os information and systematic, sustainable development as well.

However image, attitudes and expectations of respondents are quite different, there are some common needs which apply to students and educators alike:

- E-learning development system needs to be unified, valid for the whole institution, and flexible enough for the different target groups of learners, educators, so as diverse areas, schedules and levels of study.
- ICT and infrastructure supporting e-learning solutions need to be also unified, functional and versatile.
- Educators' workloads and students' learning time need to be reorganized, in order to aid electronic learning support and personal learning paths to be part of everyday learning and teaching practices.
- There is a strong need for a university level support team/department, which can provide planning, methodology and content development support, guidance and trainings for educators and can serve as a solid information source about current issues of university e-learning support.

- Students also need some training opportunity, not only about e-learning platforms and ICT tools used for electronic learning support, but about digital learning, effective online learning and other learning support topics.

First and last, we can say that the direction and main hubs of students' and educators' needs are the same. Some expectations can be fullfilled on institutional level, but some of them (like reorganizing workloads and study schedules) are in the scope of national education policies. For the latter, there is already a national digital education strategy available (Magyarország Digitális Oktatási Stratégiája, MDO, https://digitalisjoletprogram.hu/hu/tartalom/dos-magyarorszag-digitalis-oktatasi-strategiaja), which faces the same issues of learning management, especially in the chapter of higher education. Although it is not built in the act on higher education yet, we look forward to how it will transform structure of education, above all regard to electronic learning support possibilities and developments.

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Selected Results of the Project Old Guys Say Yes to Community: Targeting Men Aged 60 Years or More

Abstract

The article presents findings from a large-scale qualitative research study conducted as part of the three-year Erasmus+ project entitled Old Guys Say Yes to Community which included partners from Slovenia, Portugal, Poland, and Estonia. The project explored how inactive ageing affects the quality of life, health and well-being of men aged 60 years or more and how (self-)exclusion from the community can lead to social and psychological 'death'. The article highlights two interconnected themes which national institutions and often also the non-governmental sector in the researched countries fail to address or devote adequate and sufficient effort to. The themes include the pluralisation of transitions to retirement and ageing and absent bodies and invisible lives. In addition to these two themes, the article touches upon a series of subtopics and questions that should be addressed by further scientific research in observed countries, particularly hegemonic masculinity and gendered experiences; and community-based learning, action and spaces.

Key words: transitions to retirement, silver economy, productivity, hegemonic masculinity, community-based learning and actions

Introduction

The article presents selected findings of the project Old Guys Say Yes to Community[2] developed with European partners from Slovenia, Portugal, Poland and Estonia. The project has been coordinated since September 2016 by the Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, in collaboration with three partners Universities and two non-governmental organisations dealing with older adults' learning.[3] The aim of the research project was to find out how to improve the participation of older men aged 60 years or more in the local community and, in particular, how to encourage older men's socialisation, informal learning and inclusion in the organisations which are not primarily meant for education and learning in the third and fourth life stages.

The background that linked project partners to the research was the recognition that significantly fewer men in the third and fourth life stages than women of the same age

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realise the importance of lifelong learning and of the advantages of active participation in the community. The low participation rates of older men in organised learning programmes and other free-time activities are evident from a number of research studies (Merriam and Kee, 2014; Schuller and Desjardins, 2007; Tett and Maclachlan, 2007), many of which link this to the men's quality of life, which is lower than the opportunities available to them in their environments otherwise allow (Courtenay, 2000; Golding 2011a, 2011b; Oliffe and Han, 2014). Some researchers also demonstrate that older men marginalise, isolate and alienate themselves more frequently than their female partners (McGivney, 1999; 2004; Williamson, 2011; Vandervoort, 2012), that they are more likely to be subjected to loneliness at old age (Wang et al., 2002; Paúl and Ribeiro, 2009) and that they increasingly rely on their wives and life partners, depending on them emotionally as well as in terms of care, etc. (Vandervoort, 2012; Dettinger and Clarkberg, 2002).

Various statistical data, too, confirm that older men are less active than women. The largest discrepancy, in women's favour, in participation in the active ageing community programmes in the countries monitored by Eurostat found are in Sweden (14%), Denmark (9.9%), Finland (7.7%), Iceland (7%), Estonia (5.5%) and France (4.9%) (Eurostat, 2017). Although men are more active than women in Croatia, Germany, Turkey and Switzerland, the difference is practically negligible (between 0.2 and 0.6%) (ibid.). It should be considered through gendered experiences as discussed further in of this article besides cultural and religious aspects. Project partners came to similar conclusions although in different national contexts, that the discrepancy in women's favour is even greater than seen in statistics, while men's participation in various organised active ageing and lifelong learning programmes is substantially more limited: the average share of men in Activity Day Centres in Ljubljana or Third Age University in Slovenia for example is 15%. Besides, all Adult Education Centres and Third Age Universities are similarly perceived as predominantly women's organisations managed by women.

According to the main findings of our research, this article discusses two less thematised issues that have been revealed through extensive research in all partner countries: a) Pluralisation of transitions to retirement and ageing; and b) Absent bodies and invisible lives. The next section outlines the methodology of the study while the third section discusses above indicated themes with sub-topics and main problems or obstacles while the forth section supplements recommendations and suggestion for changes. The concluding section sums up additional relevant findings from the project.

The methods and the sample

As part of our project we undertook an extensive qualitative research study in 2017. Each partner country carried out three focus groups including representatives of non-governmental organisations and national institutions, ninety to one hundred semi-structured interviews with men aged 60 years or more, analyses of ten examples of good practice of the men's participation in their communities or elsewhere, analyses of national strategies and analyses of professional and scientific literature. The semi-structured interviews took an average of one hour and a half and they were, as a rule, conducted by

qualified interviewers at the interviewees' homes, in organisations where they participate or in 'safe spaces' where they felt comfortable. The interviews consisted of four sets of questions: (1) the interviewees' personal life histories; (2) their roles in the community and their understanding of the community; (3) an assessment and understanding of the lives of men aged 60 years or more in their communities; (4) their engagement with and participation in non-formal and informal organisations as well as the advantages in knowledge, skills, attitudes and practices they had gained in that way.

To analyse the interviews each partner chose most appropriate qualitative content analysis and coding methods for his context and realities revealed on the research filed. In Slovenia the method of open coding and selective/focused coding (Glaser, 1978; 1992) has been used. In Poland besides Glaser (1992), Schütze (2012) and Rosenthal (1993) have also been used. Qualitative content analysis of Schreir (2012) was used in Portugal, while in Estonia Franzosi (2008). During the coding process and first results partners discussed findings, compared and searched for similarities as well as differences. Due to diverse national and local contexts, educational and historical background, rich and diverse participants' life histories, etc., partners gained very scattered results almost impossible to compare. Because of such a diverse research field and heterogeneous research data even within partners' country we faced many difficulties to find coherent content analysis and results, applicable for different communities (regions or country) presented in recommendation letters for local NGOs and local authorities in researched countries. However, during the one-year process each partner made many discussions with relevant stakeholders (civic society, local and national authorities, etc.) as well and finally common reflections brought us to common results, applicable also to other countries. However, there are two themes highlighted in this article, that appeared in each partners' country and for which we believe, deserve special attention in further research.

Findings

Pluralisation of transitions to retirement and ageing

As revealed in our study, 'retirement is a break-even point' for older adults: the greater the importance of employment during the working period and the more time the seniors had devoted to it, the greater were the problems that arose with retirement, especially when there were no substitute activities. Forced retirement and intimidation with high taxation for post-retirement work were also very destructive for older adults and contributed to their inactivity in later life. The very 'start of retirement' meant a significant change for our interviewees especially in terms of 'time that remains and there is too much of' and 'time that now needs to be filled with something', and 'alternative activities' that have to be sought. The change was most traumatic for those who faced it alone and those whose social networks had been built exclusively around their job.

In our societies it is expected, that seniors stop their work activities on the day of retirement. It is a moment when they are permanently expelled from the labour market. They become 'receivers', 'burden for society', 'non-active' members of society, help and

care needed, etc., perceived as subordinate group. Facing ageing unprepared and alone increase the vulnerability among older adults, besides weakening cognitive and cultural capital in the third and fourth life stages. Narratives pointed to the erasure of the men's past life histories: the work and activities of men's working life were lost or had ceased; some industries, professions, hobbies and other leisure activities have been dissolved, acquired a new function, or have ceased completely. In some they could no longer engage due to decline in physical fitness and health. Many public places for meeting and socialising from the time of the working life of older men are gone, privatised or appropriated by other generations. Besides, they proved the lack of information about possibilities and already existing activities, programmes in the community: often it is not clear how to reach dispersed information about the opportunities for older adults.

In a quantitative research study of more than 2,000 interviewees (men and women) aged between 50 and 69 years from Germany, Schmidt-Hertha and Rees (2017) found that satisfaction with the workplace in all stages of the career, positive perception of work and high personal identification with the workplace, are crucial elements on the path to retirement or motivation for delaying retirement. Newly appearing practices of bridge employment (part-time work before retirement) and re-careering (second career after legal retirement) (Boveda and Metz, 2016) in some EU countries advocate new approaches regarding 'work vs. retirement'. Therefore, we believe three subtopics that should gain more public, political and scientific attention in the future. First among them is 'silver productivity and ageing', second 'post work lives and identities independent of paid work' and third 'ageing (men's) health-related behaviours', already highlighted by Peak and Gast (2014), with special attention given to the influence of the hegemonic masculinity framework over the life span, also discussed further in this article.

With these subtopics we tried to address positive and gradual confrontation with the changes brought about by the third life stage. Such men can remain productive, take on (educational) mentorship, mediation, developmental and motivational roles in the company/organisation (transfer of practices, knowledge, experience, skills, competences), which brings them a sense of fulfilment and satisfaction. A further, but new type of activity keeps them productive, agile, valued (important), and in fact supportive for the company, the industry, the business, wider community, and their local environment. "Facing a pluralisation of transitions to the after-working phase of life, including different forms of intermediate stages, educational programs to design the transition and the stage of life after work, seems to be more relevant than ever" (Schmidt-Hertha and Rees, 2017, p. 51). Besides, seniors need to develop identities independent of the paid work that occupied them their whole working life. As seen in the cases of community-based activity, particularly in community Men's Sheds developed in Australia (Carragher and Golding, 2015; Golding, 2015; Mackenzie et al., 2017), such spaces allow "opportunities for regular, social interaction and hands-on activity in groups, within organizations and the wider community" (Golding, 2011a, p. 41).

The value of this interaction is more than knowledge or skills-based, it is particularly powerful, therapeutic and likely to bring broader wellbeing benefits when it is physical

and social, involving other men and contributing to the organization and the community (Golding, 2011a, p. 41).

Absent bodies and invisible lives

The transition from employment to retirement has significantly changed in the EU in the last decades. Not only are years of service extending and the retirement age increasing, but pensions are also falling and they no longer guarantee a decent life (Schmidt-Hertha and Rees, 2017). Retirement can be a breaking point in a variety of ways: psychologically, it is seen as a developmental task, as a longer-term process, or a critical life event (Filipp and Olbrich, 1986). The loss of identifying activities points to the loss of self, the loss of worthwhile projects that reflected one's personality, and also the loss of the meaning of life (Wijngaarden, Leget and Gossensen, 2015; Thompson, 2007). Primarily it can mean a significant cut in people's biographies (Schmidt-Hertha and Rees, 2017). Krajnc (2016) acknowledges that building a new meaning of life is a necessary preparation for a successful transition to retirement. Forcing older people to a social and psychological 'death' after retirement by not giving them an opportunity to fully experience the new life situation that they are entering can be devastating (Krajnc, 2016). The collective effort of the project partners was to call attention to men aged 60 or more, whose gendered experiences and social lives are different from women of their age as well as younger men. Our project identified nine complex obstacles/disadvantages showing vulnerability of men in later life, which persist to be tabooed issues in hegemonic masculinity discourse, that often affect women as well.

First among them is 'becoming a nobody': solitude, (self)isolation and (self)marginalisation among older adults (particularly men) and the status/identity change bring many consequences on health and well-being among older adults. Second, accessibility to quality services, adequate public infrastructure and mobility have become a major technical (and, above all, financial) obstacle for older adults with the degradation of welfare and/or social state, which has a significant impact on their health and quality of life. Third, besides health issues and services (indicated by all partners) a number of other necessary services have become payable, while access to institutions and mobility in general is often inadequate. Special attention should be also paid to mental health and mental issues, underestimated and inadequate in all partners' countries. Because of the above stated problems, older men reported losing their independence and autonomy. Further, poverty and financial distress besides poorly managed home and social services was revealed in all researched countries as well as absence of adequate or sufficient social policies that allow the community to be the centre of the resolution of the problems of older adults. Because men have lost the position they used to have, and therefore often do not know how to participate in an informal/non-formal environment where activities are led by women. Subsequently discomfort with the spaces in which men are a minority was expressed from various perspectives and recognition that men rarely approach (new) activities without personal encouragement of their partners or important friends.

Older adult's spaces are poorly marked, invisible and somehow hidden from community members. Interviewees showed strong dependency on the life partners as companions

and a strong emotional, social and informational reliance on them. They also stressed strong need for political participation and active citizenship. Last but not least, our study revealed (particularly in the case of Portugal) that men with a very low educational background find themselves in in a very tightened and vulnerable situation at old age compared to those with middle or higher level of educational background.

In view of all the above-stated obstacles and problems it is important to find out why older men in a number of countries, including Estonia, Poland, Portugal and Slovenia have been, essentially speaking, excluded as relevant participants in society, because the consequences of their (self)marginalisation and isolation can be dramatic. It is also important to find out why men aged 60 or more are perceived as absent and invisible in contemporary discourses (Fleming, 1999). Men's (self)exclusion and inactivity in the third and fourth life stages have a significant impact on the quality of their lives, on cognitive and mental capital (Golding, 2011a, 2011b; Gleibs et al., 2011; Goth and Småland, 2014), on emotional well-being (Williamson, 2011) and, of course, most importantly, on their health (Courtenay, 2000; Golden, Conroy and Lawlor, 2009; Mark and Golding, 2012). Creating opportunities for participation in civic engagement in later life can have a significant impact on the social aspects of men's lives and health in general. In this regard two interconnected subtopics should be further discussed and implemented in the development strategies: particularly 'men's vulnerability at old age' (male suicide risk, depression, chronic illnesses and functional disabilities, financial difficulties, widowhood, solitude, etc.) (Canneto, 2015) and 'men's mental health' (masculinities and men's health, retirement-related depression and death) (Oliffe and Han, 2014). Numerous social factors strongly influence health quality and well-being at old age as well.

Discussion: bottom-up strategies for community engagement and informal learning

Old Guys project find out that there were not any formal retirement preparation programmes in researched countries. Therefore programmes aiming to prepare seniors for old age and give meaning to old age should be developed and promoted within public institutions, trade unions and through NGOs. Such programmes are needed not only for older adults before the retirement but rather significantly earlier. Instead of forced and early retirement, laws should be drawn up to institutionalise gradual/partial retirement practices and 'silver economy', and to encourage economic integration of the older adults. Inclusive longevity society could be developed through practices of old-new career; involving the older adults in mentoring, training, mediation, development, strategic, motivational, etc., roles/working groups/programmes of institutions and companies. Good examples of encouraging positive perception of productivity and creativity could be done within public institutions and trade unions, for example. 'Partnerships' with older adults to activate a large spectrum of their untapped skills and rich experiences should be financially supported, and their work disseminated.

Research has shown that activities in the first two life stages decisively determine cognitive, social and cultural capital in the third and fourth life stages. Therefore young people should also be informed and educated about the process of ageing and about old

age (not only retirement). At the same time, this would encourage the wider society (and not just older adults) to change the traditional and stereotypical views of old age and ageing. Our project also proved how older adults are mostly providers of wider development in the community through their volunteer, mutual and charity work (though mostly done by women), therefore national and local authorities must enable ways for older adults to transfer their knowledge, practices and skills to the wider population; strengthening intergenerational translation and exchange in cooperation with the civic society and NGOs.

The need for corresponding public spaces were seen throughout the men's narratives, what bring us to suggestion that local authorities should make an evaluation on the quantity and quality of public spaces. This evaluation should take into account the quality of access and transportation and their adequacy to promote different uses of the public spaces. Following this evaluation, local authorities can implement solutions (short, medium or long-term solutions) to improve public spaces and create new public spaces. NGO representatives and other stakeholders in civic society can do their best to set up their own offices and reception rooms (or other facilities they are using) as a safe space, community spaces, where people can come, meet, socialise and spent time together not as consumer but as community members.

Stakeholders in active ageing, lifelong learning and civil society in general will have to develop the sensitivity to recognise the causes and processes that have 'driven' older men out of public life in the community. Opportunities have been mostly seen a) in already existing and diverse educational and training programmes; b) in informing and raising awareness about them for older men; and c) in considering alternative activities for older men in their later life (Gregorčič, 2017). In some contexts of the Old Guys team there is no lack of activities adequate for older men. In other contexts, there are abundant activities (formal or non-formal) that attract more women than men. But it is a fact that there is a lack of information on those opportunities. Furthermore, often institutions of the same territories are offering activities without knowing what the other institutions are doing. Civil society institutions and local authorities should, therefore, articulate better the opportunities for a more active life and work on the dissemination of these activities. Coordinated ways of informing the public, a platform, etc., as can be found in the ''Golden Age'' programme from Portugal – Programa Idade D'Ouro, is one such good example. To promote a variety of activities so that both men and women have opportunities seems crucial.

The research has shown that older men highly value the independence and autonomy that defined them in their working life. Specific obstacles that prevent older adults from adequate access and mobility in local environments should be identified, as well as possibilities for cheaper or free services for older adults in the context of decentralisation of services should be enabled by the national government with the cooperation of civic society and local authorities.

Programmes on cognitive ageing, (men's) mental health promotion, etc., should be developed and broader public discussions should be organised on these persisting taboo themes. National governments need to start long-term measures to improve the

healthcare system and services, in order to provide equal access to all people (as well as older adults). Besides non-profitable innovations towards 'opening' institutions for older adults, community co-management should be developed, practicing de-institutionalisation and community work.

Further, local communities should develop more democratic and participatory processes for involvement of older adults in consultation and other practices that would enable them to contribute to the community. Personal approach has been shown as the most effective – men being encouraged to participate or brought to activities by their partners or important friends. It's also important that they are addressed through 'activity' that they are 'doing things', since (intergenerational or any other) cooperation can be only developed through 'doing' and not through 'spectating' as well as through various institutions and especially through NGOs and organisations focused on older adults. Our research outlined the pricelessness and importance of a wife/partner for older men in this life stage. That is why wives (or life partners) can probably be the most important target group who can encourage their male partners to participate in community or learning activities, and those who will benefit most from men's engagement to the community work, doings and learning.

In the framework of national strategies and preparing action plans by different ministries, local and national authorities should support implementation of legislation that tackles financial and material vulnerability of older people and those at high risk of poverty. Educational background seems central to quality of life in adulthood and, more specifically, at old age. Lifelong learning programmes provided by educational institutions and (informal) learning programmes should tackle those complex problems not only with educational means, but also with community activities and programmes not necessary dealing with education, but with greater focus on socialising, mutuality and community (with intergenerational programmes and exchange, creativity, etc.).

Sensibility for gender capital should be developed within organisations dealing with older adults as well as sensibility for the very understanding of the heterogeneity of the older adults. Gender should be recognised as plural, relational, multidimensional, and deeply contextual (Johnson and Repta, 2012), while heterogeneity by diverse needs, possibilities, capabilities, interests, lifestyles, motivations, experiencing ageing, dealing with ageing, (gender-related) health-issues and risks, etc. For many men, particularly those who are disadvantaged and unemployed or who are older, this hegemonic measure can leave them marginalised, under resourced and impact negatively on their mental and physical health status (Foley, 2018, pp. 30-31). Therefore, hegemonic masculinities should be disclosed through public discussion, through education and learning, health promotion programmes, through other community programmes – with the consciousness that this issue concerns all generations and all genders.

To go beyond age-segregated communities, older adults should establish more permanent, comprehensive and intergenerational systems of mutual and other assistance in the community, for what intergenerational common spaces should be developed – for exchange, interaction, gathering. Cultural institutions in this regard often represent an

important common place if they are open to the community. Institutions of various natures that organise activities for older adults should be aware that the participation of women and men are driven by different factors (and understand those factors). Activities that are friendly to men and women should exist and social spaces familiar to women and/or men should be nurtured and encouraged. The key is not in organising men-only activities, but the diversity of learning opportunities, so that men and women can choose the ones they like the most. If men-only activity is suggested or developed by older males themselves, it should be recognised, valued, supported and accepted with the recognition of a clear need for men's spaces, men's activities, and men's socialisation that can empower older men in their later life.

The evaluation of the education and learning opportunities available to older adults should be done in the context of the municipalities, considering the possibilities of all institutions, making better use of the existing resources. New activities or new institutions should be created only after a global evaluation of resources/educational offer, taking into consideration the needs of the older population. Male-oriented community programmes have the potential to help men to maintain meaningful connections to the activities and roles that they developed throughout their lifetime. They proved to be important for their identity, wellbeing as well as mental health. The Men's Shed movement as one of the most recognised practices of male-oriented community programmes and its achievements should be widely promoted and (financially) supported.

More generally, local communities should develop more democratic and participatory processes for involvement of older adults in consultation and other practices that would enable them to contribute to the community that would not need to happen separately or segregated from the rest of the society. Institutions of various natures, worried about the well-being and quality of life of older adults, should build stronger and wider partnerships, including the security and health services.

Conclusion

The aim of this project was to introduce to community workers and NGO stakeholders strategies for how to improve the participation of men aged 60 years or more in the local community and, in particular, how to encourage men's socialisation, informal learning, inclusion and engagement in organisations which are not primarily meant for education and learning in the third and fourth life stages. Therefore, all materials prepared by project partners suggest how to develop bottom-up strategies for community activities targeting older adults and direction for networking community organisations. Besides this, it tries to raise public awareness of the social isolation of men aged 60 years or more; build the capacity of national and local institutions/organisations to address (self)marginalisation and poor health of older men, through social innovations and alternative approaches fostering community learning, doing and socialising.

However, all project partners faced huge obstacles that cannot be resolved with lifelong learning and active ageing strategies or policies. Financial and material vulnerability of older adults, at high risk of poverty, spatial exclusion, unequal access to health and other institutions, mobility, the need for labour, social and political participation by older adults

(also men aged 60 years or more) among others are the problems that go far beyond civil society and NGOs dealing with older adults and should be solved by central government and national policy, in some part also by local authorities. But as presented in this article, particularly through the suggestions and recommendations in the last section, there are also numerous obstacles that can be solved by civil society and NGOs. Innovative, more democratic, participative, informal and bottom-up approaches are needed, able to consider and re-arrange their spaces, programmes and attitudes towards older adults and consider gendered needs, problems and experiences.

Despite the fact that our project specifically addressed the participation in the community of men aged 60 years or more, some issues and recommendations from this article apply to all genders and, in some cases even more to women than men (e.g. material deprivation of women vs. men in all countries observed). The purpose of the project was not to exclude women, but to research in-depth the local gender-specific issues connected to ageing and shed a light on a group which has not so far been regarded as marginalised or de-privileged except in very few countries (Australia, Canada, and Ireland). Equally, the main findings and recommendations from our research study do not propose men-only activities or segregated spaces for men. In fact, interviewees from all partner countries suggested the opposite: that the existent spaces, programmes of learning, action, and creation and meetings of older adults be connected, contextualised (in terms of space, content, activity, openness), and entwined in a community of intergenerational cooperation, where older adults will feel welcome, accepted, needed, respected and equal, and where they will be able to create and make things that they enjoy (including working with their hands and physical work). They might simply hang out and do nothing, freely as free person does, and belong to the community as old guys, not as a consumer or somebody, who has to be thought about something by younger professional in a classroom.

Acknowledgments

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Andreas Hejj[1]

Running head: How adult education can foster creativity and cooperation between cultures

Abstract

When different cultures meet it is usually the members of the other group that are considered rude because they do not behave in a way the first group would expect its own members to behave. Because the strangers' behaviour is strange and not in accordance with local expectations, it cannot be prognosticated what they are up to, so the locals will grow reserved and suspicious with the strangers. Due to what social psychology terms a self-fulfilling prophesy, this mistrustful approach will elicit the worst possible side of the „other" culture, and that in turn will feed the vicious circle yet more momentum, and keep tension increasing. It is undoubted that tensions experienced more and more often in culturally and ethnically increasingly diverse societies of the 21st century pose a great responsibility to educational science. The present lecture will examine, how creativity can help avoid grave misunderstanding in various instances where different cultures meet.

Luckily adult education can effectively contribute towards a peaceful coexistence of rather different cultures. Besides imparting an empathic knowledge of one's own and the other culture's traditions it can establish a concept of humankind that recognises the fellow human, even despite different values and habits, and even if their ideology or behaviour appears strange to us.

To give practical guidance, this paper will examine some of the personal challenges the author encountered during his wide international career. Born in Hungary, raised in black West Africa, spending decades of his academic life in Germany, Hejj is professor at the University of Pécs as well as the Ludwig-Maximilians University of Munich. He is an evolutionary psychologist; thus, his research focuses on how our present-day behaviour, taste and preference is influenced by adaptations that used to secure the survival of thousands of generations of our ancestors. Hejj studied the effects of these adaptations in several cultures including Papua New Guinea, Micronesia and Ecuador for beauty, relationship, education including initiation, as well as respect for the aged, and has lectured on these topics world-wide, both live and on TV. Hejj is co-founder of the organisation Human Behaviour from an Evolutionary Perspective (Kassel, 2000). For more details see his website http://hejj.de.

Keywords: Tolerance-education, Clash of cultures, Multiculturalism, Creativity

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How adult education can foster creativity and cooperation between cultures

A Native American Indian goes to a New York bar. The barman asks him: Well, how do you like life in our grand old city?   The red man answers him with a question: And you, how do you like life in our ancient homeland?

When different cultures meet it is usually the members of the other group that are considered rude because they do not behave in a way the first group would expect its own members to behave. Because the strangers' behaviour is strange and not in accordance with local expectations, it cannot be prognosticated what they are up to, so the locals will grow reserved and suspicious with the strangers. The results of social- and evolutionary psychology (e.g. Hejj, 2010, 2011, 2017a, 2017b) shed light on the development and possible conditions of overcoming xenophobia and ethno-hostility – i.e. repugnance to strangers (Süllwold, 1988). Let us see a few examples the present author experienced in the course of his international career.

A life-saving bargain – A bishop who had 150 wives

The Tiwi tribe that lives on Bathhurst Island north of Australia did not have a high reputation in the 1920-s. Chinese traders who wished to establish commercial relationships with them did not always return to their homeland. Many a time they themselves were consumed instead of their products. After a few attempts that failed for similar reasons, Christian missionaries gave up, since the Tiwi took the sacrifice formula of the Holy Mess too literally: „Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you".

But Father Gsell was not carved out of the kind of wood that these threatening circumstances could have dissuaded him from his missionary work. He noticed that not every stranger who set foot on the island landed on the Tiwi's table. Under divine inspiration he formulated the hypothesis that strangers did not receive the death penalty for their pure presence, but only if they put their hands on something the locals considered a vital resource. As an enthusiastic anthropologist he ventured to test his hypothesis under empirical conditions.

Father Gsell arrived in the land of the Tiwi equipped with all he would need during the next few months. He argued, if the locals would see that he is not using their valuable resources, if he managed to learn the Tiwi's language quickly, and if he could offer medicine to their sick, they would accept him and gradually they would become interested in his teaching as well. As it turned out, the missionary argued correctly, it was not the stranger by himself that outraged the Tiwi, only if he wanted to get his share of the locals' goods. Since Father Gsell avoided doing this, after some time he was not looked upon as a stranger, but a generous helper with excellent tools. They got to like him. More and more of their young ones attended his school.

One of his favourite students was 11 year old Martina. One day an old warrior came to the mission along with his armed escort to take Martina with him, as she had been promised to him, according to local tradition, before her birth. Though Martina was crying and insisted on staying in her familiar surroundings and was not at all seduced by her old

husband's severe countenance, Father Gsell could do nothing to prevent her getting taken away. And because Martina didn't prove to be a tender wife even in her husband's house, the old man stabbed her leg with a spear, so that she could not escape. But the wound healed, and Martina limped 70 kilometres through the jungle to return to Father Gsell's protection. However, the old man appeared with his warriors and insisted that Martina be handed out to him immediately, if necessary, at the cost of a fight.

The only thing Father Gsell could achieve, was, that after treating the warriors to a rich feast they agreed to postpone taking Martina in the morning. In that night projecting the danger of a bloody fight Father Gsell continued praying that God help him save Martina and the mission. His prayer was heard. The following morning, he produced an offer to the husband so eager to restore traditional order. He offered him tools – a Swiss army knife and a sharp axe – and luxury items – a pipe and tobacco – that the Tiwi could not acquire from elsewhere. His offer was: The husband should sell him Martina in exchange for these precious goods. After a long discussion with his counsellors, the armed negotiators accepted Father Gsell's deal on one condition: The missionary must keep Martina as his wife.

In the following years he „purchased" several more of his students. Father Gsell, who probably holds a singular record in Christian history, had 150 „official" wives when he was ordained bishop (Gsell, 1955).

Why do South-Africans sit down? – The case of the „cheeky" Xhosa

The language coercively prescribed for American journalists how they should "politically correctly" (pc) program their readers according to the interests of the group that owns global press, goes far beyond the "Newspeak" language in Orwell's utopia (Orwell, 1949). According to pc humans are normally black, and only those differing from the norm are to be labelled as melanin impoverished. In this manner there are no black Americans, only African Americans. The author of this contribution, who grew up and went to school in an independent black African state, learnt from his teachers that they were proud to be "negroes". This author is wondering how soon local newspapers will start writing about African Austrians/Hungarians/Poles.

But before the enforced language of political power that consciously caused the decay of our ability to think clearly could irreversibly prevent us from seeing the obvious, we would like to state in black and white that to see existing differences, to get to know them, in order to be able to be tolerant with them are inevitable conditions of peaceful coexistence. Otherwise we are bound to get caught in the vicious circle of misunderstanding, tension and violence. These cultural differences between the Boers, who arrived in the 1600's and later founded the South African state, and the mine-workers, who immigrated from Central Africa two centuries later, led to the concept, that each should live with their own kind, since this would lead to far less misunderstanding. This was the social psychological basis of living apart, apartheid. Because of the mutual anxiety of what each side considered strange, both sides thought that, the other behaved in a very strange manner, and it was not possible to understand what they were up to.

Let us take an example that called for considerable complaint on the side of white South Africans. In the culture of the Xhosas – both Nobel-laureates Bishop Tutu and the late President Mandela belonged to this tribe – unless we are close friends I have to look up to my senior. It is an elementary sign of respect. Thus, if I enter the house of such a person, I have to take up a position, from which I can look up towards him: I sit down. But the whites didn't know about this. They were shocked, how the "impertinent" Xhosa dared make himself comfortable in the arm-chair, not even waiting for the host to offer him a seat.

The white misunderstood in a similar way that the black always pushed to be the first ones to get out of an elevator. They never even thought of the "politeness" to let a lady get out first. What the whites, stuck to their own culture, forgot to consider was, that the generous Xhosa was brought up to take the risk of stepping into a new, potentially dangerous situation himself, to remember that even at the cost of his life the task of the pioneer is his. But of course, experiencing dislike, rather than grateful acknowledgement of the "arrogant" white time and again, the chivalric hero, the Xhosa started to feel that it was not possible to live together with these „unpredictable creatures", let them do what they want, let them rush to their deaths.

To be able to appreciate the nobility of the intention and the action of the other, we need to learn that he really is different from us in his thinking, his up-bringing, his life experience.

Friendly fire - When to kiss the miss?

During the Second World War Trans-Atlantic allies crossed the ocean to Britain to prepare for the occupation of a Europe united violently under Hitler. Since Roosevelt's soldiers faced no language problems in Churchill's country, soon alliances at the personal level started to develop between GI-s (this is the abbreviation of „Government Issue", literally meaning that the soldier was considered to be the property of the government of the United States) and the daughters of England. Surprisingly the latter complained that Americans were starved sex-maniacs; at the same time the Trans-Atlanteans considered the young ladies to be pushing maniacs of love-making. Both groups thought the other one was mischievous, what can hardly be true at the same time. It was the authority on cultural anthropology of the time, Margaret Mead, who investigated the case (Mead, 1944a, b). She found out that approaching the other sex from the first eye contact to the fulfilment of intimacy consisted of approximately 30 consecutive behaviour types. The order of these behaviour patterns is well defined in each society (you cannot rush into the house together with the door). It is important to note that differences in this hierarchy do exist between societies, and this was also the case with the Anglo-American encounters. According to Mead's investigation kissing was at rank 25 of the British hierarchy, while it was at rank 6 in the American one. So, what happened? The English girl and the American boy gazed at each other, they smiled, they chatted, one "accidentally" touched the other's shoulder or arm, and then the GI did what appeared the most natural to him: he kissed the girl. However, this degree of intimacy appeared unimaginably distant to the young lady, as it skipped about 20 stages of the approach-pattern natural for her.

She had to take a quick decision. Either she stays an iron lady slapping the invader of her intimate space, but then she will have to put up with staying alone, since British boys were engaged elsewhere, or else she accepts that she and her new acquaintance got so far and continues the way her own culture would dictate in such a case. Now it was the American's turn, to be in for a shock, since he considered himself to be at the beginning of their relationship, and he would not have expected such an outgoing seduction.

What Mead and the science of communication have made explicit is a good example, showing that the behaviour of the representatives of two cultures accusing each other might result from the differences between these cultures. Anyone threateningly pointing his index finger at others is pointing towards himself with three fingers at the same time.

Suckability – Why do Bavarians ridicule „Prussians" with a white sausage?

Until the pulling down of the Berlin wall – and, as we shall see, even since then – citizens of other nations who meet a German are eager to know whether he is from the East or the West. The Germans themselves classify far more according to the North-South polarisation. It was Willy Brandt who said that even clocks run differently in Bavaria. And indeed: Bavarians consider themselves very different from their Northern-German fellows, who they refer to with some contempt as "Prussians", even if the person concerned happens to be a Westphalian or a Hanoverian. And while the Bavarian keeps his traditions, his traditional costumes, social ceremonies and language in high esteem, he looks upon the "Prussian" as one who has betrayed his cultural heritage, lost his roots and has become "degenerate". He has no idea even of the simplest natural things.

On the other hand, it is the Northern-Germans who hold Bavarians to be boorish fossils [the English word "boorish" resembles, how Bavarians pronounce being a Bavarian: boarish]; yet "Prussians" enjoy spending their holidays in the mountains and on the lakesides of Bavaria, and for nothing in the world would they do without Bavarian beer, with its constitutionally guaranteed cleanness of chemicals ever since 1516. They have the impression that up North they are Germany's brains, but the heart and the centre for pleasure lies below the head, down South. (Germany's soft porn industry that spread in the late sixties chose the scenes for their not-too-complicated plots typically on peasants' land estates in the Bavarian mountains.) And since Northern Protestants brought up with strict morals despise and look down on "primitive" catholic Bavarians irredeemably finding their rapture is baroque pleasures, the latter like pulling the leg of the "highly educated" Prussians, wherever they can. An excellent occasion for this is white sausage that has such a Bavarian ritual that the „white sausage equator" is a synonym for Bavaria's northern border in use throughout Germany.

A Bavarian never orders this speciality in pairs but in pieces. It is served with sweet mustard, salt pretzel and constitutionally clean Bavarian beer. According to tradition our Bavarian will suck a white sausage strictly before noon. Yes, suck, since Bavarians know that the white sausage must be sucked [Zuzeln]. But what can you expect from a Prussian who approaches everything with his intellect, one, you even have to explain that sucking

the sausage means „taking the cylindrical object between your lips and by forming a vacuum incorporating its contents"?

A case of borderline? – An Austro-Bavarian affair

In order to be able to uphold a positive image of ourselves we tend to project our negative properties upon the members of a neighbouring group (Freud, 1896). Bavarian-Austrian neighbours are an example for this. Bavarians, who resemble Austrians both in their language and their mentality far more than Northern-Germans, discover those of their properties unacceptable to their own expectations in Austrians in an exaggerated way. So Bavarians laugh heartily at jokes that make fun of silly, heavy-handed, boorish creatures. Funnily enough, people in Austria enjoy these jokes just as much, but in their versions the one who is made fun of is a Bavarian. Just one example, here in the Bavarian version. That takes us back to the happy days when we still used German Marks and Schillings. A Bavarian arrives at the Austrian border. The Austrian border guard asks him for his car registration and his drivers' licence. The guy realises that his registration book is here, but he left his licence in the pocket of his leather jacket at home. He figures he can make up for his mistake with a 10 Mark banknote, so he puts one in his registration book and hands it over to the officer. The Austrian keeps looking at the banknote for a long time, then he says: „Your long hair fitted you very well, a pity, you had it cut. The only problem is I asked for your driving licence, not your sailing certificate!"

Old 10-Mark banknote

Germany in terms of a Banana-Republic: Wessies and Ossies

To realise a centrally ruled European Union it was necessary to eliminate socialist dictatorships. Before however the Central German territory earlier referred to in Western Germany as the "Soviet Occupational Zone" would join Western Germany, it had to be bought by the "rich candy man", before it fell into the dependency of Western banks. The sweet little gifts were to be taken quite literally, since those coming from the Eastern side of the wall not only received a 100 Marks "welcome-money", but the monkey trainer of the "civilized Christian West" was handing out generous quantities of the symbol of the supply shortage they suffered under socialist rule, bananas. Bingo! The propaganda's prediction turned out to be right: In exchange for the (tropical) fruits of Globalia, Saxons and Thuringians willingly sacrificed their independence. Of course, emotionally they still haven't digested this banana-„Anschluss": Even today, three decades later, the

communication of „Wessies" and „Ossies" is still not undisturbed. The earlier are convinced that they had to pay for the modernization of a ramshackle state, while the latter feel that they were delivered to the arrogant will of Wessies. They think of Wessies as cold and calculating egoists.

Of course, there is another side to this coin. Shortly after the breaking down of the wall the present author conducted research at the East Berlin Humboldt University and asked a young colleague to explain why they thought East Germans were more compassionate and helpful than West Germans. He gave an example. „When walking home from work at 9 P.M. I see that there is a crate of bananas delivered to the food-store, I will run to my colleague's home to inform him, that if the following dawn he joins the queue waiting for the shop to open, he might be able to surprise his family with a few bananas. But you Westerners only think of yourselves."

It would have been difficult to explain to him, that if a Munich colleague visited his fellow lecturer after 9 P.M. asking him to join a queue to await Aldi's opening the following dawn to acquire bananas, this poor man would probably be rushed to a mental hospital.

Evolution has prepared every human – even West Germans – to cooperate, but only under circumstances where success depends on the cooperation of all members of a group (e.g. hunting). If, on the other hand, success does not make it necessary for others to participate (e.g. collecting food), evolution has rewarded the diligent effort of the individual. What the Eastern colleague explained with the character of Wessies was in reality a result of the difference in availability.

Pizza in Southern Tyrol – The difference between freedom fighters and terrorists

If one visits the grandiose mountains of Southern Tyrol as a tourist, one will have no idea of the emotions of the German speaking indigenous inhabitants towards the Italians who have ruled over them ever since the Versailles Treaty. After all they will not confront everyone seeking to relax in tranquillity with how humiliating they found that, several years after the conquest of Italy's fascism, state authorities would still beat up natives if they used their German mother tongue at school. And they were not even allowed to discuss why they could not be police officers in their own country, why carabinieri could only be Italians settled into that homeland.

The present author arrived in Southern Tyrol in 1998 as a contracted professor of the newly founded University of Bolzano. Not aware of these historical tensions he entered a pizzeria to alleviate his hunger. When the innkeeper addressed him in Italian, he apologised explaining that he was the professor of the German language faculty and that he did not speak Italian. He was surprised by the innkeeper's outburst of joy: "Thank God, we thought you were Italian!" Probably it was the author's dark Turanian complexion that mislead the owner of the trattoria. This is where the author began to understand why locals refer to the pioneers of Southern Tyrol's autonomy in the 1960-s as "Freedom fighters", while Italians name the very same people „terroristi".

OK – Why a gesture will cost you 500 Euros

Though Darwin (1872) postulates and Ekman & Friesen (1975) convincingly prove that the mimics of basic emotions are not culture-dependent, this certainly doesn't apply to gestures used within a cultural community. Forming a circle with the thumb and index-finger of the right hand towards another person is an issue of basic security in the international community of divers. The person asking wants to be reassured that the other person is OK. It is compulsory to reiterate the sign if the other has no problems – I am OK! (Obviously different gestures would signalise if he did have any difficulties, e.g. if he could not equalize the pressure on his eardrum).

However, if a well-meaning scuba-diver visited Germany and used this sign to offer his assistance to a car driver whose engine would not start – rather than a grateful smile, based on a legally binding court ruling, in return he would receive a 500 Euro penalty. In Germany it is taken for evident that the sign was shown with an offensive purpose, after all, everyone will know that the sign reminds of the sphincter; Alas! In an anally oriented German culture it is a grave offence to be degraded to be the terminal point of the digestive channel.

Meeting at eye-level – Adult education and human dignity

It is obvious that in the ethnically and culturally increasingly mixed societies of the 21st century we often encounter strange, unpredictable, sometimes even scary behavioural patterns. The resulting social tensions pose an enormous responsibility for adult education. The above examples demonstrated the formation of xenophobia based on the results of depth-, social-, and evolutionary psychological research on projection, in-group-out-group-treatment and altruism. We demonstrated how important a founded knowledge of the roots of one's own culture was, so that members would have no reason to idealize their culture, what would prevent them from seeing their negative characteristics. Instead they would project these behavioural patterns and make fun of, scorn or even prosecute them in another cultural group. Depth psychology makes it clear, that in order to uphold a positive self-image, an individual insecure of himself will project all the characteristics he considers negative onto another group. It is important to become consciously aware of these characteristics we are not happy about, and to accept them as part of us for the time being, in order to be able to gradually substitute them with more favourable behavioural patterns. Gestalt therapy names this process the integration of the shadow and considers it to be the basic task of a balanced personality, accepting both towards himself and others.

Fortunately, adult education has all the prerequisites to effectively contribute towards the peaceful coexistence of various cultures at its disposal. The first one to mention is to let people get acquainted with the traditions of their own culture, to promote respect and love for it, so that it can become an organic part of peoples' lives. Both formal and non-formal education can offer substantial help with this, once we are ready to accept that so-called key-competencies are of little use if the self-identity of the „educandus" in Erikson's (1971) sense has not been formed and stabilized.

For Hungarians the year-cycle is an excellent possibility for this from spring-greeting popular customs of Easter, over the Midsummer solstice celebrations and the cultural heritage of autumn harvest and vintage to nativity play and expecting light as we approach winter solstice. Our spring-greeting customs could be discussed centring on the revival of nature in an environmental knowledge or a biology class, or even a history class treating the "March Youth" of the 1848 revolution. This is where people can become familiarized with the art of egg-painting and the role of the egg in the genesis mythology of a large number of cultures [including the Federal Eagle]. Ancient and present-day symbolism on painted Easter-eggs will acquaint the eagerly seeking intellect of our people with the answers of our tradition to the most important questions of life. After striking secure roots into the culture of their own home-country, people will show respect and curiosity towards customs, behaviour and symbols of other cultures as well. With this foundation we are able to educate our youth towards forming a conception of the human being that helps to see the human person with a beating heart in his chest even in someone with a very different religious, political or value system, thinking and behaviour, which we might not agree with at all. The educational system discussed here is not limited to family and school in the broader sense. An important role is played by programs organized by youth-, music- and cultural clubs as well as virtual communities. These are the channels that enable educational science to accomplish one of its most important tasks, to prepare a cultural group for a peaceful coexistence despite the global challenges of future society. To make sure that strange traditions, very different from our own will trigger benevolent curiosity instead of fear and aggression, the best foundation is, if educational science sees to it, that our young generation knows and lives the tradition of their own society and that they learn to accept their own limits and shortcomings as belonging to them.

How adult education can foster creativity

Let us take a look at the history of the genius-concept. "The Ancient Greek word δαίμων daimōn denotes a spirit or divine power, much like the Latin genius. Daimōn most likely came from the Greek verb daiesthai (to divide, distribute)." Source: Wikipedia Demon.

As opposed to this traditional approach of the kiss of the muse being responsible for creative activity, humanism puts a significant burden on creatives (novelists, playwrights, composers, etc.), for if there is no spiritual world, they themselves are the sole sources of their creative productivity. American poet Ruth Stone [1915-2011] strongly disagrees with the despiritualized explanation of creative activity. "As [Stone] was growing up in rural Virginia, she would be out, working in the fields and she would feel and hear a poem coming at her from over the landscape. It was like a thunderous train of air and it would come barrelling down at her over the landscape. And when she felt it coming . . . 'cause it would shake the earth under her feet, she knew she had only one thing to do at that point. That was to, in her words, 'run like hell' to the house as she would be chased by this poem. The whole deal was that she had to get to a piece of paper fast enough so that when it thundered through her, she could collect it and grab it on the page.

Other times she wouldn't be fast enough, so she would be running and running, and she wouldn't get to the house, and the poem would barrel through her and she would miss it, and it would 'continue on across the landscape looking for another poet.' And then there were these times, there were moments where she would almost miss it. She is running to the house and is looking for the paper and the poem passes through her. She grabs a pencil just as it's going through her and she would reach out with her other hand and she would catch it. She would catch the poem by its tail and she would pull it backwards into her body as she was transcribing on the page. In those instances, the poem would come up on the page perfect and intact, but backwards, from the last word to the first." (Source: Wikipedia Ruth Stone)

This brings us to the question if creativity is a mental disease? There was a young girl, Gillian Barbara, who struggled in school. She had a hard time focusing and fidgeted a lot. Had this happened in our days she would inevitable be diagnosed with an attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). But luckily for her, Gillian Barbara Lynne was born 1926, and so she was able to become a world-known dancer, member of the Royal Ballet, choreographer of Cats, Phantom of the Opera, and much more. The doctor her parents took her to was sensible enough to leave her alone with a music channel in the radio turned on to see her parents "privately". Left alone, she immediately started to dance, and the doctor pointed out to her parents that far from being mentally ill she was a very talented dancer. So, she received all the support and training necessary to make the most of her talent. (Source: Wikipedia: Gillian Lynne).

To sum up this keynote message, the present author would like to conclude with his favourite creative poet's Ars poetica

"I say that man is not grown-up yet
but, fancying he is, runs wild.
May his parents,
love and intellect
watch over their unruly child."
(Source: József Attila: Ars poetica (traslation: M. Beevor))

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The Schooling Permanence In Adult Education In Brazil: Reflections On The Proeja Program

Abstract

Based on the Brazilian educational reality, the article aims to understand the multiple relationships that favor or hinder the permanence of adult students in the Proeja Program. This program aims to increase the schooling of adults with interrupted school trajectories and, simultaneously, also offers professional training to these students. The research was conducted in teaching units whose main focus is on technical courses. It was found that the strategies of favoring permanence need to overcome established cultures, aiming at new practices that enhance the social recognition of these people.

Introduction

In the last fifteen years, there have been some advances in the field of education in Brazil, among which we can observe: the increase in the supply of primary education, the increase in vacancies in public educational institutions, the raising in schooling among young people and the expansion of secondary education.

In relation to adult education, historically marked by the offer of light and insufficient programs and policies, the National Program for the Integration of Professional Education with Basic Education in the Modality of Youth and Adult Education (Proeja), instituted at the federal level in 2006, stood out.

The Proeja seeks to assist young people and adults excluded from the right to education, promoting, in addition to raising education, the possibility of professional training. The minimum age required to be a student of the program is 18 years. Inserted in this context, this article aims to understand the multiple relationships that hinder or favor the permanence of students in the courses Proeja of a Federal Institute of Education, Science and Technology, under the influence of the texts of guidelines and political strategies related to the program.

Theoretical Framework

When seeking meanings and conceptions for permanence in school, we find in Reis (2009, p. 68) a movement of appropriation of philosophical conceptions when describing permanence as a process of duration, reporting that "the change that operates does not refer to time itself, but to the phenomena of time [...] the change is, therefore, a way of existing that results, in another way of existing, of the same object". Thus, the author states that permanence refers not only to the act of continuing, to the constancy of individuals,

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but also to the possibility of existence with their peers. In this way, to remain cannot be understood only as an act of persisting, despite all the adversities, but also, to the ways of continuing inside, of being together.

Through this association between permanence and social recognition, Reis (2009) proposes the primacy of the relationship of coexistence of peers over individual existence, seeing the proposition of the terms symbolic permanence, understood through the possibilities that subjects have to identify with the group, be recognized and belong to it; and material permanence, related to the financial conditions of attending the educational institution (REIS, 2009).

Based on the approaches of Carmo & Carmo (2014), we found that the authors presented the term permanence focusing on the search for a concept for adult education. Based on the readings carried out, we found, as Carmo (2010) also states, that attributing to the permanence in adult education meanings such as resistance, insistence or survival is more appropriate and consistent with the reality that young people and adults live in the school institution, due to the experiences of interrupted trajectories and interdiction of the right to education experienced. Thus, we believe it is relevant to relate the permanence in school to the social recognition that subjects start to enjoy when they are educated.

As a methodological procedure for the present study, we used the mixed approach, a method that combines quantitative research procedures with qualitative methods (Creswell, 2007). The quantitative data were obtained from the application of questionnaires to students and teachers; and the qualitative data through semi-structured interviews with course coordinators, school directors, coordinators of the technical-pedagogical sector and pro-rectors. After a systematic study on qualitative approaches, focus groups were held with students from the last Proeja periods.

Motivations and strategies of students and the institution

Many students highlighted their satisfaction in being at Proeja for the opportunity to learn more and expand their worldview. Schooling, in this context, is seen as a possible way to overcome knowledge gaps and to improve skills for productive living.

In line with Carmo's (2010) speech, we found that remaining brings the sense of coexisting, of existing and coexisting with their peers. Therefore, the answers that include the encouragement of teachers, friends and family, of life in a federal institution can be indicators of how it constitutes permanence, especially when it is observed that material aid does not appear first in the order of importance for these students, even though they are relevant supports in this process.

Social interaction is also cited as a positive point of return to studies at Proeja, enabling interaction with an older public willing to learn. For many of these subjects, who for a long time and for various reasons were excluded from society, the Program is presented as a possibility of social recognition, as can be observed in the commentary below[3]:

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[3] All the names in this paper are fictitious.

It is a very good opportunity, because you develop your knowledge, make new friendships, and train yourself professionally, for sure I became a person more willing to knowledge and more social. (Roger, Proeja's student).

Having these data and the perspectives exposed in the interviews and focus groups, we then began to compare the answers to the questionnaires to these aspects contained in the speeches presented by managers, teachers and students. When reporting a research work, the Manager Ana highlighted:

When there is an isolation or when a student is not able to enter the group, they do not make links, it is easier to leave! But when there is a great desire to have the technical course, to have the diploma, to see that it is getting closer ... and there is union between them! When they get together, they get more!

The comment of Manager Ana alludes to the importance of the relationship and mutual support between students as a fundamental aspect for the permanence of students, which refers to the studies of Mileto (2009), who names his work based on the importance of these interpersonal relationships. In "In the same boat, giving strength, one helps the other not to give up", the author emphasizes the impact that this reciprocity has as a tool for these subjects to identify themselves as belonging to the same group, and as a result of this fact can help each other.

It was possible to realize that the existence of common elements in the school and life trajectories of students, such as the fact that they have interrupted their studies, are long away from school and have experienced numerous exclusions favor the feeling of belonging to the same social group, and can then reflect positively on permanence. Similarly, some common expectations, be it the search for better living conditions and social mobility, among other aspects, also strengthen the feeling of belonging to the group. The Manager Ana also emphasized that the students had the desire to complete the course, thus obtaining a professional training that would allow them greater social recognition and economic possibilities. This topic is related to the speech of Carmo (2010), which highlights that permanence is a consequence of the recognition obtained in this process of return to school, which implies the experience of viewing oneself in others, and thus motivating oneself with situations of intersubjective nature, in a relationship with several subjects simultaneously.

Some speeches also emphasized the determination, willpower and dedication as relevant aspects for the permanence of students, to the extent that they represented the differential between those who dropped out and others who, despite all the difficulties, will conclude the course. When we asked the students what was the main reason that could make them give up Proeja, the majority stated that they would never give up, which demonstrates a great determination and personal interest in the pursuit of the objective of concluding the course. Such a finding tensioned the myth that "students in adult education always give up" or that "they are doomed to drop out".

In the speech of Student Joana, we observed consonance with other comments presented, in addition to highlighting other perspectives present in the concept of symbolic permanence (Reis, 2009), of which we emphasize the social recognition of the subject:

> I think studying here, at the Federal Institute, when I got here, I was delighted by the Institute! I never cared if they blame me or not, what I wanted was to finish my course! The Institute is very good, to be here inside is as if I were... I can classify it like this: a school of the first world! Really, the Institute is sensational!

For many students, the fact of "being in Proeja", in a federal educational institution, has contributed to raising their self-esteem. We noticed from some of the speeches that before Proeja, many students were discouraged, even because they considered their old age to resume their studies and believed they were incapable of learning and acquiring new knowledge.

In the case of managers, a highlighted aspect, regarding institutional strategies carried out to contribute to the permanence of students, were the activities that occur at the beginning of the academic semesters, the so-called welcome. In describing how these activities have been taking place, Manager Carla highlighted:

> There are two periods of on-campus reception for all the courses. And we try to welcome them back to the Proeja course. I ask a researcher to give a lecture, I present some testimonials from students already trained, we try to do this with a snack, everyone together, the veteran students trying to motivate others!

When talking about the welcome, we noticed that some managers presented strategies that combined actions of a more technical nature and others more general, such as cultural and sports activities. Thus, the lecture of a specialist teacher or even former students who managed to complete the course are presented to newcomers, so that the entrant can be motivated by these examples. Complementary aspects, such as the snack and the socialization environment provided to classmates and course colleagues also contribute to enhance the welcome and, consequently, the desire for permanence. The comment of Manager Mary, when talking about the activity, ratified these guidelines:

> This welcoming action... we want to make the student feel a little part of the school, to have an overview of the course, the job market, have cultural presentations, gymkhanas, sports projects! The welcome is very important, it has a positive impact on the permanence!

In the considerations of the students, the importance of the welcome was mentioned, both in the aspect of being received and of welcoming other classes, according to the considerations of the Student Joana:

When we were welcomed, I said that here I met excellent professionals, I had the pleasure of studying with the best! There are two classes here that we received! I thought the reception was very good!

The comments of Student Joana, which covered two different moments, made clear memories of the arrival at the institution, the moment of the reception, the pride of having studied with qualified teachers, as well as the satisfaction of receiving incoming classes and, in a certain way, return the reception that was previously provided to her.

Reception activities can characterize what Mileto (2009) identified as a "hug tactic", which consisted of moments of closeness between students of different generations through different events, causing very positive effects, including among students considered "problematic". On the other hand, we also perceived the possibility of the reception being reduced to a formal activity, aiming only at the presentation of sectors and people, which, if there is no involvement and socialization between the subjects, may not achieve the expected results, as we observed in the John Manager's speeches:

There is a welcome on campus. It is done by the teaching direction and by the general direction! It is logical that it is a lot of information and we are already thinking about a summarized material to be delivered! Not everyone comes on the first day of class, there's not a lot of adherence, but the reception is done! Make sure they have an adequate environment to have the classes! This they have! No shortage of teachers! We do that! It is... providing all the necessary structure!

In comparison to the other testimonials that addressed the theme of welcome, we noticed that the first speech of the Manager John highlighted formal aspects, such as the presence of directions and presentation of sectors, in addition to revealing some gaps in the activity, visible in the passage "is a lot of information", and emphasizing that the activity "has no adherence". Despite these problems, the manager made a point of ratifying that the reception was carried out, minimizing these obstacles. However, the comments made by him may also suggest the understanding that part of the information is not understood by students or even that most students do not attend the reception activity, consequences that would weaken the effectiveness of the proposal.

In the second speech of the Manager John, we visualize the prominence in the physical structure and human resources, with the confirmation of compliance with these obligations, materialized in the sections "this they have!" and "this we do!". The emphasis presented in these fragments gave rise to other reflections on the possible gaps in the reception or in the institution as a whole, because it was reduced to information, without promoting interrelationships between veteran students and freshmen, or even between teachers and new students, appearing only a bureaucratic moment to enunciate rules and announce procedures to be followed, similar to a "manual" of how to act in the institution. With other considerations, Michael presented some reasons that made him stay:

The teachers made me stay, because there was a period in which I failed and was going to abandon the course, but I had two teachers who, at that moment, for me, were not teachers, were friends! My wife was very happy that I opted for the course, my 12 year old son too! When I get home he says: what class did you have today? I'm finishing the course now, but then I'll try to go to college, I want to do law.

The student Michael initially highlighted the importance of teachers in relations with students, describing the situation in which a failure would have motivated him to drop out. However, the closer relationship with these two teachers, materialized by the incentive to stay, made him rethink the first decision to abandon the course. As in the case reported by the student, the failures are pointed out by the students of Proeja as one of the main factors that demotivate the permanence in the course, especially in the specific case of the adult education public, when it comes to subjects who have already experienced numerous exclusions.

In the following comment, Michael Student revealed the importance of the family in the process of permanence: the wife's satisfaction, the interest of the child in knowing what content he was studying, aspects that enhanced the social recognition of returning to school and also be valued by the family. In the excerpt in which the student stated "I will try to go to college", we visualized the impulse for a regular flow in studies from that moment, which characterizes the aspects highlighted by Reis (2009), which related possibilities and/or desire for continuity to the enhancement of permanence.

In these reports, we identified the importance of the student to reconstruct his trajectory in a different way from previous experiences, since this time it was possible to unite teachers' encouragement and family support, which contributed to the student building his own knowledge, expanding and transforming the feeling of self-esteem provided by the return to school.

Although the main focus of permanence is on students, we see in this work the impact that a possible change in the conception of the teaching staff and managers can have on the student's decision to remain. When granting the interview, we visualize two distinct moments of the Henry Manager's speech, one more pragmatic and the other more subjective.

There's that dilemma, can I give a degree as a computer technician to someone who doesn't know how to turn on the computer? It is a mistake to think that a diploma will help a student of technical course!

Someone turned to the student and said: "how do you talk!" And he turned and said a phrase that no one ever forgot, he said: "I learned to speak as a student of Proeja! He said he was quiet, "I learned to speak! That phrase says it all and doesn't need anything else, that is, our role! And then we keep thinking like this: it becomes less important that you want to be a coach of this or that! Just this rescue, this boy, this

student is a grown man! Just this rescue of this person to make him feel better, talk better, talk to the boss, with the neighbor! This alone is worth it!

The first speech by Manager Henry showed how low the expectations about the students of the Program are, which may be related to the fact that historically adult education in Brazil has been disqualified in the scope of public policies, which makes its subjects devalued, carriers of stigma and adverse social representations. It is also visualized a certain concern with the legitimacy that the diploma supposedly brings. In this case, many teachers highlight the uncertainties regarding the professional future of these students and the success of their performance as technicians after the end of the course.

In the second part, the manager described the excerpt from a meeting attended by students, teachers and principals at which, among several subjects, one fact was most effectively presented: the possibility of transforming the student through his or her trajectory in the Program. In this case, we observed the recognition of the manager himself when he admitted that "he does not need anything else" and that this change would be "our role", besides, in opposition to the previous speech, reflecting that "it becomes less important you want to be a technician of this or that".

In this second moment, he reported the social value of Proeja to the student, who began to recognize himself as a subject in society. He also highlighted the meaning of professional training and the importance of building pedagogical practices that enable the conclusion of the course with the expected quality. In this sense, we emphasize that this statement of the manager should be transformed into a posture to be acquired by leaders and, especially, by teachers, in order to represent a permanent orientation: seek quality in its various plans and dimensions (training of managers and teachers, access, permanence and success of students, physical and material infrastructure, among others).

Thus, in accordance with Lima's (2016) notes, we confirm that it is necessary to ensure permanence by transforming the perception of the various subjects involved in the Program, as well as a better understanding of the EJA modality proposal, its subjects and their specificities in view of the social recognition of Proeja's youth and adults.

Final Considerations

Given the above, we found that the aspects involving the symbolic permanence are of great relevance to the young and adults of Proeja, being directly related to the possibility of social recognition of subjects who were excluded from the educational system.

We emphasize that these actions are relevant to the extent that they enhance the belonging to a new social group, established by the existence of common elements in relation to the subjects' school and life trajectory, confirming Honneth (2003) and the empirical findings of Carmo (2010) and Reis (2009). We also found that the hospitality and other events favor significantly the permanence of students, due to the participation in solidarity and cooperation networks, sharing with their peers the feeling of belonging and being together to face the same difficulties. These events were also cited for the possibility offered to strengthen the affective bonds between the subjects, bringing the youngest and the oldest and, according to the reports presented, both highlighted the

value of this coexistence, ratifying the permanence through coexistence between different generations.

Another aspect that deserves to be highlighted is the importance of the relationships established between teachers and students. In these relationships, the teacher is seen as a central support figure in the resumption of the school day in the lives of these students, having then conditions to enhance the permanence of these subjects in the institution if the work is forwarded in a manner consistent with the specificities of the modality.

Therefore, we found that the low social value view in relation to adult education students and the concern with the quality of the institution are indicators that negatively impact on the permanence of young people and adults in this program. Thus, we consider that from this changing perspective, Proeja can be a space for the realization and guarantee of rights and professional training, enhancing actions that minimize socio-educational inequalities to a historically discriminated group.

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Learning To Live Together

Summary

Theoretical considerations and practical applience in adult learning, policies of diversity and intersectionality: how Bildung constructs and deconstructs. How a diversity of identities is created through language, storytelling and social media and why it is necessary to learn to deconstruct the realm of images and the political correctness of diversity policy in order to restore a politics of dignity and respect. Learning to live together is, as Delors stated in 1998, still the final answer to the question which role adult learning has to play in policies of diversity.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is twofold: on the one hand forwarding some theoretical considerations for a discussion on adult learning, policies of diversity and intersectionality, because this are separate areas in which goodwilling professionals individually have their own postulates and presuppositions, but the implementation of shared valid visions is often missing. At the other hand this paper will show in what way adult learning methodologically can take up this big challenge in a world where the multicultural society more and more is seen as a failure.

Multi-cultural society

Learning to live together is one of the four principles of education, mentioned by Jacques Delors in 1998 in the UNESCO report Learning: The Treasure Within. In one of the appendices of this report, titled Education for a multicultural world, Stavenhagen (1998) wrote:

- a truly multicultural education will be one that can address simultaneous-
- ly the requirements of global and national integration, and the specific
- needs of particular culturally distinct communities, both in rural and urban
- settings (....) To achieve such a truly pluralistic education it will be necessary
- to rethink the objectives of what it means to educate and be educated; to
- remodel the contents and the curricula of formal schooling institutions; to
- develop new teaching skills and educational methods; and to stimulate the
- emergence of new generations of teachers/learners.

At that time, the multicultural society is still pitively in the spotlight. Characteristic for such a society is that it has many different ethnic or national cultures mingling freely. It also refers to political or social policies which support or encourage such a coexistence.

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Important in this is the idea that cultural practices, no matter how unusual, should be tolerated as a measure of respect.

In a political context the term is used for a wide variety of meanings, ranging from the advocacy of equal respect for the various cultures in a society, to a policy of promoting the maintenance of cultural diversity, to policies in which people of various ethnic and religious groups are addressed by the authorities as defined by the group they belong to. Multiculturalism is an ideology that promotes the institutionalization of communities containing multiple cultures. Multiculturalism assumes that all cultures are equal and must be treated equally, and the cultural norms and values of one culture are no better than those of another. Twenty-one years later the dominant opinion is that the idea of the multicultral society has failed: there are more tensions in the society, particularly on places where significant numbers of migrants are living and the support for right-wing political parties, who want to stop the current migration and refugee policy, is increasing in several countries. The idea that all cultures are equal and must be treated equally has been changed almost unnoticed for a louder call for integration and assimilation, or else "fuck off", as the Dutch Prime Minister Rutte concisely put it. Migrants nowadays have to pay themselves for their integration course and they must sign a declaration which obliged them to integrate in society. Meanwhile, on the streets and in public life as well, they are faced with more discrimination, racism, intolerance and hostility, particularly against muslims. The European Association for Education of Adults (EAEA) describes the role of adult education in this area as follows:

- The implementation of (inter-)cultural dialogue fosters an exchange between
- the indigenous and new citizens. It helps migrants to understand the cultures
- and social contracts of their new home countries and gives the host citizens
- the chance to appreciate different habits and develop their countries into deli-
- berative democracies.

A lot may have changed, the title of this paper is still as up to date and valid as it was in 1998 or perhaps even more. Learning to live together is still the final answer to the question which role adult learning has to play in policies of diversity. The Manifesto from 2019 claims that adult learning is particularly powerful in bringing together people from different walks and stages of life, in developing mutual understanding and respect, and in contributing to active citizenship, personal development and well-being, and it states that this will benefit society, democracy and social peace. In the following paragraphs we will explore this further.

Narrative andragology

Starting point is a critical analysis of practices in adult learning. We understand adult learning as a process of 'Bildung' in a contemporary style of self-directive learning, including the use of modern technology such as internet, social media, dataprocessing and blended learning (Bildung 3.0). Bildung 3.0 needs to be focused on how people are creating images and terms in their (life) stories and how we as adult educators can relate to these stories. This means that the emphasis in the telling process shifts from the story to the telling process itself .In this perspective we will talk about narrative andragogic

discussion strategies. Adult learning activities are all fundamentally what we can call a „talige praktijk" (a linguistic practice). This does not mean that language learning is the main topic in adult education, neither that activities are always verbal activities. However, it means that behind all educational activities, verbal and non-verbal, there is always a story, there are always spoken or unspoken words: it is language which give meaning to activites undertoken, language, which makes (self-)reflection possible. A story is a version of a history and strings together in its own way the events in history. It brings a logical far away in the events through time and space. This is active participation in reality. In andragogic work the story told by the client is at the centre. This story functions both retrospectively and prospectively, and should be the subject of a dialogue of deliberation. Gottshall (2012) calls storytelling as an important methodological aspect in adult education. In adult learning the adult educator and the adult learner are engaged in (re)constructing a story. When emphasizing the telling of the story remains the adult educator within the emancipating option that has guided the agology so far. The agogical method can be seen as a practice of dialogue. Point of departure is the self-diagnosis by the learners, their own interpretation of their situation.

In conversations with the learners, research is carried out in order to gain a joint insight into the bottlenecks in the situation, to clarify the different interpretations that exist and to try out others. In such conversations, analogous to the narratology, three levels of narrative can be distinguished: the history (that which happened, the behaviour), the story (what is shown, the meaning, the narrative, the content of the story) and the text (what is said, the words, the telling, the text of the conversation) (Bal, 1980) To the question of who we are, we answer with a story. We are as we say we are, we become as we say about ourselves, we are our own story. The world of which we are a part becomes a familiar world with an understandable story. Or as the philosopher Verhoeven (1975) puts it beautifully: "We are what we have become, what we have done, what has happened to us; what has happened to what we have done and what we have done to what has happened to us".

Identity and diversity

In the process of Bildung one is always confronted with the question of identity: "who do I am?" The term 'ïdentity' indicates how you see yourself, how you present yourself to the outside world and how you are seen from the outside world. Identity is a central topic of Bildung in various capacities (Knowles, 1980), such as personal identity (Erikson, 1987), cultural identity (Ennaj, 2005; Holliday, 2010) as well as online-identity (Singh, 2010). Knowles mentioned self-concept as a characteristic of an adult learner: "as matures his/her self-concept from one of being a dependent personality toward one of being a self-directed human being." Erikson maintained that personality develops in a predetermined order through eight stages of psychosocial development, from infancy to adulthood. During each stage, the person experiences a psychosocial crisis which could have a positive or negative outcome for personality development. Cultural identity is according Ennaj the identity or feeling of belonging to a group. It is part of a person's self-conception

and self-perception and is related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, locality or any kind of social group that has its own distinct culture.

According Holliday these factors contribute to the development of one's identity. Cultural identity is both characteristic of the individual but also of the culturally identical group of members sharing the same cultural identity or upbringing. Singh indicates on the interplay between cultural identity and new media. Rather than necessarily representing an individual's interaction within a certain group, cultural identity may be defined by the social network of people imitating and following the social norms as presented by the media. For new generations, to an ever-greater extent, digital life merges with their home life as yet another element of nature. In this naturalizing of digital life, the learning processes from that environment are frequently mentioned not just since they are explicitly asked but because the subject of the internet comes up spontaneously among those polled. The ideas of active learning, of googling 'when you don't know', of recourse to tutorials for 'learning' a programme or a game, or the expression 'I learnt English better and in a more entertaining way by playing' are examples often cited as to why the internet is the place most frequented by the young people polled. When connected, youth speak of their daily routines and lives. With each post, image or video they upload, they have the possibility of asking themselves who they are and to try out profiles differing from those they assume in the 'real' world. Youth ask themselves about what they think of themselves, how they see themselves personally and, especially, how others see them. On the basis of these questions, youth make decisions which, through a long process of trial and error, shape their identity. This experimentation is also a form through which they can think about their insertion, membership and sociability in the 'real' world. Language develops from the needs of the people who tend to disperse themselves in a common given location over a particular period of time. This tends to allow people to share a way of life that generally links individuals in a certain culture that is identified by the people of that group.

Identity formation is highly context-sensitive: the narrator himself determines the truthfulness of the text. The narrator is given his or her own voice, which interprets history on the basis of what he or she tells and does not tell. Every story is a construction. Narrators are active in selecting and displaying events in a certain way and have different ways of bringing up what is shown. On the one hand we notice that identity is firmly built on four pillars - continuity, recognition and acknowledgment, freedom in independence and a meaningful future -, on the other hand we see that late-modern identity is a very fragile concept: you can lose its identity, you can be looking for your own identity, you can adopt a different identity, you can change your identity, you can even have different identities at once. Being yourself is a complex matter in 2019. In our Western society, there is a permanent pressure to to become yourself, to be yourself and to remain yourself.

The question of who and what you are is also a question of what you belong to. Identity is a central topic in debates on social cohesion, cultural diversity, integration, the 'we-sides', international relations and globalisation. The issue of identity appears more urgent and penetrating than ever and gives rise to profound questions: who are we, what do we stand

for, how do we differ from others, what do I belong to, what is Europe, what does it mean that I am a Surinamese, can I be both Muslim and Dutchman? Fukuyama (2017) calls identity the distinction between a person's true inner self and an external indication of the social roles and norms that do not sufficiently recognise the value or dignity of that inner self. It is characteristic of modern times that one finds that the authentic inner self is intrinsically valuable, and that the external society is systematically wrong and unfair in its appreciation of the former. The inner self is the basis of human dignity. It used to be reserved for those who were prepared to risk their lives in battle. Nowadays it is an attribute of all human beings, based on their intrinsic value as people with freedom of choice (I-culture) or on belonging to a certain group with a collective memory and shared experiences (We-culture).

On this point identity and diversity (UNESCO, 2005) are meeting each other through intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989). By (cultural) diversity we mean all aspects in which people differ from each other. The visible things - such as age and skin colour - and the less visible things such as cultural and social background, competences and working styles. People with diverse identities - young/old, man/women, black/white, muslim/christian, homo/hetero, etc. – living together, that is diversity. On 20 October 2005, at a UNESCO General Conference in Paris, the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions was agreed. It states that cultural diversity is part of the common heritage of mankind, contributes to freedom of choice and is of great importance for a democracy. The Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity was already enshrined in 2001: "as a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for mankind as biodiversity is for nature." The freedom to preserve one's own culture also follows from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The confrontation with other cultures can lead to a cultural awareness in which one's own culture with its values and norms are more clearly expressed. Depending on the degree of security within one's own culture, the resulting self-reflection can be both frightening and hopeful. When there is a great sense of security within one's own culture, another culture can create tension because it makes it clear that one's own values, norms, customs and rituals may not be correct. One sees oneself nowadays (more and morer again) as part of a collective, a community, instead of as an individual, an individual self, someone with a name and a body. Being in front of the other, the stranger, when people, in their new perception of group identity, feel personally addressed and hurt in issues that affect their 'individuality'.

Intersectionality means that individuals face a multitude of imposed and discriminatory identities that overlap, including: sexuality, origin, class, ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, age, body and soul health and many other forms of identity. For example, a white woman fights sexism and a black man fights racism, but a black woman fights both racism and sexism. When this black woman is also a lesbian and/or muslim woman, she fights not only racism and sexism but also homophobia, xenophobia and islamophobia...). The starting point of intersectional thinking is that these overlapping identities are not simply the sum of the individual parts together, but that they form a total that together creates a whole new identity. As such, intersectionality requires us to

see each individual element of a person's identity as something that is inextricably linked to all its other elements.

In today's Western society we're being swung back and forth between diversity policy and identity politics. On the one hand they are complementary and in line with each other, but on the other hand they are contradictory and at odds with each other. Diversity policy focuses on obtaining and managing a diverse workforce in all ranks. It is not based on a uniform culture. A culture must be created in everyday interaction. Identity politics conversely is conducting politics just on the basis of the social identity of a particular group and the experience of social injustice shared by this group.

Diversity policy is sometimes mainly wishful thinking by neglecting existing differences between groups. At the contrast, identity politics is often remains trapped in her own world of thought and in her own right.

Adult education as place and deployment of combat

Adult education is always part of social debates. Also the contraverse between diversity policy and identitity politics is reflected in adult education policy. At the one hand adult education is supposed to stimulate (inter-)cultural dialogues fostering an exchange between the indigenous and new citizens. At the other hand the importance of adult education is seen in reflecting on societal situations and challenges, in order to learn from prevailing European issues such as increasing radicalisation, migration and social inequalities and in showing that democratic attitudes, tolerance and respect need to be reinforced. Adult education is as always a place, but also the deployment of social combat. How should adult educators relate to this debate? What role can adult education effectively play? Let's go back to the discussions between adult educator and learners, whether through images, videos, drawings, whether through roleplays and conversations. Adult education should invite participants to tell them about who they are, not just to present themselves, but to connect their self-concept with the diversity in the surrounding world. In the discussion learners are telling stories, that reveal or disguise their identity. Each story what is told is part of chain and refers to other diverse stories, a diverse network of references to other stories and meanings, that is controlled by nothing or no one and that nobody owns. How to interpret these chain of (associated) stories? In andragogic discussions adult educators can stimulate participants to identify and to explore real differences. How do they work, what do they mean, how do they relate to each other? Locating contradictions often gives an indication of what is worth investigating. Someone can pretend to belong to one group one day and to a completely different group the next, but these external adaptations and changes are not always accompanied by an inner conviction. Through television and the internet people have access to information about all kinds of lifestyles, lifestyles, beliefs, ideas and customs. Migration and the attention paid to ethnic and cultural differences can also be seen in our everyday life. The indirect or direct contact with people who look different, believe different things and do different things, the question arises as to who they are and who we are. Increasing contact leads to more attention to identity. Showing other people where they come from, who they belong to, who they feel connected to, and how they see

and judge the world. This raises questions about who you are, where you are from. and what you stand for yourself. The self-evidence of your own identity is affected.

Here adult education needs an adequate and effective andragogic conversation technique. Such a technique ignores the golden rule of empathic listening confirming the person, but is based on encoding and decoding (Hall, 1973), codificating and decodificating (Freire,1971) and constructing and deconstructing (Derrida, 1967).

Hall claims that television and other media audiences are presented with messages that are decoded, or interpreted in different ways depending on an individual's cultural background, economic standing, and personal experiences. In contrast to other media theories that disempower audiences, Hall proposed that audience members can play an active role in decoding messages as they rely on their own social contexts, and might be capable of changing messages themselves through collective action.

Following Freire the adult educator can use photographs or images as codifications. These images or photographs should represent situations with themes that are familiar to the learners, so that they can easily recognize them and thus also their own relationship with them. However, the thematic core should be neither too comprehensive nor too enigmatic. Codifications are not slogans, they are recognizable objects, challenges for the critical reflection of the "decoder". Decodification means taking distance from one's own life experience. An analysis of the codification provides insight into the structural coherence of one's own problems. Decodification is explaining the codification and its constituent elements: these elements show the learners relations they had not seen before, relations between the elements in the codifications and other facts in the real situation.

Deconstruction: a philosophical or critical method, developed by Derrida, is an approach to understand the relationship between text (or spoken words) and meaning. Derrida's approach consisted of conducting readings of texts looking for things that run counter to the intended meaning or structural unity of a particular text. The purpose of deconstruction is to show that the usage of language in a given text, and language as a whole, are irreducibly complex, unstable, or impossible. Deconstruction looks for places where meaning disappears, for holes in the text, for references that are not completed or for traces that are erased. It is not meant to make the absence visible again, it is a matter of revealing traces that can tell a different story, that can broaden or lengthen the text, that can transfer the story to others or that can make a new turn in it.

All these approaches are concerned with dealing with 'narrative contradiction' (Oostrik, 1991). He distinguish four methical competences for adult educators:

- Listening by imagining: ask for details that may be of significance.
- Listening by connecting: make further associations, unexpected twists and turns
- Listening by moving: listen from a different perspective, make someone else the protagonist
- Imaginary listening: listen to images and understand certain expressions as image

Using these competences one can deconstruct the political correctness which is part of terms as 'diversity policy' and 'diversity management'. A key word in the discussion about diversity is dignity, also as spoken word in discussions. Equality cannot exist without dignity. Dignity denotes 'respect' and 'status', and it is often used to suggest that someone

is not receiving a proper degree of respect, or even that they are failing to treat themselves with proper self-respect. Dignity is much more than respect, it includes also the meaning of having value, radiating value and representing values. Or as Fukuyama says:

"the inner self of dignity seeks recognition. It is not enough that I have a sense
of my own worth if other people do not publicly acknowledge it or, worse yet,
if they denigrate me or don't acknowledge my existence. Self-esteem arises out of esteem by others."

Dignity can also be taken as a subject for a codification. Dignity as defined in self-esteem, recognised by others, is the basis for diversity. In this way, through decoding, decodificating and deconstructing, adult education can endorse learning to live together in the broadest sense of the words. Living together in a multicultural as wel as a multigenerational society is a complex learning process in itself that needs critical reflection in which political correctness can change into directness and where identity can change in rotating and flexible identities.

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A laboratory for community learning – the Vision of Tomorrow Workshop series

Summary

This study aims to introduce the framework of the Vision of Tomorow workshop series developed and organised by the College for Advanced Studies on Social Inclusion to provide an insight of the theoretical and methodological background of the games they have designed and developed, also through the development history of the workshop series how trainings on social inclusion can be designed in a community learning setting.
Key words: community learning, edutainment, experimental design, sensitivity training, moral development

The aim of this study

Numerous social problems being faced aren't met with knowledge and skills to handle them due to the lack of preparation in public education. This leads to a further cause, higher education is also not prepared for training teachers of public education to provide these neccessary knowledge and skills so social problems when encountered are dealt with in ad hoc ways. The College for Advanced Studies on Social Inclusion (CASSI) is an organisation of the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pécs which aims to develop methodological guidelines, trainings on the scene of community learning for the identification and handling of different causes that endanger the integrity of society. This study aims to introduce the framework of the Vision of Tomorrow workshop series developed and organised by CASSI to provide an insight of the theoretical and methodological background of the games they have designed and developed, also through the development history of the workshop series how trainings on social inclusion can be designed in a community learning setting.

Research perspective

Participants are not mere elements of a formation created to resolve a task during the workshop which serves as a scene for community learning. On the contrary, the basis for community learning is that it relies on social and interpersonal connections and involves this knowledge into the common interpretation of their task (Wenger, 1998:4.). Values raised by participants are discussed and formed in a common horizon of understanding. The study reveals how participants utilize their common knowledge, what strategies they follow and adopt from each other, what factors induce or hinder them, what impact the

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training has on participants, how they accomodate to their roles and how they react on what happened to other participants in the program panels of the workshops.

Conceptual framework

A newly developed branch of community learning is social gaming. In fact, social gaming can be devided into two types. The first, traditional type enlarges the definition of community and brings traditional board games, cards, quizlets and role playing games to a broader open community space from smaller family and friend circles. While the second type is connected to social media so social gaming is understood there as the virtually interconnected form of online games. The workshop series are built on the first type of social gaming. CASSI aims to raise attention on deeper social problems such as discrimination on group level or individual level, prejudice and the lack of social action through social gaming. The dinamics of social gaming delivers a context for participants where they can be not just passive recipients of questions and explanations of certain social problems, instead, they become active interpreters of them. The nature of game enables to study questions from multiple perspectives (Huizinga, 1950) where players develop alternative strategies to win the game in front of each other so they experience more possible ways of risks and gains in the same process. So the design of social gaming implies the opportunity for practising new behavior and for testing new or reinforced capabilities, attitudes or theories. Etienne Wenger, theoretist of connectivism argues, „communities of practice" are more effective in learning than individually. The basis of Wenger's learning theory states humans are social beings so social interactions could/should be utilized in the process of learning as well (Wenger; 1998:4). Conditions for „communities of practice" include mutual interest, newly acquired knowledge for fulfilling a common task and participants to teach each other during the process.

Edutainment is also an integrative element of the workshop series. Participants who are mostly secondary school and university students at the Vision of Tomorow Workshop series and leave school uniformity for a day demand new information as well as being entertained. According to the flow theory actively involved participants tend to pay more attention on details, find easier hidden opportunities, define goals for themselves, reflect continouosly and are ready for more and more complex challenges (Mérő, 2010:127). Edutainment is also supported by constructivism. Vygotsky (1980) argues if learning process is enriched by action and emotional engagement like mutual respect and conversations are about real intentions it leads to intellectual engagement with the topic of the learning process. The conversation brings common thinking in action through examining problems they face together so they share their previous knowledge, memories, feelings with each other which infiltrates and becomes their new common knowledge. So, constructivism fosters project-based and discovery-based learning. Final supporting theory for edutainment mentioned here in this study is motivation theory (Skinner, 1938; Keller, 2009) according to which participants are engaged with the game through curiosity and the desire for being actively involved. The learning process has four steps in Keller's model (2009): 1. raise the attention of the learner, 2. provide a meaningful

topic, 3. define a solution route that is achieveable for the learner, finally, 4. make it possible for the learner to experience the goal achievement.

Collaborative design is a method for community learning (Lewin: 1948; Mérei, Szakács: 1975) based on group work of participating individuals with guiding instructions. The guidelines provide detailed instructions how to deal with a task as a group, and at the same time it verifies for participants that finding a solution cooperatively can be successful, moreoever, how and in what conditions can it be successful. The first condition is for a successful collaboration is group-development, that is, to achieve that participating individuals coming with different backgrounds find similarity markers in each other which will define their new common group and see their new group as the best tool for problem-solving. A common mental model can have a role in causing this condition, that is, mutual respect and trust and the feeling of interdependency. The second condition for a successful collaborative problem solution is the guideline that or the instructor who details the common route for solving a given problem. This experience provides a ground for participants to collaborate in problem-solving in other areas as well. The guideline must refer to the complexity of the problem and still it needs to consist of executable parts. According to the third condition collaborative action becomes successful when participants realise that their common, shared knowledge is more productive than on their own, so problems have to be difficult to be solved by one and have to be complex enough to attract more perspectives.

The focus of sensitivity training is on what influence the training has on the participants, how they understand their roles and how they respond to others' actions and others' experiences. According to activity learning theory constructivist approach can further be developed through inserting action into the process of learning. This way learning gains multiple reinforcement (Engström et al, 1999) for example when participants reflect on each others words also by actions and they solve a common task together for which active conversation brings up shared possible solutions. Some of our trainings are meant to be versions of Kurt Lewin training groups (T-group). Lewin worked together with randomly sampled participants.

Moral development theory (Kohlberg, 1997), (Puka, 1995) examines concepts such as good, right or just and the background of behaviour and action based on them assuming there is a moral sense which can be learned and developed by humans as human nature is self-defining and aiming perfection in general, except from a few examples. Thus morality grows, develops and gains awareness together with physical, mental and social abilities in the process of reaching maturity.

Methodology

Although our workshops were influenced by many outside factors (like we couldn't control the final number and composition of participants and couldn't entirely balance our time framing) the workshop series itself belongs to laboratory experiments as we provided an artificial setting and created identical parameters for our tests. In laboratory experiments designers define the order of program panels, time framing, distribution and tasks of participants among identical parameters in an artificial setting (Walliman, 2011).

Target group

Topics of our program panels belong to the field of social inclusion which requires a certain level of moral maturity that led to a focus on those who are already mature enough to provide suitable results for our tests. Our target group can be located in the last two years of secondary school and the bachelor years at university in blurred boundaries between Kohlberg's conventional and post-conventional levels. To this age interval of 16-22 four stages reflect. On the conventional level first we meet mutual interpersonal connections, exceptions and conformity where abiding by the rules is under pressure of the immediate environment. On this stage relationships and the sense of belonging are most important causing an uprise for community values. On the second stage of conventional level first the sense of obligation appears that goes beyond direct social connections. Attention is oriented to multiple versions of opinion and value on the post-conventional level, rules become relative while values are prioritised on the basis of personal choice. On this stage it is realised that social rules must be compatible with basic rights and values and if those are endangered it is a duty of the individual to defend them for the sake of social welfare even through changing democratic rules. Finally the last stage is about pursuing ethical principles based on personal choice. This theoretical staging defines the selection of the target group of the workshop series.

Sampling

Mainly secondary school students in their last two years and bachelor years university students were selected to our tests complemented by control groups constituted of adults and older people. Mostly convenient method was followed as it eased access to possible participants who fulfill our target group requirements. Stratified sampling was also employed as our target group is not homogenous (there are different types of secondary schools in Hungary, university students are enrolled to different educational programs coming from different countries), so using stratification contributed to raise the level of representativeness.

The Vision of Tomorrow workshop series

Starting in 2017, the Vision of Tomorrow workshop series have already been organized five times while we are in the preparation phase for the sixth one. The events gather together 70-80 participants with 12-15 organizers and program panel designers in every half years. The preparation period lasts approximately for two months. The goals for workshops are twofold, 1. to design guidelines and trainings for community-based learning using methods of edutainment, 2. to test them involving participants to refine these activities. The workshop series also serve as the grounding of academic reputation of CASSI and its members.

Forms of community learning in practice

All parts of the Vision of Tomorow workshop series underpinned that participants preferred learning in a light-hearted way not being mere passive recipients but active

contributors in common task resolving in all measured age groups. Sharing solutions, solution strategies and experiences also enriched knowledge and skills of participants for example on how to cooperate successfully with representatives of other age groups or how important it is to cooperate if you want to escape from a room. Four program panels contained ways how to diverge from stereotyping and discriminative behavior („Bring them Back", „The Other Me", „Weekly Planner", „See, not just Look") providing basis for emerging or reassured attitudes in the fields of disability, societal expectations on gender roles or fake news on socially underprivileged people. Groups, created and dinamised by program panel designers learned in a community setting about mothers with little children how difficult it is to organise their time, what kinds of disabilities exits and what are their characteristics, how complex it is to prepare for an ideal carrier or how to manage effectively in a library. All these community-based learning forms resulted in a more complex and deeper understanding compared to individual learning as participants acquired knowledge on problem solution and solution ways from their group members, too. Moreover, through personal experiences special connections were built on learning contents. Employed literature from authors Géza Csáth and George Orwell in the escape rooms „the Black Silence" and „Imagined Worlds" will certainly mean more than pure literature for participants.

Four types of edutainment were emploeyed during the workshop series program panels, 1. role playing („Bring Them Back", „Inhabit the Island", „Weekly Planner"), 2. drama (dramapedagogy practice on discrimination, „The Other Me"), 3. simulation („Bring Them Back",escape rooms as „the Black Silence" and „Imagined Worlds", board games as „Weekly Planner" and „How to Get Further?") and narration („See not just Look"). 1. Role playing brings special, multiple perspectives to any kind of theory. In a certain role any activity gets immediate feedback from other participants that provides the opportunity for polishing ones own interpretation of the role. In return, anyone can reflect on others acting interpretations of their roles, so the game itself is tested continuously by all participants. The role brings commitment to the role player as playing herself/himself through the role. We used role playing method in accordance with Kohlberg's moral stages to enable participants to see and experience viewpoints different from their own. 2. Drama focuses on unfolding and solving a complex problem. The presentation, turning theoretical questions into an event, concentration of a situation are all important elements of drama as both the actor and the viewer is present in a drama. The dramatizing actor being personally involved is touched by the problem. The dramatized problem is interpreted jointly by the viewers who are also involved this way. So drama develops both problem-solving and communication skills of participants. For learning purposes creative drama is the most appropriate method where actors are partly instructed by viewers how to act, what tools to use during acting, this way actor and viewer are both active contributors of how the play ends as it happened in „The Other Me" where a tense situation of a family was dramatised where one child of the two is an autistic boy. This is a kind of experience-based learning where the individual gains new knowledge by experiencing, and strives to integrate this new knowledge into her/his previous

experiences, it affects her/his feelings and thoughts about values which are important to her/him.

Personal experiences tend to be more influential in a problem solving process than rational reasoning. However, when there aren't related personal experiences, abstract reasoning comes first where universal principle rise above personal thoughts. Those individuals who observe and analyse their own experiences have multiple perspectives and get closer to objectivity in judgement. Drama was employed in all workshop events mainly to function as a warming up for the participants and initialize group dinamics but at two events we used it as a discrimination-awareness method with a special focus on eye-contact. 3. Simulation is good in raising attention and enlarging participation. It provides an ideal field for dinamic debates as it is conneted to social relations, everyday contexts in many ways. Simulation focuses on an event that could be a real event so trough the animated example participants can be prepared for similar future events. In case of „Bring them Back" a community decision-making process was simulated where participants were made to realise how they discriminate disabled people while they try to help them. „Weekly Planner" focused on time management based on interviews with real mothers with little children.

Our escape rooms simulated a live-action adventure making participants to use their sensory, logical, mental, literary abilities to get out from a frustrating situation with a high rate of flow as participants reported later on. „Inhabit the Island" created two groups with oppositional characteristics to recruit members for their isolated communities and participants were to place themselves in the decision-making process judging on artificial characters. While „How to Get Further?" in a table game went through all life stage so participants started in their early childhood and ended up in a weekend house at Lake Balaton for the pensioner years. 4. Through narration any kind of socially and culturally distinct phenomena can be brought closer to participants who strive to interpret what they hear and/or see through their personal lens. „See not just Look" brought up discussions on how narrations on underprivileged people can cause mass stereotyping.

Program panels were designed to initialise and enable group dinamics for participants who could form their common mental models. In some cases, mostly at escape rooms and the table game prewritten detailed guidelines were used, in others mostly outlined guidelines were employed while drama games were totally based on improvisation thanks to our professional contributors.

Finally, it was an important goal for the program panel designers and the workshop series as a whole to gain information on how it affected participants, how did they define their personal experiences as well as others'. We aimed to achieve and further maintain the engagement of participants to values of social inclusion through providing knowledge and skills. For example with learning inclusive behavior. Through a commitment to a socially respected value that is at the same time defined as a common task and goal for the participants – enabled people with disabilities to take part in those decision-making processes which have an impact on their lives.

Ethical considerations

Our workshop series aims to contribute to raise the level of commitment to values of social inclusion among secondary school and university students through designed trainings wrapped in edutainment. As our target group can be placed at a certain morally defined level the workshops had to be designed to fulfill the methodological criteria of education on this level. In the process of growing adults it is neccessary for them to meet issues in a way that both raises their awareness on social inclusion and also motivates them to act and be involved. Experiencial approach contributes to shape attitudes like tolerance and solidarity and raise the level of active and participation in their future communities. In all program panels professional terminology was used while harmful or inappropriate expressions, bias, stereotyping were avoided through which we provided a proper vocabulary guideline for participants in the field of social inclusion. Everyone participating in our workshops were informed about the aims, tools and the whole process of the events including the tests, conducted evaluations, how information they provided was to be processed and utilized, the ways of documentation and were asked to give their consent through their signatures.

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Dr. Zsuzsa Koltai[1]

The Role of Museum Learning in Societal Development

Introduction

Based on a comparative research on the practice of museum learning the paper reveals the novel tendencies which have appeared in the field of museum learning. Beside revealing the new trends in the social role taking activity of museums the paper defines the characteristics and the most prevalent programs and methods of museum learning which contribute to the societal development. The findings of the author are based on document analysis and examination of the practice of museum learning in an international context.

Key words: museum learning; lifelong learning in museums; museums as social agents

Social role taking of museums nowadays

The social role taking of museums was extended significantly in the past decades. Promoting the well-being and social inclusion of diverse social groups and strengthening the civic engagement have become an important trend in the field of museum learning. In the last couple of years new target groups has got a great importance in the field of museum learning. Museum learning programs which are specially designed for people with dementia, immigrants, refugees, homeless people, people with disabilities or for culturally deprived groups started to be more and more prevalent in museum work.

Constructivist learning theory is consciously applied in several museums by now. Promoting personal meaning making can be defined as a trend in museum learning currently. Several museum learning initiatives promote the visitors to draw their own interpretations.

The Participatory Museum

Considering the individual and community needs of visitors have become more and more prevalent in museums. Sharing services, applications and diverse opportunities which reflect to the personal needs and interests of the visitors is an important innovation of the last couple years. For instance the „Identify nature" initiative of the Natural History Museum in London can be define as a good practice. In the frame of the project an application was developed which helps to identify the common fossils in Britain based on where the users find them.[2] Downloading the application is free of charge. The application considers the different levels of prior knowledge of the users, thus introductory facts and illustrations are provided for beginner fossil hunters and deeper explanations are offered for those who are more experienced in collecting fossils.

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[2] https://www.nhm.ac.uk/take-part/identify-nature/fossil-explorer-app.html (07.12.2019.)

The museum also serves the society with useful information about the natural creations which might have an impact on the everyday life of the visitors. For example the museum provides downloadable fact sheets about the various spiders and insects which we might meet in our homes.[3] Downloadable fact sheets are provided by the museum in order to help the citizens to identify the specimens of different plants and animals like trees, orchids, seaweeds, amphibians and bats, etc.[4] The so-called "How to.." video series which is shared on the website of the museum is also a good example for serving the society in a way which really reflects on the needs and interests of the visitors. The videos share practical instructions and information about nature-related activities which can be interesting for the people such as the videos on how to press flowers[5] or to make a bird feeder[6]. Using the video format is also favorable since it fits to the learning preferences of the young generations who prefer audiovisuality comparing to reading texts.

The Metropolitan Museum also uses the video format on its website in order to provide an opportunity for the visitors to get a deeper understanding of the exhibited objects. The short videos explain the functioning of the different objects.[7]

Inviting people to actively contribute to the museum's professional work is also a new approach in engaging visitors. For example, the so-called Object Journeys Project of the British Museum was based on the active involvement of community groups into the professional museum work between 2015 and 2018. Alternative ways of researching, interpreting and displaying were implemented by facilitating the involved communities to share their own knowledge and interpretation regarding the Somali and Kiribati collection of the museum.[8] The participants were involved into the curatorship as well since a new display case about Somali craftwork was created in the frame of the project. In this way participants of the project became facilitators of other visitors' learning. The Citizens Science Projects of the Natural History Museum in London is also a good practice of engaging the citizens in a novel way since in the frame of these projects citizens are involved into the museum's scientific research and they can actively contribute to the scientific work of the institution. Such initiatives are outstanding from more points of view. On one hand it is a great tool for realizing the idea of the so-called participatory museum which opens up museums for the audience and put an emphasis on active participation and contribution of the visitors.[9] By involving the volunteers to such activities also offers an opportunity to make the volunteers of these project felt valued. Such initiatives can have an important role in forming, building up and defining the visitors' own identity. Such contributions to the museum work can have a great impact on visitors' self-definition.

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[3] https://www.nhm.ac.uk/content/dam/nhmwww/take-part/identify-nature/spiders-in-your-home-id-guide.pdf (07.12.2019.)
[4] https://www.nhm.ac.uk/take-part/identify-nature.html (07.12.2019)
[5] https://www.nhm.ac.uk/discover/how-to-press-flowers.html (07.12.2019.)
[6] https://www.nhm.ac.uk/discover/how-to-make-a-bird-feeder.html (07.12.2019.)
[7] https://www.metmuseum.org/metmedia (06.12.2019.)
[8] https://www.britishmuseum.org/learn/communities/projects (06.12.2019.)
[9] Simon, Nina (2010): The Participatory Museum. Museum 2.0, Santa Cruz

On the other hand, it can be also defined as a great PR and marketing tool as well. Finally, the contribution of the participants can broaden the collection and common scientific knowledge and can provide previously unknown interpretations which make possible to examine certain scientific/ cultural topics from a more holistic point of view.

Encouraging the visitors to formulate their own personal interpretations has also become a trend in the international practice of museum learning. For instance, the so-called Artist Project of the Metropolitan Museum in which artists share their own interpretation and explain what inspired them in art aims to promote visitors to formulate their own interpretation and to look in a personal way.[10] The "Connections" project of the Metropolitan Museum also aims to foster the visitors to draw their own ideas and interpretations about the exhibition by sharing personal perspectives of work colleagues of the museum. The novel feature of this project is that not only curators, conservators and educators share their thoughts but also work-colleagues form the operational work of the institution like registrars, administrators and security personnel.[11]

The role of museums and museum programs in local development has also increased recently. Several projects, initiatives and literatures were born in connection with the possible ways of using museums for local development. The ICOM also reflects on this trend thus in 2018 the ICOM and the OECD jointly developed a guide for local governments, communities and museums with the title "Culture and Local Development: Maximising the Impact". The guide provides a framework and a tool-kit on how to work jointly for implementing social cohesion, civic engagement and sustainable local development by applying the transformative power of culture.[12] The work also put an emphasis on the possible contribution of museums to the implementation of social welfare which role is based on the diverse museum programs which foster individual and collective well-being for instance like such museum learning activities which promote rehabilitation or the improvement of self-confidence of certain marginalized social groups.

The prevalence of those museum learning programs which aim to foster social inclusion has raised significantly recently as well. Reaching and involving such typically non-museum goer groups like homeless people, socially and culturally marginalized communities and also immigrants has become an important social role taking in many museums. For instance in the frame of the so-called Multaka Project which was implemented in the collaboration of the Museum für Islamische Kunst, the Vorderasiatisches Museum, the Skulpturensammlung and Museum für Byzantinische Kunst and the Deutsches Historisches Museum in 2015, Syrian and Iraqi refugees were trained as museum guides in order to provide museum tours for the refugees in their native language. Multaka means "meeting point" in Arabic language.

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[10] http://artistproject.metmuseum.org/ (06.12.2019.)
[11] https://www.metmuseum.org/connections/ (07.12.2019.)
[12] ICOM-OECD (2018): Culture and Local Development: Maximising the Impact - Guide for Local Governments, Communities and Museums. https://icom.museum/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/ICOM-OECD-GUIDE_EN_FINAL.pdf (06.12.2019.)

The project aims to promote the social inclusion of immigrants. Beside sharing information about the German culture and history the tours put an emphasis on historical and cultural connections between Germany, Syria and Iraq as well as on strengthening the self-esteem of the refugees by expressing the appreciation of their homelands' cultural values in the museum exhibitions.[13] Furthermore the project aimed to transform the museum to a meeting space where real intercultural dialogue can be realized. 18 intercultural workshops were organized in the frame of the project in 2016 where German speaking natives met refugees directly.[14] Developing the foreign language competences through museum learning programs is another innovative way of promoting the social inclusion of immigrants. The ESOL Programmes of the British Museum can be mentioned as a good practice in connection with this initiative. The website of the museum offers supporting notes, useful tips and methodological support for tutors of the ESOL courses like recommendations for pre-visit/post-visit classroom activities or worksheets, etc. The museum supports the tutors in diverse ways like sharing useful vocabulary and formulating recommended questions for group discussions. At the same time the materials are well-usable for self-directed visits as well.[15]

Methodological support for parents and teachers

An increasing number of museums offer downloadable methodological support and background information for parents in order to promote the success of the family visit and to strengthen their competences as parents. The downloadable learning materials, worksheets, methodological guidelines, usefule tips etc. can be mentioned in connection with this novel trend. Providing a downloadable document which includes recommendations about how to get prepared for the museum visit with kids, what to do in the museum and how to reflect on the new experience after the museum visit has become more and more prevalent. These materials very often contain the recommended time frame and they express the requirements about the expected behavior in museums in order to support the parents in informing their kids about the behavioural rules prior to the visit. Many of these materials include useful information about the different regulations of the museum in order to support the parents with useful information. (eg: maximum size of baby-strollers and bags which can be taken into the exhibition space) Sharing infomation about the different facilities of the museum (eg: dining opportunities) and including a map about the museum which shows the facilities and different locations is also very useful. Those museums which try to foster the family visit in this was usually share information on their website about the diverse family activities offered by the museum on site.

Providing methodological support for the parents about how to involve their kids into the museum learning experience has become more and more prevalent as well. Some

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[13] https://multaka.de/en/project-2/ (06.12.2019.)
[14] Weber, Stefan: MULTAKA: MUSEUM AS MEETING POINT. Refugees as Guides in Berlin Museums – Concept and Content. https://multaka.de/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Multaka-Concept-and-Content.pdf (06.12.2019.)
[15] https://www.britishmuseum.org/learn/adult-learning/esol (06.12.2019.)

museums even define the questions which should be posed by the parents before/during/after the museum visit. For instance, the Guggenheim Museum in New York recommends in its „Tips for Parents" sheet to pose the following questions while they visit the exhibitions with their kids: „What do you see? What colors do you see? What shapes? What is happening here? What were your clues? What may have happened before? What might happen next? Does the artwork remind you of anything you know or have experienced?"[16] The museum offers a special family program newsletter in each month.[17] The Guggenheim Museum also shares different family activity guides which support the parents to discover the museum with their children in an effective and enjoyable way.[18] The narrative guide which is designed specially for families with children on the autism spectrum is an important innovation of the museum.[19] The family guides are available on site and they are also downloadable from the website of the museum free of charge. The museum promotes the family learning even with a card game (Find + Flip Thannhauser Cards) which is also available online and on weekends on site as well.[20]

It also has to be mentioned that an increasing number of museums provide museum learning programs for grandparents visiting the museum together with their grandchildren thus they can be defined as a new, specific target group. Beyond providing a special learning opportunity for the kids these programs also intend to promote the reminiscence of the elderly and strengthen family ties between grandparents and their grandchildren. Socializing and having common experiences with their grandchildren have a positive effect on the elderly psychically as well.

Providing methodological support for school teachers/ educators has been even more prevalent by today. Several museums offer methodological recommendations and downloadable worksheets for pre-visit and post-visit classroom activities. A common feature of such methodological supports is that the museum clearly defines the certain age group/ target group of the activities and also the possible links to the National Curriculums. Sharing further resources and literature in order to support the preparation of the teachers is also very useful. The support notes offered by the British Museum can be mentioned as a good practice since the materials clearly define the age group, the curriculum links, the outline of the program and even special classroom resources are offered which can be used in the schools by teachers.[21]

In Hungary a special online database (Museum a'la carte) was developed by the Museum Education and Methodology Centre which supports the school teachers to find relevant exhibitions/ museums as well as museum learning programs for their classes. The development of this database can be considered as a great innovation in Hungarian

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[16] https://www.guggenheim.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/guggenheim-tips-for-parents-2016.pdf (05.12.2019.)

[17] http://pages.emails.guggenheim.org/preferences (05.12.2019.)

[18] https://www.guggenheim.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/guggenheim-education-familyguide_architecture-20151116.pdf (05.12.2019.)

[19] https://www.guggenheim.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/guggenheim-social-narrative-family-visits.pdf (05.12.2019.)

[20] https://www.guggenheim.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/guggenheim-find-and-flip-thannhauser.pdf (05.12.2019.)

[21] https://www.britishmuseum.org/learn/schools/school-visits (06.12.2019.)

museum learning. Teachers and educators can search by regions, target groups (kindergarten/ primary school/ secondary school/ higher education) and also by thematics/subjects. The website also shares useful information regarding the opportunities for fulfilling the obligatory school community service in a museum and it also informs the users about the museum sessions which can be well usable in vocational training. The website also informs the teachers about the different further education trainings and programs in the field of museum education/ museum learning.[22]

Museum learning programs for people with dementia

Museums reflect on the social changes from the point of view of public health as well. It has become well-known by nowadays that dementia is a major demographic challenge of the 21st century. According to the World Health Organization there are approximately 50 million people around the world who have dementia in 2019 and approximately 5-8% of the 60+ population is affected by dementia worldwide. The number of those people who have to struggle with dementia increases approximately with 10 million new cases each year. According to the predictions of the WHO the number of people with dementia will reach 152 million by 2050.[23]

There is a considerable increase in the number of museum programs and services for people with memory loss and their carers or family members. Since loneliness and isolation are crucial problems for those who struggle with dementia, the common aim of those museums programs is to socialize the visitors with new people and to provide opportunities for getting involved in emotionally meaningful communication. Such museum programs intend to enhance the well-being of the visitors who live with diverse cognitive, behavioural and emotional challenges and they aim to engage and stimulate people mentally, emotionally, and physically as well. There are some common features of these programs: they provide fun and social interaction for psychical well-being and they strengthen self-esteem of the elderly. Most of these programs are based on strong cooperation between museums and different community/health organizations and they also involve the carers or family members of people with dementia. Many museum programs for people with dementia developed a so-called Reminiscences (Memory) Box which aims to promote conversations and the flow of memories between elders and staff. The Memory Boxes generally include original and replica artefacts, sounds and even smells. Sensory stimulation and multisensory activities are effective methods for working with people with dementia. Colors, scents and voices have major roles in recalling the memories. Music is especially important in the reminisence programs due to its stimulating and associative features.

Other museum learning programs for people with dementia do not deal with reminiscence at all, they aim to promote the well-being of the elderly instead by focusing only on the here and now and by providing opportunities for creating/ enjoying art.

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[22] http://mokk.skanzen.hu/museum-a-la-carte.html (06.12.2019.)
[23] https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/dementia (08.12.2019.)

One of the most well-known and successful initiatives was developed by the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MOMA). The institution has developed special programs for people with dementia and their carers since 2006. The MOMA developed its „Meet Me at MoMA" Program which provides an interactive gallery-discussion program for individuals with dementia and their family or professional care partners once in a month.[24] The program which is based on brain stimulation, emotional communication and social interaction has positive effect on the participants by improving self-esteem and retrieving reminisence. They tailored their program according to the needs, abilities, and interests of people with dementia. The museum also developed training resources for arts and health professionals in order to support them in working with people with dementia.[25]

One of the most successful museum programs regarding demantia in Europe was created by the National Museum Liverpool in 2012. The so-called „House of Memories" museum reminiscence training programm involves carers, health and social providers and train them how create a meaningful experience and a positive quality of life experience for people living with dementia. They intend to unlock memories by reminiscing together due such methodological innovations like the loanable „Memory suitcase". The suitcase contains special objects which help the carers to engage with the people who struggle with dementia and to recall memories.[26] A special application (My House of Memories app) was also developed for people living with dementia.[27]

Conclusion

The world of museums and museum learning reflect and react on the rapid social, technological and cultural changes of our world fast and successfully. Beyond fulfilling the core tasks of the museums (collecting, preserving, researching, exhibiting) these innovative institutions have also undertaken the role of societal development by nowadays. Implementing the idea of the participatory museum, providing methodological support for families and educators, fostering social inclusion and promoting the well-being of deprived or marginalised groups can be mentioned as the most important trends from this point of view.

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[24] https://www.moma.org/meetme/resources/index#history (20.09.2019.)
[25] http://moma.org/meetme/index?_ga=1.4435059.1787030563.1475327951 (05.12.2019.)
[26] https://houseofmemories.co.uk/ (05.12.2019.)
[27] https://houseofmemories.co.uk/things-to-do/my-house-of-memories-app/ (05.12.2019.)

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Bálint Lente[1]

Hungarian Approaches, Policies and Programs in Adult Education in the Leadership and Organizational Learning context

Abstract

Current ongoing changes and trends of the 21st century are indicating an emerging demand for countries (or unions of countries) to build knowledge economies, where lifelong learning is a cornerstone of economic competitiveness and societal development. The latest Anglo-Saxon scientific literature highlights the need for adult educators and managers to become better leaders in facilitating adult learning in the organizational setting. This essay is aimed to examine to what extent is this relevant and urgent issue is addressed in Hungary.

My article begins with a brief literature review of the recent academic works discussing adult educational leadership, organizational learning in innovative organizations and comparing them to current European strategic goals and the reality in Hungary. This work goes on with the methodology used: presenting the theme from the Hungarian national perspective, discussing the relevant Hungarian policies, authorities, and the range of availability of adult education programs concerning leadership. Finally, my analysis is going to elaborate on the Hungarian approaches, strategies and trends going on in adult education leadership supported with statistical data. I will describe and interpret my findings on the basis of my thorough individual research and unarguably the best book reviewing the situation of Hungarian adult educators. Last, I am going to conclude the findings of this work, claiming that the leadership aspect of Hungarian adult education is not addressed sufficiently and there is still a long way to go to develop our training programs –whether formal on non-formal– to meet the challenges of the 21st century and the 2020 goals of the European Union.

Key words: Adult Education, Hungary, Innovation, Leadership, Organizational Learning

Introduction

Countries that aim to remain competitive, innovative in the 21st century are all acknowledging the need to continuously educate their citizens in order to achieve a sustainable social and economic growth. Current environmental, technological and economic changes and trends are indicating the need in countries (or unions of countries) to build knowledge economies.[2] In particular, the 2000 Lisbon Strategy of the European

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[2] Knowledge economies are economies where growth is achieved by the efficient utilization of knowledge to generate tangible and intangible capital, rather than mere industrial production, as in work-based economies.

Union outspokenly sought to make Europe the 'most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world' by the year 2010. However, the 2008 economic crisis did result in a severe backlash in employment statistics Europe-wide and thus making efforts to build knowledge economies got de-prioritized in the policies that were made post-2008. Yet, it still remained an outspoken aim in the Europe2020 strategy, especially at the parts where "smart growth" is being discussed[3]. According to the policy makers of the European Union, as the first step to establish a knowledge-based economy, a society needs to be build, where all people embrace the idea of lifelong learning (LLL). The 3 Ls stand for the "ongoing, voluntary, and self-motivated" pursuit of knowledge for either personal or professional development purposes. Compared to compulsory or formal education, lifelong learning as a notion needs to be perceived as voluntary process that satisfies a general necessity for personal development, social inclusivity and economic competitiveness, all of which characterize the demands of the 21st century. (European Commission, 2006)

Since most employed adults usually spend more than half of their awake time in their workplaces, the organization has become a substantial setting, where adults learn, whether formally, non-formally or informally. As a result, leaders/managers found themselves in the centre of organizational learning. The latest literature all emphasize leaders' substantial role in the development and implementation of adult educational programs within organizations (Fenwick, 2010; Olsen, 2016; Basten & Haaman, 2018). Programs that are able to prepare leaders who can foster organizational learning environments that empower adult learners to be equipped to meet the challenges of the 21st century knowledge economy society and smart growth.

Despite the fact that Hungary is officially following the European agenda to improve the participation numbers and the overall quality of its adult education, I found that the organizational learning and the leadership aspect is rather neglected and underdeveloped. This essay is built around the following research questions:

1. What is the policy background and range of availability of programs that aim to develop adult education leaders in Hungary, in accordance with the Europe2020 goal of achieving a smart growth by building knowledge economies?
2. What are the ongoing trends within the profession of adult educators in the organizational learning context in Hungary?

Since organizational learning is a non-formal setting in adult education and there are no formal adult education trainings in Hungary that specifically target the leadership aspect, (only the broader, partly related Andragogy MA program), this essay is going to focus on non-formal learning within the aforementioned topics. My research methods include a thorough review of literature, collecting publically available statistical data, doing targeted searches on the web, the qualitative research of available adult educational

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[3] See European Commission (2010, pp. 7-12), the executive summary and Second Chapter of EUROPE 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth

leadership programs, as well as current and future trends within the adult education profession.

My research efforts were funded by an Erasmus+ scholarship in association with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) in 2019. This essay was presented by the author at the INTALL Winter School 2019[4] in Würzburg, Germany, and was the basis of international comparison and analysis with practices in Italy, Slovenia, India and Bangladesh. The aforementioned transnational research took place in a comparative research group titled 'Leadership in Adult Education and Organizational Learning', under the supervision of prof. Emmanuel Jean-Francois (Ohio University) and dr. Sabine Schmidt-Lauf (Helmut-Schmidt Universität).

Literature Review

Literature Review on Leadership in Adult Education
Making lifelong learning a part of people's everyday life is an urgent necessity of the 21st century. To make it happen, the science of workplace learning, innovative organizations and adult education needs to get even more academic research and public awareness. Moreover, there is a bigger than ever need for competent adult education leaders who would lead the change and implement adult and continuing education in their spheres of influence. As Fleming and Caffarella (2000) pointed out, "adult and continuing education needs to be concerned with leadership as understood from the perspective of adult and continuing educators." (p.1) The following part contains a brief literature review of the most recent and relevant academic works discussing adult educational leadership, organizational learning in innovative organizations. Then I am going to link and compare the literature with the Hungarian reality.

What makes a good adult education leader? The most relevant work exploring how the leadership aspect of adult education is perceived, was written by the aforementioned two American scholars. They wanted to discover how competent adult education leaders are perceived by other leaders and key stakeholders. They reviewed literature and found older theories that emphasize the administrative function of adult educational leadership, approaching it "with a mechanistic attitude marked by objectivity, control predictability, competition, efficiency, and single views of knowledge". However, they quote a book written by J. W. Apps (1994), where the author describes a reconceptualised approach that "values context, shared power, multiple relationships, and varied knowledge sources in which predictability is often impossible" (p.18). Fleming and Caffarella (2000) also conducted a survey among leaders and identified various themes according to four

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[4] INTALL stands for International and Comparative Studies for Students and Practitioners in Adult Education and Lifelong Learning, and it is a partnership among eight different European universities and two practice institutions. INTALL is run under the ERASMUS+ programme. Its mission is to build up a bridge between academic learning and the field of practice in adult and continuing education. To learn more about INTALL, please consult: https://www.hw.uni-wuerzburg.de/intall/home/

frames:" types of leadership, characteristics of leaders, actions of leaders, and beliefs and values of leaders". The most important common themes and findings were:

a) "Leaders are perceived to hold strong, positive beliefs on the necessity and benefits of lifelong learning."
b) "Leaders are perceived as needing to be skilled, critically reflective, visionary, ethical, advocates of the field, and able to initiate and support movement."
c) Good leaders should be able to get to the "heart and soul of people" and "something extra". (p. 4)

Measuring and assessing the leadership styles of adult educators is a rather under-represented and undervalued field of research all around the world. Yet, there are some precedents in the Anglo-Saxon literature. In a recent study, Bartlett and Bartling (2014) assessed American adult education leaders. They measured transformational and transactional leadership behavioural traits in a focus group of adult educators and found that "the profession of adult education is dominated by individuals who show characteristics associated with transformational leadership." He concludes that leadership is "likely remain an important issue for adult education practitioners as the field continues to evolve and adapt to external demands."(p. 16)

In Europe, however, researchers and policy makers do not seem to look upon leadership as an important field where adult learning practitioners need to be guided, trained and provisioned. In 2009, DG EAC of the European Commission wanted to create a key competency framework for European adult educators and ordered a study from the Research voor Beleid partnership. In the final report published in 2010, Zafiris, Broek, Lakerveld, Osborne, & Buiskool have identified 7 so-called generic competences and 12 specific-competences. Some of them touch upon the theme of leadership competences, but interestingly, if I search the full report for the word "leadership", it does not deliver one single hit. I assume that the authors had a different approach to the question of leadership than their American colleagues. Zafiris et.al. did not use the leadership theories as a starting point, but had a more practical approach and tried to seek patterns in what competent adult educators do, and derive the ideal competences from it. This is how they came up with competences, such as

- "Competence in empowering adult learners to learn and support themselves in their development into, or as, fully autonomous lifelong learners: being a motivator."
- "Competence in dealing with group dynamics and heterogeneity in the background, learning needs, motivation and prior experience of adult learners: being able to deal with heterogeneity and groups." (2010, p. 12)

Zarifis et. al. call these two attributes as "pedagogical/didactical" competences, while the various American literature cited earlier tends to refer to these behaviors as "leadership skills". Thus, the language and the different terminology used has made my research tasks

more challenging. But this does not change the fact that sadly, no similar big volume study was done in Hungary so far.

From the knowledge society point of view, it is also substantial to link lifelong learning and adult education to the organizational- or workplace learning context. Again, there is an extensive literature from the Anglo-Saxon academic world discussing workplace learning and the notion of learning - or innovative organizations. From the 1990 publication of Peter Senge's The Fifth Discipline, organizational learning and innovation became a quite researched field and the human capital – i.e. the people in the organization- were identified as the source and cornerstone of organizational innovation. In Adult Learning in Innovative Organisations (Olsen, 2016), the author suggests that the concept of innovative organization and learning organization can be used interchangeably, for "innovation is described as a gradual process whereby people, firms and nations learn from their joint attempts to solve problems and develop knowledge." (p.1) The most innovative organizations, societies and nations all acknowledged that adult learning is the key to have a competitive advantage to other competitors both internally and externally. Much research was also done into program planning (Sandmann et. al., 2009) and professional learning frameworks. (Olsen, 2016; Heimlich & Horr, 2016)

As it can be seen, workplace learning and leadership is getting high-level scientific research and attention in the United States and Western Europe. It is no coincidence that these countries are leading the way in building knowledge-based societies and they also have more innovative economies. However, the Hungarian literature is extremely limited and way too general in this field. Even less we know about the leadership aspect of adult education in the workplaces. In the following section, I am going to discuss briefly some of the research done in Hungary regarding innovative organizations.

Literature Review on Innovative Organizations in Hungary

Hungary has a long way to go in building a knowledge-based economy and we are currently on the wrong track. On the one hand, the Orbán-government is quite successful in creating workplaces and decreasing the unemployment rate. On the other hand, the economy his administration is building is work-based, not knowledge-based. The majority of workplaces created are either low-skilled, so-called public jobs or somewhat skilled technical jobs with little added value (e.g. industrial assembling, automotive manufacturing or administrative Shared Service Centre jobs). This trend is very much visible if we compare the 2010 and 2014 Community Innovation Surveys initiated by EUROSTAT. 9 years ago, Hungary was the 20th most innovative country (with 31% share) within the 28 EU member states in average innovative performance based on the joint innovation indicator.[5] According to the latest data, we are now only the 25th (!) with 25.6% share of innovative organizations among all, outperforming only Latvia, Poland and Romania[6] (see Figure 1).

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[5] Source of Data: Innovation Union Scoreboard 2013 (2013) Brussels: Commission of the European Communities – DG Enterprise and Industry

[6] Data Source: Community Innovation Survey results (2017) Brussels: Eurostat

Moreover, according to the 2010 Community Innovation Survey initiated by Eurostat, only 14% of Hungarian organizations introduced any kind of innovative strategies, placing Hungary on the last but second position within the EU. (Csizmadia, 2015, p. 138) As Péter Csizmadia argues in his dissertation, this worrisome data is the most significant in the outcome dimension of innovation and it is due to "relatively weak level of organizational innovation of Hungarian firms". The two most neglected component of innovation are "intellectual capital and the aforementioned organizational learning and innovation". (p. 78)

This data supports my hypothesis, namely organizational learning is rather neglected and underdeveloped in Hungary. Without better utilizing the lifelong learning potential of organizational settings, Hungary will continue wasting time and human resources. The consequences can be devastating: not expanding adult education and lifelong learning into the workplace context, not clarifying our expectations towards our adult educators, not educating leaders who could be the catalysts and facilitators of workplace learning, will result in even bigger falling behind to the European average for this land. Talented Hungarian people will continue to leave the country, for Hungary will turn into a giant assembling factory with little to no opportunities of self-development and organizational innovation. Moreover, these tendencies will result in an economy that is tragically dependent on foreign capital and more vulnerable to economic backlashes and crises. Thus, Hungary has a bigger than ever need for good leaders at companies and institutions where adult learning takes place.

Methodology

The purpose of my research was to assess, how effectively adult education leadership is being utilized in Hungary to reach the Europe 2020 goals of 'smart growth'. Doing this by examining first the complex network of policies, programs and the outcomes of this system in organizational innovativeness and compare them with the reality of the other 28 EU member states. Finally, interpret the findings in a holistic way and if possible, identify places where improvement is necessary, and offer a solution. Therefore, my research method will be a mixture of qualitative and quantitative, and since I take an observer position, interpretive.

Owing to complexity of social reality, several processes can be the causes and the effect of what happens in everyday life in political, social, economic, cultural areas. In order to accurately map the complex interactions between education policies, frameworks and programs and to make sense of the interrelatedness between the different levels where policies act, I opted for using the multilevel policy analysis method that I have learnt from Portuguese lifelong learning experts, Lima & Guimares. The multilevel analysis approach distinguishes four different sets of causal processes, what Lima & Guimares (2011) call "levels of organisation". These are the mega, macro, meso, and micro levels. By definition, policies act on the mega level, if they were proposed by international or supranational entities and are to – a varied extent binding - to significant national or organizational entities (e.g. UNESCO's SDGs or Europe 2020).

Policies belong to the macro level, if they were initiated by e.g. a state or a region and are occurring for a longer period of time, involving many organizations. A meso event (occurring in a social organization) might also last for a longer time and might involve people connected to one specific social-organization. The micro level is the individual level: a situated event that takes place in a single moment. It is important to note that there are no clear boundaries between these levels, they are multidirectional (not just top-down) and permeable. (p. 12) I have benefitted a lot from using this model when I was organizing and structuring my findings.

To answer my second research question, namely to find the ongoing trends within the profession of adult educators in the organizational learning context in Hungary, I started my research in the library at the section of Education Science and continued my search on the web. Éva Farkas's 2013 book on the trends going on within the profession of adult educators was an excellent start. To broaden my scope and to raise the value of present research, I also ran targeted searches on Google, Academia.edu and Research Gate. The keywords that I most frequently used were "Adult education + Leadership", "Adult education + Organizational Learning", "Leadership + Innovation", "Lifelong Learning + Organization" and the Hungarian equivalents of these words and phrases. To obtain statistical data, I searched the database of EUROSTAT and the Hungarian Central Statistics Office. (KSH= Központi Statisztikai Hivatal)

Findings, Analysis and Discussions

Findings of Multilevel Policy Analysis

Mega level
After joining the EU, Hungary has committed to implementing the 2000 Lisbon Strategy of the European Council, that aimed to make Europe become the most dynamic and innovative knowledge economy in the world and was a pioneer in emphasizing the European need for lifelong learning. Consequently, our laws and policies in adult education were in accordance with the Lisbon Treaty in the 2000s. Sadly, this strategy failed to deliver the desired results in the European semester, thus the hard lessons learnt were taken into account, when European policy makers created its successor, the Europe 2020. This policy document did not only set out its 3 main priorities of the European Union for the upcoming decade (that are smart growth, sustainable growth, inclusive growth), but it also devoted a section in the document to propose a more effective governance framework. Specifically,

- A **thematic approach**, which "reflects the EU dimension, shows clearly the interdependence of Member States economies, and allows greater selectivity on concrete initiatives which push the strategy forward and help achieve the EU and national headline targets."
- **Country reporting** that would "have to ensure an integrated approach to policy design and implementation, which is crucial to support the choices Member States

will have to make, given the constraints on their public finances." (European Commission, 2010, p. 25)

Education, lifelong learning and training were one of the outlined themes at the part concerning smart growth – an economy based on knowledge and innovation. According to the wording of the Europa 2020 "smart growth means strengthening knowledge and innovation as drivers of our future growth. This requires improving the quality of our education, [...] and ensuring that innovative ideas can be turned into new products and services that create growth, quality jobs and help address European and global societal challenges."

<u>Macro level</u>

Now it was up to the 28 Member States, to put the European Commission's strategic visions into action, and make policy recommendations part of their national law. Adult Education in Hungary is regulated by the Law LXXVII of 2013. It is a unified framework which was made with the intention to increase the organization, the quality of content and the monitoring of the implementation of professional, language- and other kind of competence-based education programs and trainings. The 8 key competences that the EU agreed on are crucial for building knowledge-based economies. These are: communicating in a mother tongue; communicating in a foreign language; mathematical, scientific and technological competence; digital competence; learning to learn; social and civic competences; sense of initiative and entrepreneurship, cultural awareness and expression. These can all be found in the Hungarian framework law. However, leadership-related skills are not part of the European agenda.

According to the 2006 UNESCO country report, adult education in Hungary is provisioned by the National Vocational and Adult Education Board and the National Vocational and Adult Education Institute (UNESCO, 2008, pp. 13-15). For the program planning and content design of adult education, the following functions are expected from these two Board and Institution: administering the accreditation of institutions; having and managing an Adult Education Accrediting Body, a Professional Advising Board; making annual Education Plans. They are also responsible for the content and accreditation of education programs; and finally they make adult education contracts (EAEA, 2011, pp. 5-6; UNESCO, 2008, p. 13). Programs that are officially recognized as formal qualifications, are members of the National Qualifications Register (OKJ in Hungarian).

As of 2013, professional leader of adult education as a profession exists in Hungary. By definition, they are leaders who can instruct, administer, coordinate and organize education programs targeted at adult learners at a particular organization. Adult education leadership is regulated by the 393/2013. Government Decree[7]. The decree says that organizations who would like to carry out adult education programs will need to get a license from the Hungarian state to get accredited as an institute of adult education. To

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[7] Before the 2013 ratification of this Government Decree, adult education leaders were not obliged to have any andragogical or pedagogical background. (Farkas: 2013, p.239)

reach this, the organization will need a leader of adult education. Such a professional will need to fulfil 3 eligibility criteria:

1. has to be employed by the particular organization
2. +has to have university- or college level formal qualification in either andragogy of pedagogy.
3. provided he/she has „only" pedagogy qualification, the applicant should have at least 3 years professional experience in adult education or at least 5 ECT credits in subjects related to adult education.

As we can see, the relevant Hungarian law puts a great deal of trust into the formal Andragogy Master's course, which is currently taught in 6 Hungarian universities. Indeed, the official description[8] of the Andragogy course says that graduates will be able to lead, plan and implement adult education programs. However, if we have a closer look, although they do have the same course descriptions on the website of the Hungarian higher education (felvi.hu), there are big differences in the curricula of the different institutions. Some of them address the leadership aspect with only 1 compulsory subject, some with a 15 ECT credit module of 4 subjects, yet again others offer various learning paths to specialize in. (See Table 1) Therefore, it is very bold to assume that everyone holding a Hungarian Master's degree in Andragogy consequently possesses the necessary competences to be professional leaders of adult education.

Moreover, for aspiring leaders who did not finish Andragogy, but have some kind of pedagogical background, only 5 credits of knowledge in educating adults OR 3 years of previous practice in the field is sufficient. Compared to what I collected from the extensive literature and research done in Anglo-Saxon countries, Hungary appears to expect less from aspiring adult education leaders, at least formally.

<u>Meso level</u>
Naturally, it is not exclusively up to the laws to regulate the personal and professional skills, knowledge and attitudes of adult education leaders. Still, with an intention to help the member states, the European Commission ordered and supported a comprehensive research in 2010 which resulted in a Competency Framework for adult learning practitioners. But in Hungary, up to this date, there were no similar research efforts in the topic of the same volume and as such, Hungary has long way to go to completely professionalize adult education leadership. However, I now attempt to map the complex world of the policies, programs and approaches that are shaping the socio-organizational, a.k.a. meso level. The richness of this topic requires its own subheading.

Non-formal Education Programs for Leaders in Hungary – An Analysis
Naturally, not only professional adult education leaders can lead workers in lifelong learning or facilitate their skills development. To increase the numbers of Hungarian

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[8] www.felvi.hu/felveteli/szakok_kepzesek/szakleirasok/!Szakleirasok/index.php/szak/215/szakleiras

workers who would possibly have access to adult education within their organization, equipping current leaders with the necessary skills is crucial. As stated earlier on, leaders/managers are now in the very center of organizational learning. Therefore I collected some non-formal adult education programs that aim to develop the leadership skills of managers, who would like to become better in their leader roles. I am going to introduce three different set of non-formal leadership skill trainings: one organized by a Hungarian university, one offered by a management consulting organization from the private sector and last, but not least, one conducted by the Hungarian government's Distant Education Institute.

Leadership Skills Training by Neumann János University

Universities and colleges in Hungary automatically get accredited as institutions where adult education can be carried out. Leadership and majors related to adult education, however, are all instructed formally: MBAs, Andragogy or Human Resources. These programs only partly deal with leadership and adult learning in an organizational context. Nevertheless, I found one non-formal program instructed by Neumann János University, a Kecskemét- and Szolnok based institution founded in 2000. It is instructed from 2017[9]. The training lasts for 4 days and consists of 40 credit hours. It develops the following competences in participants: realistic self-knowledge, communication skills, the ability to identify with the mission and goals of the organization, coaching-oriented cooperation with subordinates, ability to motivate and facilitate personal development, and last empathy. Two of the key competencies developed in this training could be particularly useful for leaders to facilitate workplace learning in their spheres of influence: on the one hand, coaching-oriented cooperation and on the other, the ability to motivate and facilitate the development of working adults.

Finishing the program will result in a numbered certificate, but it does not give formal qualification, since the course is not listed in the National Qualifications Register. Yet, it is important to mention this course in this article for two reasons. First to prove that there are leadership trainings conducted by Hungarian universities. Second, to show how little the number is them: only one in a country of 9.8 million inhabitants.

Leadership Development Trainings by MacMillan & Baneth Ltd.

In Hungary, adults who would like to maximize the effectiveness of developing their leadership skills are often required to financially support the cost of their studies. The most focused, specific and high quality trainings are quite expensive and due to their non-formal nature, they are not widely recognized, thus the return of the investment is not always guaranteed. Unless a company decides to invest in their leaders, but it is extremely rare, as it will be presented later on.

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[9] https://www.uni-neumann.hu/felnottkepzes-tanfolyam/vezetoi-keszsegfejlesztes-kepzes

There are many management consulting companies in the Hungarian market, but one of them has specialized its services in developing leaders. MacMillan & Baneth Group offer a very wide range of leadership trainings. Eight, to be exact. These are the following[10]:

- Situation-oriented leadership
- Leadership tasks in conflict and crises
- Leadership tools and techniques in the public- and private sector
- Creativity in leadership practice
- Becoming a leader, the twofold role of leadership
- Leadership communication
- Leadership succession planning
- Becoming an entrepreneur – awareness training

The credit hours vary per module and the prices are not public. Similarly to Neumann University's training, completers receive a non-formal, but numbered certificate. However, these trainings do not specifically address the organizational learning aspect of leadership, and no other companies in Hungary do that either.

Training Leaders via Distance Education

Many adult learners prefer to learn in their own pace or may not have the chance to travel long distances to learn something new, where that particular knowledge is available. Therefore, adult education policy makers and institutions should be concerned with offering a variety of programs in the form of e-learning or distance education. In Hungary, we have a Distance Education Institute[11] that among others, offer management/leadership distance learning programs.

But the system is imperfect. It has been set up only two years ago, in 2017. Most of the program descriptions were finalized with effective date of 1 January 2018. Within the area of Managerial Education, there is only one program that is accredited by the National Qualifications Register, and it is office secretary. Next to it, the official website says "In progress, coming soon". The range of available leadership courses are all under the subtitle of "General, free-market courses", and they are all aimed at professionals currently working at the particular field. The available trainings include quality assurance manager; tender project manager; general manager; marketing and PR-communication manager; tourism manager; sports manager; manager of NGOs. All of these programs are conducted via 120 distance-instructed personal sessions with 5-10 hours of personal consultation. 120 hours of professional practice is also a must to complete the program.

To conclude the meso level analysis, it can be seen that even though the range of availability of non-formal leadership trainings is relatively wide and varied, there are many areas that need improvement in Hungary.

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[10] Accredited adult education courses of MB Group: www.mbgroup.hu/hu/felnottkepzesi-engedellyel-rendelkezo-kepzeseink

[11] Hungarian Institute of Distance Education Website. http://tavintezet.hu/kepzesi-kinalat/

While from the methodological perspective, there are classroom-based learning programs offered by higher education institutions, company-instructed free market programs and newly launched opportunities for distance-education. From the practical perspective, none of them covers entirely the adult educational role of 21ˢᵗ century leaders. In short, Hungary has no easily accessible non-formal program for leaders that puts the emphasis on organizational learning and the facilitation of lifelong learning in the workplace.

Conclusion of Multilevel Policy Analysis

Hungarian policy makers have done a superficial job when they were implementing the Europe 2020 strategy. They did review and restructure the law regulating adult education in 2013 to be in accordance with the European objectives of utilizing adult education and lifelong learning in achieving smart growth, which is a similar but broader concept of the knowledge economy. Furthermore, Hungary did pay off an old debt by regulating the legal requirements of professional leaders of adult education in a Government Decree. But in the absence of a comprehensive Competency Framework that clarifies what competencies Hungarian AE leaders ought to have, institutions who offer training for managers and adult education practitioners have no clear expectations to live up to. In addition, the legal requirements to be licensed to plan, implement and carry out adult education programs are certainly too lenient. As a result, it is almost impossible to adequately measure and control adult education leaders at the micro level – where all behavior change, all learning actually occur. (See Table 2) Therefore, I conclude that I managed to find the area in which intervention is needed, in order to improve the bottom line of adult education outcomes. Hungary misses a consensual, comprehensive Competence Framework that would set clear expectations to Hungarian adult education leaders. A framework that goes beyond formal qualifications or years of background in teaching and describes the desirable competences and behaviors practitioners need to perform on the job, to which all formal and non-formal courses and programs would adhere.

Hungarian Approaches, Strategies and Ongoing Trends within the Profession of Adult Educators

In the previous parts, I discussed how adult education, organizational learning and leadership is researched and implemented in the most innovative Anglo-Saxon and Western-European countries, and compared it to the Hungarian reality. I went on with presenting the legal background and supervision of the leadership-oriented Hungarian adult education programs, supplemented it with the range of available programs for adults who would like to develop their leadership and facilitation skills. Finally, I intend to give a brief overview of the approaches, strategies and ongoing trends in the profession of Hungarian adult educators. As a closing, even though organizational learning here is a lot less significant as in the EU average, I am going to present some recent statistics in Hungarian organizational learning, with special attention to leadership trainings.

Despite the sometimes worrisome state of Hungarian adult education and the little scientific research of the organizational learning and leadership aspect, there are many truly dedicated adult educators and other advocates of the field, who call for strengthening the vocational identity of adult educators, as well as the "codification" of the competencies of adult education leaders. One of them is Éva Farkas, Hungarian adult education expert, university lecturer, researcher, author of many books and essays within the field. She wrote unarguably the most thorough Hungarian book dealing with the profession of adult educators, which book's title translates to The Invisible Profession: Facts and Trends about the 25 Years of Adult Education. (Farkas, 2013)

Farkas argues that "a country's adult education system is only as good as the educators who work there", since the key determinant of success in adult education is "not in the funding, the physical environment or the size of the class, but the preparedness of the teacher". (pp. 186-187) Thus, developing the key competencies of adult educators should be the cornerstone of the European (and national) adult education and lifelong learning strategies, and the profession should be approached with a competency-oriented approach. However, in Hungary it is more adequate to say that there is no unified, consensual competency framework to declare, what makes a competent adult educator. As Farkas describes,

> Today in Hungary there are no law-regulated unified expectations towards educators who work with adults. The form of teaching determines the expected level of qualification. Thus, different thing applies to teachers in formal and non-formal programs, even though it is possible that the target group is the exact same. The only common thing, which is also very sad, no area requires any knowledge related to the learning needs of adults, their psychological characteristics, motivations or preferred ways of instruction […] There is no big supply in this area either. (p. 191)

Since she stated this 6 years ago, there was only little improvement. The profession of Leader of adult education got more regulated (and thus, professionalized) with the 2013 Government Decree. Now adult education leaders of an institution are required to have formal andragogy training and/or professional practice in the field. However, everything else remained the same: there is still no legal requirement to have professional knowledge about adult learning for people in order to work in adult education in Hungary. Adult educator as a job is at the very beginning of the professionalization process. What is more interesting, it is in fact going backwards: between 2009 and 2013 there was Andragogy college (Bachelor of Arts) level training in the Hungarian higher education, but it was recently terminated. Currently, Andragogy is only taught as a Master of Arts course. To be admitted to the Andragogy MA training, applicants are automatically admissible if they have done their Bachelor's in Psychology, Pedagogy, Human Resources, Sociology,

Political Science and any teacher training.[12] Many of these majors do not have any subjects related to the knowledge about adult learning in their curricula.

Also, there used to be Professional Adult Educator training until 2013, which was part of the National Qualifications Register. "Compared to European adult education approaches, Hungarian policy makers do not feel the need to codify the tasks and responsibilities of adult educators." (Farkas, 2013, p. 239) In such an environment, it is little more than impossible to become a leader in adult education.

In another essay discussing the last 10 years of Hungarian adult education, Farkas paints a distressful image of future trends in Hungary. With her words, "Nowadays, policy makers think that adult educators are not necessary. While we take it for granted that in healthcare doctors and nurses, in bodywork workshop locksmith work, in adult education it is not obvious that specific adult learning knowledge is necessary." It was 2006 when the Hungarian state last ordered and financed research in adult education and 2007 when the only independent Hungarian journal Felnőttképzés (Adult Education) got eliminated. […] If somebody would like to learn on their own money, or on their employers' money, the government does not care. Does not put state rules to regulate and measure it." (Farkas, 2016, p. 12-13) As a result, the state of Hungarian adult education did not get any closer to the most progressive European countries, where building knowledge economies is an outspoken aim. What happened in the last 10 years of adult education and what is currently happening, indicate that the system-wide development of Hungarian adult education will remain lagging behind the EU-average. This is likely to result in catastrophic societal consequences: instead of an innovative country, where citizens are constantly learning, a dependent, work-based Hungarian society is being built.

Organizational Learning in Hungary

My transnational essay has introduced the central approaches, strategies and ongoing trends in Hungarian adult education. We have seen that there is a lot of areas to improve on the state level of policy making. But it is not entirely the duty of the state to carry out programs and embrace lifelong learning. Organizations – more specifically the employees of the company – also learn. Organizational learning is a very important setting and context where lifelong learning can take place and it is even harder than the national AE&LLL strategy to collect data about. Let us now have a look at the latest available statistics concerning workplace learning in Hungary. (See Table 3)

Table 3.

Share of enterprises supporting employees' access to learning (%)		
Headcount	Hungary	EU-28
10-49	43	68
50-249	74	81

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[12]https://www.felvi.hu/felveteli/szakok_kepzesek/szakleirasok/!Szakleirasok/index.php/szak/215/szakleiras

| >250 | 95 | 93 |
| Altogether | 49 | 66 |

(Source: EUROSTAT,
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/statistics/search_database)

According to the Hungarian Central Statistical Office's (2014) publication, in 2010 49% of Hungarian enterprises supported the learning of their employees in some way – and 51% did not. The bigger the organization, the more likely it was to support the education of their employees: 43% of companies employing 10-49 people supported training their workers; it was 74% of companies employing 50-250 who did so, and almost all, 95% of 250+ headcount firms invested in worker training. Not surprisingly, comparing it with the European average, in almost all areas, Hungary is lagging behind. Our 49% of average training ratio is a lot behind the EU's 66%. Our 43% of small (10-49) enterprises who train employees are exactly 20% less than the EU's 63%. Middle-sized enterprises are not so much left behind, but our 74% is still less than the EU's 81%. Only the large companies have no reason to be ashamed: the EU average is 93% compared to our 95%. The most popular form in which the companies supported the education of their adult employees were seminars and conferences, then came on-the-job trainings.

There are distressful numbers in the participatory ratio: while in the EU-28, 38% of employees take part in professional development, this ratio in Hungary is exactly the half of it: only 19%. Only 1 in 5 Hungarian employees were supported in their development by their company in 2010.

When asked, what competencies are important to develop their workers in, the most popular skills were technical, job-specific skills, teamwork and problem-solving skills. Only 10% of enterprises employing 250+ workers said that leadership skills was one of the most useful ones.

The results of the same survey conducted in 2016 are not officially published yet and concerning organizational learning, there is no preliminary data. However, according to the available preliminary data (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal, 2018), participatory numbers in Hungarian formal and non-formal education have increased a bit. This is a somewhat positive tendency, and it may be noticeable in the learning of Hungarian organizations too. All in all, it may have a positive effect on our overall innovativeness, even though the big picture is not hopeful.

Conclusions and Recommendations

To build a knowledge-based economy that is able to remain competitive, innovative and inclusive in the 21st century, countries' adult education policies and practices need to be concerned with leading adult learning in the organizational setting. Like other EU-member states, Hungary would like to increase participation numbers and the quality of the country's adult education. In reality, the country's overall organizational innovativeness is decreasing and adult education is not being sufficiently utilized to make Hungary a more competitive economy and a more progressive society. This is due to

various phenomena. First, compared to more innovative parts of the world, organizational learning and the role of leaders in adult education and lifelong learning is not getting the public and academic awareness and research it deserves. Second, even though professional leader in adult education recently became an acknowledged and legally regulated profession, there is a long way to go in professionalizing the job of adult educators- partly because there is no formal training that would prepare an adult educator to lead and facilitate organizational learning. Third, publically available free-market leadership programs are little or not at all concerned with educating subordinates and other workers in the organization. What is more, these trainings are not officially regulated by state guidelines and there are no clear expectations stated towards them in helping to create a knowledge-based economy – they are all non-formal programs not giving widely valued certificates. Fourth, the Hungarian government and other policy makers no longer seem to be concerned with sufficiently developing, funding and researching our adult education system or to support organizational learning. There is an absence of a general, unified adult education strategy in Hungary. Moreover, leadership in adult education remains to this day an underrepresented and non-addressed field of life. Finally, the participation in organizational learning remains low: at the beginning of the decade only 1 in 5 Hungarian workers got access to learning and development programs, which was supported by the organization.
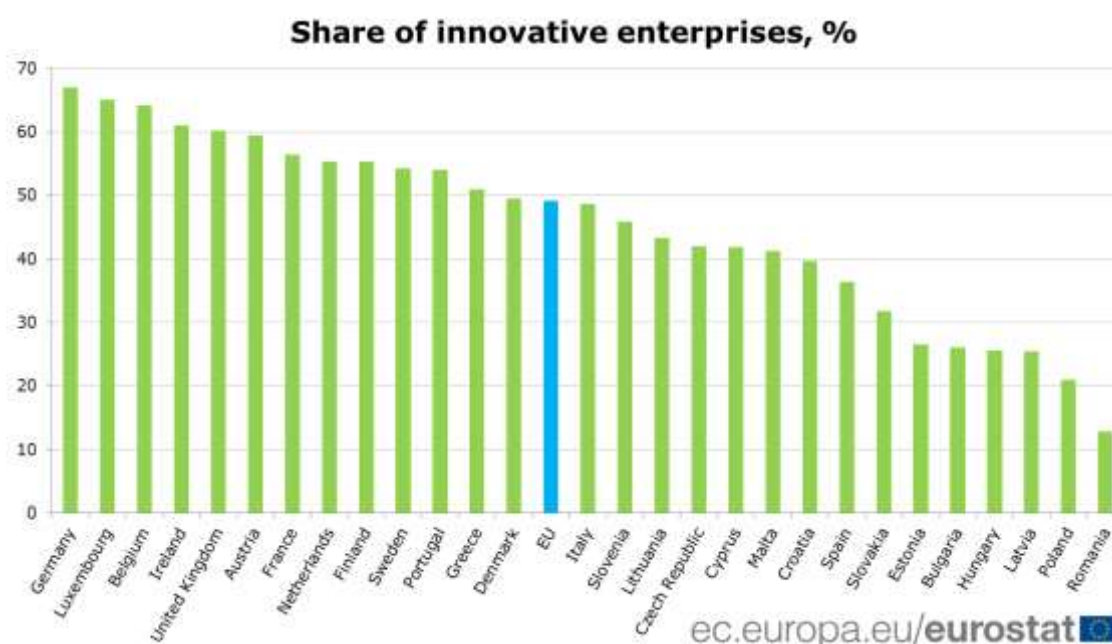
I discussed how Hungarian policy makers have done a superficial job when they were implementing the Europe 2020 strategy. As a result, Hungarian adult education remained to be far away from the most progressive European countries. Instead of laying the foundation of a knowledge-based economy, the Hungarian government tends to think in a short-term and opt for building a work-based economy. Based on my findings, I conclude that the system-wide development of Hungarian adult education will continue to lag behind the EU-average. Leadership and organizational learning will remain an underdeveloped, neglected and unaddressed aspect of adult education, which is likely to result in the slower than expected progression of the Hungarian society.

To change this, I recommend to Hungarian policy makers to intervene in between the macro and the meso level as soon as possible. A consensual and comprehensive Competency Framework needs to be developed and introduced. A framework that does not only regulates the expected formal qualifications or the necessary years of experience in teaching, but goes beyond these criteria and describes the desirable competences and behaviors practitioners need to perform on the job, to which all formal and non-formal courses and programs would adhere. Luckily, there are extensive literature in the Anglo-Saxon academic world to get inspiration from. Moreover, the European Commission have already come up with a competency framework in 2010 that has all the validity to be used as a starting point for a similar research that focuses more on the unique context of Hungary.

Finally, increased academic research; more funding are needed. And most importantly, a high level of commitment from Hungarian policy makers to improve the bottom line of adult education and organizational learning.

Appendix

Figure 1

Share of innovative enterprises, %

(Source: CIS Survey 2014, Retrieved from https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/4187653/7825841/CIS2014/cdc5f76e-64b4-4a63-a611-1275dcbb7cc8?t=1484897666680)

Table 1

Hungarian Higher Education Institutes Offering the Andragogy Master of Arts course (2019)			
Name of Institution	Faculty	Mode of Study	Distinctiveness
University of Debrecen	Faculty of Humanities	Full time only	No possibility to specialize during the training, but a 15 ECT credit module named "the management of adult education" is an obligatory part of the curriculum.
Eötvös Lóránd University	Faculty of Pedagogy & Psychology	Full time and Part-time	This course can be done in the Budapest or the Szombathely (Western-Hungary) campuses of ELTE
Milton Friedman University	None	Part-time only	Students can specialize in Training Leadership and

			Geronto-andragogy (education targeted on the elderly)
University of Nyíregyháza	Faculty of Applied Human Sciences	Full time and Part-time	There is only 1 subject related to leadership in adult education in the curriculum (4 ECT credits)
University of Pécs	Faculty of Humanities	Full time and Part-time	This university is located in the only UNESCO Learning City in Hungary. Moreover, the institution is part of the INTALL Adult Education and Lifelong Learning worldwide network.
University of Szeged	Juhász Gyula Faculty of Pedagogy	Full time and Part-time	No possibility to specialize during the training, but big emphasis is put on being an effective leader in adult education, as well as the education needs of minorities, immigrants and other disadvantaged groups.

(Source: www.felvi.hu and the official websites of these higher education institutions)

Table 2

Multilevel Analysis Policy Background of Leadership in Adult Education in Hungary		
Level of Organization	Name of Policy	Significance
Mega	Lisbon Strategy	This document called for Europe to build the "most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world' by the year 2010". Also, it was a pioneer in emphasizing the European need for lifelong learning in developing the all-European society. Although the 2008 economic crisis had made it impossible to fully reach these goals, the Europe 2020 strategy that followed it, got many inspiration from the Lisbon Strategy.

	Europe 2020	Europe 2020 set out its 3 main priorities of the European Union for 2010-2020 period (smart growth, sustainable growth, inclusive growth). Proposed a governance framework of practices for the sake of better cooperation between Member States: thematic approach and country reporting. Education, lifelong learning and training were outlined themes as means to achieve smart growth – an economy based on knowledge and innovation.
Macro	Law LXXVII of 2013 on Adult Education in Hungary	Implements the European Commission's recommendations regarding adult education to reach "smart growth" in Hungary too. Purpose of the law is to increase the organization, the quality of content and the monitoring of the implementation of professional, language- and other kind of competence-based education programs and trainings in Hungary. Appoints the relevant authorities that are accountable for the content, contracting and accreditation of education programs in Hungary. Describes the certification system of the National Qualifications Register (OKJ in Hungarian).
Macro	39/2013 Government Decree	Declares that organizations aspiring to carry out adult education programs will need to get licensed by the Hungarian state. Regulates the legal requirements and eligibility criteria of professional leaders of adult education, that are: Obligation to be employed by the particular organization Holding a university- or college level formal qualification in either andragogy of pedagogy. When the aspiring AE leader has no formal qualification in Andragogy, but „only" pedagogy, at least 3 years professional experience in adult education or at least 5 ECT credits in subjects related to adult education are required.

Meso	Formal education programs: Master of Arts in Andragogy	Currently taught in 6 Hungarian universities. The official description of the Andragogy course says that graduates will be able to lead, plan and implement adult education programs. However, there are big differences in the curricula of the different institutions. They address the leadership aspect of adult education to a varied extent.
Meso	Non formal education programs offered by various institutions	Adult educators or managers who would like to acquire skills to become competent in leading adult education programs or be the change agents in the organizational setting, have a number of courses to choose from. Leadership Skills Training by Neumann János University Leadership Development Trainings by MacMillan & Baneth Ltd. Training Leaders via Distance Education
Micro	The individual level – no policies	This is the level where learning events take place and where adult educators practice their profession. However, this article does not concern itself with this level. Unarguably, it is a difficult process to measure the effects of the previously discussed policies – but not impossible. All that are needed is key performance indicators that make adequate measurements possible. To this end, a Competency Framework would be a great asset.

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Licínio C. Lima[1]

Adult learning and education in diverse communities: Cultural invasion or dialogical action for liberation? Revisiting Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed[2]

Abstract

At different scales and involving various dimensions, adult learning and education take place in diverse communities. Cultural, linguistic, religious, gender, ethnical, class and economic differences, among many others, may be sources of discrimination or of democratic dialogue and conviviality in political and social terms, also including adult learning and education environments.

Based on a Freirean perspective, and especially on his major work Pedagogy of the Oppressed, a critical analysis of adult learning and education policies and practices as "cultural invasion" for discrimination or as "dialogical action" for liberation is presented. Observing global and local policies based on rational-instrumental conceptions of adult learning which stress in a hyperbolic manner the promotion of individual skills as the main solution for economic competitiveness – which may be considered as a sort of oppressive pedagogism –, possible impacts on communities and societies will be discussed in terms of democracy and active citizenship, solidarity and cooperation, the process of humanization of human beings and their capacity to live together in diverse communities.

Introduction: monocultural policies for diverse communities?

As human communities become increasingly diverse and heterogeneous as a result of various migratory flows, the recognition of political and social rights and freedom of religion, active gender equality policies and a whole range of social policies aiming to combat discrimination in all of its forms, adult learning and education face new challenges. The challenge is not simply to adapt to changes to contemporary society, but rather to participate in the processes of cultural and educational transformation. In diverse and pluralistic communities that seek peaceful coexistence and dialogue between cultures and subcultures, cooperation and solidarity and the ability to live and learn together, adult learning and education policy and practice cannot be driven by monocultural agendas and narrow political and economic interests, or exclusionary processes of modernization and competition. Education policies that promote dialogical action, active democracy and citizen participation, participatory research methods, reflexive community work and practical experience of organization, self-governance and

sustainable development are essential to the democratization of adult learning and education policy and practice. Moreover, both historically and to this day, there is a significant connection between popular and community education and the promotion of democracy and citizenship (eg. Walters & Kotze, 2018).

Although the declarations of principles of the major international and supranational organizations frequently allude to the relationship between adult learning and education and human rights, democracy, citizenship and social inclusion, business has increasingly encroached on the world of education, calling for "entrepreneurial spirit" and managerialist approaches, human resource management and policies that focus on the qualification of human capital. In the specific case of the European Union, the subordination of adult learning and education to employability targets, economic competitiveness and increasing workforce productivity places greater stress on adaptation, competitiveness and rivalry between citizens than on the values of social transformation, solidarity, dialogue and cooperation. The hegemonic approach of learning for economic competitiveness tends to adopt a monocultural perspective in which capitalist business assumes institutional centrality, disseminating a pedagogy of entrepreneurialism and competition, which undervalues cultural diversity, dialogue and action. Rivalry between citizens within educational and learning environments risks becoming a key principle of one pedagogical approach, against the other.

Half a century after its publication, against this backdrop of instrumentalist educational policy, Paulo Freire's masterpiece, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, a seminal work in the field of Critical Pedagogy written in Chile between 1967 and 1968 and published in English for the first time in 1970, remains a powerful resource for criticising technicist, instrumentalist approaches to education, training and learning, as opposed to education as a means of constant problem-posing and an active practice of freedom, proposed by the same author in his previous book Education as the Practice of Freedom (Freire, 1967). Political pedagogy and the concepts presented in Pedagogy of the Oppressed and revisited and developed in the following decades can serve as a basis for analysing many of today's prevalent education policy documents, particularly European Union texts, but also those produced by other bodies such as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and debating the shifting definition of education under an agenda driven by skills, the strengthening of human capital and the promotion of employability and competitiveness.

In what I will refer to as an entrepreneurialist pedagogy – one based on promotion of entrepreneurial spirit, with the purported aim of filling gaps, scarcities and shortages of skills and qualifications – by nature tailored to the new capitalist economy, the promotion of employment and social inclusion, this paper will interrogate the focus on qualifications as a phenomenon of "cultural invasion", "accommodation" and "deproblematization of the future" (Freire, 1975a). In more general terms, the frequently depoliticized and socially atomized stress placed on the right skills, purportedly tailored to the job market, presents an inherent risk of becoming an oppressive pedagogy. If we declare the other to be uncompetitive and unsuited to the world –, even to the "world of oppression" which today presents many facets and forms –, it becomes necessary for them to be immersed in

programmes, often "extensionalist" or charitable by nature, transforming them into a "pure object of their actions" (id., ibid.: 186).

This conditioning – though presented as the result of a free choice without rational alternatives –, is based on the reification of the subject, transforming him or her into an essentially passive target, the object of economic and managerialist dictates that claim to guarantee employability and inclusion of all individuals capable of managing their individual learning and strengthening their skills as "a core strategic asset for growth" (European Union, 2012: 2). As such, it breaks with the problem-posing, participative and discursive approach of liberation pedagogy, which, according to Freire (1975a: 78), cannot result from donation or from pseudo-participation, but only from "true organization", in other words, non-oligarchic organization "in which individuals are subjects in the act of organising themselves" (id., ibid.: 207) and where the exercise of leadership is incompatible with acts of managerialism and vanguardism.

Education as a process of humanization

According to Freire, education is, ultimately, an ongoing process of humanization and liberation of human beings. Therefore, the pedagogy he proposed was a pedagogy of the oppressed and not a pedagogy for the oppressed. The central idea of this work is that if the oppressed "host" the oppressor within themselves, it is through the process of becoming aware that they may free themselves from the oppressor while, simultaneously, freeing the oppressor from their condition. This process demands, and also contains, a pedagogy:

> The pedagogy of the oppressed, as a humanist and libertarian pedagogy, has two distinct stages. In the first, the oppressed unveil the world of oppression and through the praxis commit themselves to its transformation. In the second stage, in which the reality of oppression has already been transformed, this pedagogy ceases to belong to the oppressed and becomes a pedagogy of all people in the process of permanent liberation. (Freire, 1975a: 57)

The key ideas of the work include criticism of "banking education", "cultural invasion" and the "slogan", and the concepts of "problem-posing education", "dialogical education", "critical consciousness", "generative themes", "freedom" and "authority", "immersion/emersion", "lifting the veil", and "the viable unknown" (or untested feasibility), among others. Criticisms of "banking education", oligarchic and bureaucratic structures, vanguardist and managerialist leadership, dogmatism and propaganda, the "objectification" of the masses and "populism" and "elitism", as forms of sectarianism, are among the key principles of Freire's radical democratic pedagogy. The epistemological and pedagogical consequences of this radical nature are a common thread in much of his work, associated with notions of radical, participatory democracy, participation, citizenship, permanent education, etc.

However, Freire does not stop at denouncing oppression and the reproduction of injustice. He proposes alternatives, presenting a world of possibilities for transformation,

and, through words and acts, proclaims the power of dream and utopia. This theme, which frequently recurs in his work, is also clearly visible in the speech given at the Complutense University of Madrid, on 16 December 1991, when accepting an honorary doctorate (honoris causa) (Freire, 2017: 1):

> Men and women are historic beings precisely because we do more, far more, than simply adapt to the world. Within history itself, we become capable of creating it, and, by doing so, we recreate ourselves. And it is not possible to make history and recreate ourselves within it without a dream and without a utopia. Without dreams and without utopias, each generation arriving in the world would simply have to adapt itself to what was left by the previous one.

Freire presents an alternative to what he calls "humanitarianist", "paternalist" and "assistentialist" approaches, refusing to adopt a view based on the salvation of the oppressed and, by extension, the unqualified, those with low levels of education, or with few skills. As Freire wrote (Freire, 1975a: 72), "Attempting to liberate the oppressed without their reflective participation in the act of liberation is to treat them as objects which must be saved from a burning building".

Therefore, Pedagogy of the Oppressed has great potential for criticising the technocratic, modernising and normalising positions that dominate today, the theory of skills gaps, and the approach that reduces lifelong education – from birth to death –, to a matter of continuous training and human resource management, subject to the fetishization of "narrowly defined" skills, supposedly capable of attracting investment in an increasingly competitive market (Mayo, 2014: 9). Freire is notable for his political and educational clarity and his epistemological and pedagogical approach to permanent education, currently neglected or underappreciated, and his rejection of the vocational and technicist approaches which have, conversely, become dominant. As he later wrote, in Under the shade of this mango tree (Freire, 1995: 79),

> The technicist view of education, which reduces it to pure, and moreover neutral, technique, works towards the instrumental training of the learner, in the belief that there is no longer any conflict of interests, that everything is more or less the same. From this view, what is important is purely technical training, the standardization of content, the transmission of a well-behaved knowledge of results.

In his final book, Pedagogy of Freedom (Freire, 1996: 15), he was yet more emphatic: "I insist once again that education (or 'formation' as I sometimes call it) is much more than a question of training a student to be dexterous or competent".

However, the Freirean approach to permanent education finds no place in the political rationale of lifelong acquisition of skills and qualifications, which gave rise to the creation of a European space for the promotion of "entrepreneurial skills and competences", aimed at tackling the problems of "skills shortages" and the "need to upgrade skills for

employability", in order to increase economic productivity and growth (European Union, 2012: 2, 6, 16).

In archetypal "human capital theory" and "human resource management" approaches, and according to the logic of clients and consumers of educational products and services, traded in a global "learning market", the subjects of training are viewed as "raw materials" – objects to be shaped, adapted and accommodated. They are often viewed, in the words of Freire, as "patients", undergoing "treatment" or "therapy", through the provision of commodified services capable of offering the required training solutions (Lima, 2018).

Therefore, contrary to a long tradition of thought, particularly in the fields of adult education and popular and community education, it is based on a negative; on the perceived deficiencies or limitations of the "recipients" or "target groups", which it attempts to overcome, rather than building on participants' culture, lived experience and "reading of the world", with a view to revitalization and critical problem-posing. It fixates on vocational approaches and functional modernization, exogenous and hierarchical in nature, either through training service provision and the learning experience market, or through assistentialist public programmes. In both cases, it creates a significant risk of a return to "extensionism", and its antidiological dimensions of "domestication" and "normalization", analysed by Freire (1975b), for example in his work Extension or Communication? Such approaches are typical of the technocratic view of learning for employment, and ignore the fact that not all forms of technical and vocational education can be considered to be decent and fair, with democratic and social qualities, necessarily incorporating participative decision-making processes and discussion of the values, objectives, content, processes, organization and assessment of the professional training by the learners themselves.

The view of permanent education as a means of humanization and transformation is founded on drastically different reasoning, which Paulo Freire justifies in the following terms:

> Education is permanent not because it is required by a given ideological approach or political position or economic interest. Education is permanent because of, on the one hand, the finitude of human beings, and, on the other, the awareness human beings have of their own finitude. (Freire, 1993: 20)

As the author makes clear, human beings are not simply unfinished beings; they are also the only beings to be aware of their own unfinished nature:

> This means that humans, as historical beings, are finite, limited, unfinished beings, but conscious of their own unfinishedness. Therefore, they are beings in constant search, naturally in a process, beings that, having humanization as their vocation, are, however, faced with the incessant threat of dehumanization, as a historical distortion of this vocation. (id., ibid.: 18).

According to Freire, over and above providing social skills, qualities and abilities that prepare learners for the labour market, permanent education makes an essential contribution to the humanization of human beings and the fulfilment of their intellectual vocation, through critical interpretation of the world and active participation in the process of transforming it. The unfinished nature of human beings, and not the rationale of shortages and gaps in the skills needed for growth and employment, provides substantive justification for permanent education. Therefore, it is not founded on a negative, but rather on hope, without which "there is no human existence, and therefore no history" (Freire, 2017: 1).

As we will see, the focus of education policy in the European Union and other international bodies stands in stark contrast, and often in opposition, to this view, replacing the ongoing quest to "make history" in a world of possibilities with truisms about the "inexorability of the future", almost always "considered to be a given", in the terms used by Freire (1992: 92 and 101-102) in Pedagogy of Hope: Reliving pedagogy of the oppressed. This is why the European Union, adopting an imperative and at times slightly dramatic tone, constantly urges us to adapt or risk perishing. This applies in particular to individuals classified as lacking in "key competencies", or belonging to "target groups identified as priorities in the national, regional and/or local contexts, such as individuals needing to update their skills" (European Union, 2006a: 11) and reinforce their employability, defined as "the capacity to secure and keep employment" (European Union, 2000: 5).

Qualificationism as cultural invasion, accommodation and deproblematization of the future

Since the Memorandum on Lifelong Learning (European Union, 2000) at latest, there has been strong insistence that "lifelong learning must accompany a successful transition to a knowledge-based economy and society" (ibid.: 3). Political discourse is centred on individuals, who are responsible for their decisions, since lifelong learning is defined as something that "[...] concerns everyone's future, in a uniquely individual way" (ibid.). "Levels of investment in human resources" must increase considerably (ibid.: 4), an essential condition for increasing economic competitiveness and employment within the European Union. All education, and in particular professional and vocational education, is considered to be a motor for change, within which "teachers and trainers become guides, mentors and mediators", helping each learner to manage their own learning (ibid.: p. 14). Social and community dimensions are erased by the competitive individualization of learning proposed by the EU.

In addition to its instrumental, corporate and managerialist language, and despite prevailing generic allusions to the exercise of active citizenship occurring hand in hand with employability without notable tension, (ibid.: 4), the general tone of this, and subsequent European documents, exhibits a degree of vanguardism and dirigisme, evident in its heavily prescriptive tone. The idea that the world has moved, and will, supposedly, continue to move in a certain direction is presented as irrefutable fact. Adaptation to this reality, market demands and new digital technologies is imperative in the technical determinist European Union approach to qualifications. To this end, its

documents state that, "lifelong learning needs to build on strong collaboration and synergies between industry, education, training and learning settings. At the same time, education and training systems need to adapt to this reality" (European Union, 2018: 2). Adaptation is the keyword, just as private sector business is the institutional archetype and the legitimate source of social and personal attributes in pursuit of business-related qualifications, "essential skills and attitudes including creativity, initiative taking, teamwork, understanding of risk and a sense of responsibility" (ibid.: 4).

Despite the complex, systematic consultations that the various European Union bodies claim to undertake, there is a clear political and institutional prevalence of economically-motivated, technocratic approaches, intrinsically aligned with various dimensions that Freire associated with the theory of antidialogical action, dividing, categorising, creating hierarchies and focusing on the accumulation of skills and qualifications that are, for the most part, predetermined and constantly refer to a banking concept of education and training. What is more, the prevailing theory of deficits not only gives rise to a one sided, monocultural approach, but also appears to dispense with pluralist and open discussion with respect to the "unveiling" of reality and the low intensity of democratic debate. The great challenges facing the world have already been identified. They are not an issue under debate, but rather an apparently unanimously agreed starting point revealed to us by the texts, which invite us to "sign up" and act accordingly. They aim to conquer us, paradoxically claiming to mobilize us at the implementation phase, having demobilized us during the construction process. This leads to a form of conditioning – a narrowing of options that promotes accommodation, "deproblematization of the future" and a rigid, culturally invasive agenda, which standardizes and "rolls out" its modernising and normalising efforts.

The qualificationist ideology imposes a worldview and a culture that is presented as rationally superior from the technical and instrumental point of view, supposedly the only one capable of successfully rising to the (also supposedly universally acknowledged) challenges of adaptation "to the increasingly inevitable changes in the labour market", "employment and social inclusion", "the ongoing digital revolution", and "increasing productivity" (European Union, 2012: 2, 4, 11). As one European Union document, entitled "Rethinking Education: Investing in skills for better socio-economic outcomes" (ibid.: 17) concludes:

> Europe will only resume growth through higher productivity and the supply of highly skilled workers, and it is the reform of education and training systems which is essential to achieving this.

In its efforts to "Create a European Area for Skills and Qualifications" (ibid.: 16) capable of harnessing "real world experience" – to be read as the world of business and economic competitiveness –, which identifies the study of science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM subjects) as a "priority area of education", (ibid.: 4-5), the qualificationist ideology not only limits the understanding, scope and content of education but, more significantly, tends to abandon the very concept of education itself. It adopts a

functional and adaptive approach, driven by the promotion of qualifications, skills, abilities and learning outcomes, all of which focus on tackling "skills shortages", "skills gaps and mismatches" and the resulting risks associated with "low-skilled people" (European Union, 2016a: 2). The same document, entitled "A new skills agenda for Europe: Working together to strengthen human capital, employability and competitiveness", states that in a context defined by "human capital" requirements, and faced with the current "global race for talent" (ibid.: 2), it is essential to invest in skills that "are a pathway to employability and prosperity" (ibid.), as well as "entrepreneurial mindsets and skills needed to set up their own business" among young people (ibid.). Adopting a managerialist "just in time" strategy, the document adds that "The supply of the right skills at the right time is key for enabling competitiveness and innovation" (ibid.: 11), thus serving "to help bridge the gap between education and training and the labour market" (ibid.: 13). Curiously, there are constant references to pedagogy, which is considered to be innovative and flexible in spirit, or, in other words entrepreneurial:

> Particular attention will be given to innovation in pedagogy; this will include supporting flexible curricula, promoting interdisciplinary and collaborative approaches within institutions, and supporting professional development to enhance innovative teaching practice, including ways of using and bringing digital tools into the classroom and stimulating entrepreneurial mindsets (ibid.: 16).

"Education for entrepreneurship", from the primary level, "entrepreneurial education" and the "creation of an entrepreneurial culture" (European Union, 2016b: 12-26), are at the heart of current European Union education policy, which considers it "[…] essential not only to shape the mind-sets of young people but also to provide the skills, knowledge and attitudes that are central to developing an entrepreneurial culture" (ibid.: 9). The agenda presented is systematic, strongly prescriptive and employs arguments that aim to "persuade", to make people internalize its rhetoric and to dominate through "slogans" and what Freire (1993: 63) called the "acritical nature of clichés". It is part of a process of "conquest", and socialization – sometimes showing traces of indoctrination –, based on a qualificationist ideology that often makes promises it is unable to fulfil, thus constructing a world based on widely accepted myths.

The process of "mythologizing the world", which Freire (1975a) refers to in Pedagogy of the Oppressed, encompasses a vast body of myths, in a constant process of production and reproduction. Those previously identified by Freire (ibid.: 195-197) include the myth that "we are all free to work where we want", reinforced today by freedom of movement within the European Union, and the myth that "anyone who is industrious can become an entrepreneur", today viewed as more a matter of entrepreneurial skills and the right combination of intelligence and effort, resulting in a fair, meritocratic reward. In both cases, the permeation of business in education and culture has fostered and strengthened other, more powerful, myths, such as the link between qualifications and employment/unemployment, the right skills as a factor in attracting investment, the association between competitiveness, prosperity and improved quality, or the idea that

the key is to bridge the gap between education and training and the world of work, notably through dual education systems that will produce returns for businesses, as well as inviting business people into the classroom in order to improve learning.

Division, hostility, and the risks of an oppressive pedagogism

Despite the great educational, historical and cultural diversity that profoundly marks each European Union member state, the last two decades have seen increased efforts at harmonization and coordination, in particular through so-called "soft" rules and the "open method of coordination", integration schemes and the creation of common "areas" within the Union, sometimes even including third countries. While it is true that official EU discourse focuses on the advantages of the "European social model", social inclusion and cohesion policies and the fight against structural unemployment, in which lifelong learning plays a central role, these principles, as we have seen, are subordinated to targets for economic competitiveness on the global market. These targets exist against the backdrop of the European Union's repeatedly stated fears of an inability to successfully and rapidly transition to a knowledge-based economy, not only in comparison to the United States and Japan, but also relative to other emerging powers, particularly in Asia. Indeed, in the major policy documents produced in the last two decades, references to training and learning are rarely absent, thought the extent of these varies according to the body issuing the text and its historical context. While such references are present, they rarely exist outside an economic context, stressing the need to train human capital in order to gain a competitive advantage. Education, referenced less frequently today and, more commonly, learning, are viewed as instruments; essential tools for creating a "skilled, trained and adaptable workforce" (European Union, 2001: 6); a productive investment in terms of employability, productivity and mobility, and therefore part of what is heralded as a "fundamentally new approach" (ibid.: 7) to lifelong education. This is a recurring theme, justified by a climate of economic instability and turbulence, leading to renewed emphasis of the importance of lifelong learning, since the acquisition of competitive advantages "is increasingly dependent on investment in human capital", transforming knowledge and skills into a "powerful engine for economic growth" (European Union, 2001: 6).

> In the face of the stated challenges of economic competitiveness and performance, lifelong learning must focus on addressing the needs and problems of Europe. Individuals must equip themselves with key skills that provide added value in the labour market, flexibility and adaptability, resulting from a combination of knowledge, skills and the right attitudes, functionally adapted to each individual context: greater flexibility, greater adaptation, innovation, productivity, competitiveness and quality of work (European Union, 2006b).

In practice, however, the purported harmonization and coordination often lead to increased uniformity and standardization, notably through the creation of convergence mechanisms, common concepts and categories, shared standards and goals, the

dissemination of "best practices", the imposition of assessment and monitoring methods, the identification of "benchmarks", etc. In all of these cases, the broad definition of "permanent education", developed in the 1950s, notably through the actions of the Council of Europe and various developments in France (Hake, 2018), is increasingly absent from political discourse and its modern-day substitutes have heightened tensions between emancipation and the instrumentalization of adult learning and education (Alheit & Hernández-Carrera, 2018).

To an extent, some of the most significant developments in European learning strategy, which increasingly focuses on learning as the duty of the individual, with a view to economic competitiveness and growth, can be traced back to the aforementioned Memorandum on lifelong learning, published in 2000 by the European Commission. It marked the beginning of a clear shift towards individualization of responsibility for education and training for qualification and growth, and the spread of economically-driven approaches to lifelong learning, tailored to the needs of the individual and the economy: "All those living in Europe, without exception, should have equal opportunities to adjust to the demands of social and economic change and to participate actively in the shaping of Europe's future (European Union, 2000: 3). Indeed, the Memorandum laid the foundations for a new strategic approach to learning, guided by a utilitarian viewpoint that is never questioned or debated, as the political rationale of development and human resource management for the purpose of economic growth and competitiveness is taken as an unquestionable, shared, societal goal, and a fundamental part of the European project.

Since the production of policy documents and, in particular communiqués, recommendations and orders, by the various European Union bodies is particularly intense, and reveals close links to other organizations and agencies (notably the OECD and, within the EU, CEDEFOP), and there is also strong intertextuality between these documents, certain concepts, key ideas and expressions tend to become "slogans". At times, reading European Union documents proves tedious, filled as they are with repetitions and appeals to the same rhetorical devices, seemingly apocryphal in conceptual terms, frequently tending towards superficiality and a lack of expansion on the most commonly occurring expressions, the primary sources of which are almost always omitted, their theoretical and political discussion silenced. In most cases, they use circular, assertive arguments, claiming apparent consensus and at times employing an imperative and vanguardist style. Even when an argument is complex, requiring the reader to understand sophisticated internal EU regulations, processes and working methods, the texts are rarely explicitly informative, and rarely employ arguments outside of their frame of reference or make efforts to criticize or refute conflicting arguments or viewpoints.

In its discursive output, the EU never appears to have any doubts. It knows the path and it knows the processes, which, in the specific case of education and training, stands in stark contrast with the history and discourse of educational thought. However, this break with pedagogical thought and education research began some time ago. Occasionally, certain data is favoured as evidence in policy documents. However, in most cases, it is the

realms of professional training, business, the economy and human resources management that shape the lifelong learning approaches, concepts and objectives established by the EU. There has also been a resurgence in certain scientific and rationalist pedagogies, which many believed to have been critically discredited, such as Benjamin Bloom et al's taxonomy of educational objectives (1977), with its omnipresent "qualifications", "skills" and "competences" becoming today's "learning outcomes". This lineage or evolution is clearly expressed in the study carried out by CEDEFOP (2009), which considers widespread reliance on "learning outcomes" to be part of an innovative approach to vocational education and training.

Within this approach to political and strategic action, and, in a way, using the same iterative process that so often underpins European Union discourse, it is possible to affirm that its texts reflect a view of the individual in a constant process of moulding into a useful, highly flexible and mobile human resource. The social dynamics of community education and local development tend to be ignored. Social and cultural diversity are seemingly absent, or are implicitly regarded as a problem to be solved, given their potentially negative impact on global efforts to equip adults with skills, often presented as a monolithic project with no rational alternative. In the policy documents, human beings are considered in an atomized, divided and fragmented manner, hierarchically ranked according to their possession or lack of skills. For these men and women, it is no longer enough to "learn to be", in the sense in which this phrase is used in social-democratic approaches of a humanist or comprehensive nature, which place an emphasis on creative and cultural use of free time and human improvement, for example those of certain, vaguely Enlightenment-inspired, advocates of lifelong education in the 1970s (such as Lengrand, 1981; Faure et al., 1977). Today, however, the phrase "learning to be" may be considered overly generic and inadequate, even after the updates and additions made by Jacques Delors and his colleagues (1996) – learning to know, learning to do, learning to live together –, as it is the subject of cumulative, and potentially endless additions: learning to be... relevant, attractive, employable, entrepreneurial, well-adapted, flexible, competent, competitive, efficient, skilled, qualified, innovative, productive... In other words, it focuses solely on what I have, in other papers, referred to as the "right hand" of lifelong education (Lima, 2007, 2012a), which Ettore Gelpi (1998: 134) has also associated with "education as training", as opposed to "education as culture" (see also Gomes & Monteiro, 2016).

The moulding of a young human learner is not viewed as part of the humanization of human beings, as a result of their epistemological curiosity, from the Freirean perspective, in which they are political and cultural agents with the capacity to interpret and transform the social world – a collective construct lived and simultaneously constructed by the people (Lucio-Villegas, 2018: 165). On the contrary, it is presented as an essential mechanism for survival and functional adaptation to a new, complex world that is beyond our control. An appropriate slogan would be Learn to adapt and you may survive. Should you fail to do so, you will fall victim to your lack, or scarcity, of key competitive skills, unequipped to face a hostile environment that will, ultimately, reject you as a human resource, instead viewing you as a social problem and enrolling you in compulsory

second-tier integration projects, schemes for marginalized persons, or public assistance, rehabilitation and training programmes, or, as a last resort, a sort of palliative learning in which you will remain indefinitely, or cyclically "in training". In some cases, individuals remain "in training" simply to fulfil the criteria of certain legal statuses or categories, in order to access the corresponding social security benefits. Metaphorically, such training schemes serve as a "waiting room", from which most struggle to escape. Here, efforts are made to restructure the self of each unemployed, unqualified or marginalized person, managing their hopes and combating the desperation of individuals with a tendency to internalize personal failings and individual blame, without understanding the structural dimensions that condemn them to be defeated by life, "redundant" or "wasted", (Bauman, 2004), and therefore unable to make a mark, to take decisions, to act. In the conservative perspective, not only is lifelong learning for the purposes of cultural assimilation and functional and acquiescent adaption considered the civil and moral duty of each individual; it is also an institutional strategy for social control and combatting anomy, through the action of old and new specialist support agencies, and for fostering discipline and political passivity.

The current approach of training human capital, which is central to European Union texts, highlights the importance of seeking the right combination of knowledge, skill and attitudes, in order to succeed in the labour market. This market is implicitly represented as an unquestionable, predictable and knowable fact; a homogenous and autonomous reality, with inherent rules and intrinsic needs, which are accepted as being legitimate and, almost always, neutral and uncontentious. In response to the objective and imperative needs of the labour market, each individual must identify their "skills gaps", and make efforts to fill or compensate for them by accessing effective "training products" to ensure employability, productivity and economic growth, thus simultaneously guaranteeing greater competitiveness and improved social cohesion. The protagonists are now individuals and their families, as well as companies and the training industry. The State plays a limited strategic role in regulation, establishing partnerships and promoting funding schemes. The workplace emerges as the site of learning par excellence, especially where cohesive corporate cultures of continuing professional development within a company socialize and develop staff in line with corporate objectives, in other words moulding employees. Considerations of divergent interests, power relationships, conflict and the social struggle for more and better democracy are residual, and viewed as mere temporary difficulties – failings in communication and learning. Regular, active participation in continuing professional development programmes is a priority but, paradoxically, it is understood in depoliticized terms, disconnected from the exercise of democratic citizenship and the reinforcement of active participation in decision-making processes within communities and organizations, detached from efforts to disalienate labour and professional training itself.

Final remarks: education and learning as cultures of openness and dialogical action

Subordinated to market interests and the creation of value, lifelong learning and continuing professional development have been transformed into merchandise and subjected to the principle of maximising profit. Professional training is big business, and today encompasses a powerful and growing learning market, arising, for the most part, from the globalization of the economy, which "[…] seems to have blinded those responsible for education, who cannot see beyond the professional dimension" (Gelpi, 2009: 144).

The new professional training market adopts a blinkered logic of business, marketing, publicity and the conquest of new markets and learner-customers. It diligently pursues profit, disseminating the ideology of skills gaps, producing entrepreneurial pedagogies, training kits and franchise-based teaching systems. In this context, the training merchandise acquires a life of its own and is elevated to the status of protagonist, relegating the training subjects, the salaried tutors, and even the organizational leadership to the status of primary or secondary objects of training as provision of a service and acquisition of learning products, both of which exist within a market that produces and trains the humans of the future: flexible, competitive and useful technico-rational resources.

The usefulness of training is measured only in its exchange value – its capacity to provide what is considered a positive response to gaps or deficits in the training of the other, in a global context where the other constantly reveals his or her own incompetence and, consequently his or her skills gaps and learning needs. Within this frame of reference, individuals exhibiting a lack of competences tend to be represented as incompetent, and those who are incompetent are incapable of competing and, consequently, unable to progress. This is yet another form of social differentiation that discriminates against the other, sometimes offering conversion or acculturation programmes, while denying them recognition "as subjects with rights, knowledge, culture, identities, dignity" (Arroyo, 2017: 49).

In a society of constant competition, of ceaseless, merciless rivalry, there is no option but to acquire stronger skills in order to compete and win (Lima, 2012b). Training therefore becomes central to a new "art of war", with learning as its most effective weapon, in the wider context of a pedagogy that, by producing winners must also, necessarily, produce losers, and normalize their existence. In other words, based on a "naive optimism regarding the practice of education", which Freire (1994: 30) critically labelled "pedagogism" and which, according to the latter, in conversation with Ivan Illich, once "disconnected from power" is at risk of being considered "a lever that transforms reality" (Freire, 2013: 41), we face the risk of an oppressive pedagogism, aimed, in particular, at individuals considered "unskilled", at the masses considered reluctant, mediocre and static – the classic argument of all forms of oppression and elitism. As Freire (1975a: 131, 150, 153) wrote, this would be typical of oppressive education, based on the "absolutization of ignorance", the "intrinsic inferiority" of culturally invaded people, the "uncultured nature of the people", the "proclamation" of the ignorance of the masses. The

dominant terms associated with "high quality education" today are qualifications and marketable skills, competitiveness and entrepreneurialism, hyperbolically claimed to be capable of providing "the starting point for a successful professional career and the best protection against unemployment and poverty" (European Union, 2017: 2).

In any eventuality, the vanguardist utilitarianism afflicting adult education impedes critical distancing required to recognize new emerging "situations of oppression" (Morollón del Rio, 2018: 9), the imposition of accommodative models, and the normalization of oppressive pedagogical solutions and cultural actions. As Gadotti (1998: 118) observed in his interpretation of Freire, neoliberal pedagogy "limits the pedagogical to the strictly pedagogical". But oppression runs far deeper than marginalization or exclusion by the education and training system. As Carnoy and Tarlau (2018: 87) concluded, Pedagogy of the Oppressed includes efforts to liberate adults belonging to social classes subordinated to economic and social forces from various forms of oppression. Even in settings considered democratic, these forces subordinate education to new capitalism and its objectives of domination, adaptation and socialization, and can, therefore, give rise to a new pedagogy of oppression.

In such contexts, Paulo Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed remains an essential critical resource and an ethical and political call for "dialogical and problem-posing education" (Freire, 1975a: 261). It treats adult learning and training as a democratic and liberating force, rejecting processes of cultural invasion and monocultural, technocratic policies, blinkered by the logic of exogenous economic and corporate modernization and detached from the local sociocultural fabric and its rich diversity. Dialogical action, on the contrary, aims to create and strengthen cultures of openness, democracy and participation, favouring sustainable development over instrumental, expansionist modernization. It aims to prevent social structures undergoing transformation from being objects, shaped solely by the hierarchical external actions of those holding power or certain types of knowledge, instead making them the subject of their own transformative process, seeking to create what Freire calls "cultural synthesis" in communities viewed as complete in their own right and, simultaneously part of other larger and more complex wholes. In such communities, cultural, linguistic, religious, gender, ethnical, class and economic differences, among many others, may be sources of discrimination or of democratic dialogue and conviviality in political and social terms, also including adult learning and education environments. The latter perspective, which views education as a process of humanization and liberation of human beings is particularly indebted to the work of several authors, including John Dewey, Ivan Illich, Ettore Gelpi, among others, namely the authors associated with critical pedagogy today. In this field, Paulo Freire remains an essential author, and, half a century after its publication, his work Pedagogy of the Oppressed still exhibits the relevance and critical force of a magnum opus.

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Bridging Learning Cities to Research on Adult and Lifelong Education

Abstract

This paper will analyse the influence of the rise and development of learning cities and regions in adult education research work. Comparative Adult Education Research has got a great potential to investigate concrete mechanism of learning city-region constructions, analyse the changing nature and structures of learning city-region models.

Therefore, the paper tries to underline some perspectives and limitations to comparative adult education research work since it is important to put questions around how learning city-region collaborations at local-regional levels may enhance both participation and performance in learning of adults, but also, the learning of other age groups and affecting intergenerational dimensions of learning and that of community development. At the same time, this contribution will signal the need for interdisciplinary approaches and positions in comparative research work upon local and regional citizens' participation in learning programmes.

The Rise of Learning Cities and Regions

The birth of learning cities and regions can be routed back to 1972, when the OECD initiated a seven city project which it called Educating Cities. Vienna, Edinburgh, Kakegawa, Pittsburgh, Edmonton, Adelaide and Gothenburg put education into the focus of their strategies and policies in order to develop economic performance. And that experience was turned into an example model for other cities around the world. There have been many positive impacts from that project but perhaps it's a fate of all projects, or perhaps it's the effect of politics, that, in the 1990s, only in Gothenburg did stakeholders remembered their original aims and project-based results.

It really took until the 1990s that things started to develop in a much broader dimension (Longworth, 1999). Longworth labelled this period as the age of innocence – when researchers considered that something was afoot but not quite what it was. Two conferences took place in the first half of the decade to gear up the initiative, both of them helping to push back the limits of knowledge and action. The Gothenburg gathering in 1992, also sponsored by OECD, was a follow-up event to succeed the Educating Cities project. It initiated, consequently, the international association of educating cities, currently based in Barcelona, and now with a membership of more than 370 cities world-wide.

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The Rome conference itself was proposed and organised by the European Lifelong Learning Initiative and the American Council for Education in 1996 and this, in its turn, generated the World Initiative on Lifelong Learning. Today, both ELLI and WILL are not existing, but they promoted directly the advancement of learning city knowledge during the 1990s. ELLI was basically offered guidance to developing some of the early charters for learning regions – charters that demonstrated the commitment of a city-region to improving learning opportunities and methodologies for all its inhabitants.

It resembled this – the grounds for a wides dialogue on promoting the local culture of learning. Cities as far apart as Adelaide, Halifax in Canada, Espoo in Finland and Dublin applied this charter formula and exploited it for their own goals to develop lifelong learning in their communities and neighbourhood regions.

And then the middle of the decade could experience the realisation of the European year of Lifelong Learning in 1996 – it was taken very seriously by ELLI and relatively many universities – as there was a funding initiative and programme contacted to it – yet, its value was unfortunately forgotten by many of the organisations that matter - cities, regions and schools and business and industry and most people of the newly established European Union. In spite of this, there is no doubt that the cornerstones of today's work on learning cities and regions are based in the early works on adult and lifelong learning given an impetus by the European Year. And 1996 did result in a renewed awareness of the impact of education and learning, more particularly to the scope that a world of rapid political, economic, technological and environmental change in turn takes rather quick steps both in the practice of learning and in the provision of education.

Consequently, a huge number of quality initiatives were either marginalised or ignored, the process still emerged on to the age of experimentation into the late 1990s when National Learning City networks began to raise – firstly in the United Kingdom and joined by those later in Finland and Sweden. Therefore, North European approach signalled very much 'the centre of gravity' of lifelong learning and learning city focuses.

With several distinguished exceptions, Southern, Central and Eastern Europe have taken much longer to realise the direct reward of creating learning cities and regions. In this new age of experimentation, Learning City-Region projects began to be financially supported – one of them 'TELS - Towards a European Learning Society' delivered what it called a Learning Cities Audit Tool and analysed the performance of 80 European municipalities. Unsurprisingly, it reflected that the words 'Learning City and learning Region were almost unknown, indeed, in more than two thirds of those 80 cities, they were completely missing. At this time too, there were several conferences and learning city launches – places like Liverpool, Espoo, Edinburgh and Glasgow and many others. Learning Festivals celebrated the joy of learning in Glasgow and in Sapporo, Japan.

At the time when Europe stepped towards the new millennium, the age of advance accelerated mainly by the European Commission's Lisbon agenda, which put lifelong learning at the forefront of European policy. The development of learning cities and regions was one key strategy of that policy – and so the European policy paper on the local and regional dimension of lifelong learning was published in 2002. This important document was built on the results of TELS and written by Norman Longworth.

The document clearly stated that 'Cities and regions in a globalized world cannot afford not to become learning cities and regions. It is a matter of prosperity, stability, employability and the personal development of all citizens' (EC, 2002).

They were clear and forward looking words indeed, and a striking challenge to every local and regional authority that has read – them – which, because of the nature of information transmission, is unfortunately, very few.

The OECD also geared up the process in 2001 with its learning regions project in 5 European regions – Jena in Germany, Oresund in Sweden and Denmark, Vienne in France, Kent in UK and Andalusia. Among its findings was the perhaps surprising statement that secondary education appears to be the most important for regional development and the more predictable one that there is a need to encourage creativity at all levels of education. And that's a theme that crops up time and time again in learning region folklore – creativity, innovation, vision at all levels of education.

And despite the fact that many cities and regions are still well behind the mark, in the new millennium the movement to create learning cities and regions threatened to become an avalanche – as a couple of examples among many, Germany established around 76 learning regions as part of the 'Lisbon-process', while every city, town and municipality in Victoria Australia became a learning entity. Moreover, the Chinese government decreed that every large city in China should become a learning city by 2010 and beyond. Not too late from this, the IDEOPOLIS was born, described by Tom Cannon and his collaborators as ' A City or Region whose economy is driven by the creative search for, and the application of, new ideas, thinking and knowledge, and which is firmly rooted to the creative transfer of ideas, to opportunities, to innovation, and eventually to production.' (Cannon et al, 2003)

There are those words again – creative, innovation, new ideas and thinking. These initiatives accelerated most researchers into what might be called the age of understanding – and many of them finally thought they got it – or knew, or thought they knew - what being a learning region entails and, simultaneously, the number of European projects increased. From every part of the Commission – Learning Cities and Regions became included in the Framework research programmes and a lifelong learning element had to be included in the vast majority of the Commission's Social and Development Funding. Also, there became a great need for tools and materials that would help cities and regions to get that understanding. Therefore, particular Socrates projects developed those learning tools for city and regional management and learning materials to help them propagate the message to others. And yet, the OECD would have you believe that all regions seek to sustain economic activity through various combinations of lifelong learning, innovation and creative uses of information and communication technologies. (OECD, Learning Regions project – 2003).

Some theoretical frames on learning and the learning economy

In order to promote an understanding of the concept of learning cities and learning regions, it is worth indicating, that there are four major different impacts on the idea itself. The first impact on the reconceptualization of learning and learning economy/l learning

organisation can be traced to what now must be seen as a seminal paper by Lundvall and Johnson (1994) on the learning economy. Its approach to different types of learning and the difference between codified and tacit learning is well articulated – something not new to those in the fields of education and adult learning. A special interest in this paper by Lundvall and Johnson is the explicit connections made to economy.

While the role of learning in production and work is not new, generally it was largely 'assumed' and occurred invisibly (Razavi, 1997). What Lundvall and Johnson (1994) and others (Edquist, 1997; OECD 2000) have identified and stressed in newly emerging knowledge economy is that learning is now a fundamental process and resource.

A second impact on learning cities and learning regions derives from the application of learning within and across organisations (Senge, 1990). Economic geographers as well have emphasized on what forms the transfer and sharing of knowledge and ideas across informal networks within industry clusters (sometimes referred to as collective learning) seems to be a critical aspect of creativity and innovation (Keeble et al., 1999).

Since innovation is a basic element in the knowledge economy, ways to promote, support and enhance innovation are important (Edquist, 1997). As for case studies of 'technopoles' and industrial complexes in Europe (Cooke and Morgan, 1998), in the United Kingdom (UK), the USA and Canada (Wolfe and Gertler, 2001), there is growing evidence and awareness that learning is the fundamental process at work in the new knowledge economy. Far from a presumed and hidden force, it still needs to be made explicit, strengthened and backed up.

Apart from matching clusters and communities of practice, the work of economic geographers signalled a third important aspect of the conceptualization of learning cities and learning regions – the spatial context. Florida (1995) set the idea of learning regions and others (Bokema et al, 2000) described (this idea) as the basis of regional innovation systems. A very special idea was framed here – that in particular local learning, which was fostered and supported through good learning infrastructure (i.e. a regional innovation system) enabled the locality to compete in a global economy. This recognition of the regional scale provides an important link to local economic development and the importance of learning, social capital and human capital in community development. By setting this link, it is open to move beyond a potentially narrowly defined regional innovation system which only focuses on business and industry to take a wider whole-of-community approach where increasingly learning and learning processes can be the vehicle to equip and empower whole communities (Amin, 1999). Allison (2001) has broadened the spheres of activities and influence for learning to underline a learning communities approach to local economic development. In this approach an explicit link between learning initiatives, partnerships and governance, social capital and building local capacity together with capabilities and economic prosperity is developed.

This is located at the centre of local economic development and several community case studies in urban and rural areas and demonstrates how this approach may promote local economic development. Parallel to this special approach to local economic development is the work of scholars in the field of education research. Tooke (2000), for example, argues that the broader value of learning has been recognised by those who work in and

focus on education, lifelong learning, adult and community education. Obviously, this scholarly tradition brings in a timely and useful critique to the concept of learning regions provoking an effort to embrace wider social and community development issues.

The TELS (Towards a European Learning Society) Project (Longworth, 1999) and the UK Learning Towns Project (Yarnit, 2000) clearly presented four critical objectives for learning and learning initiatives which encompass (i) economic prosperity; (ii) social inclusion; (iii) sustainability; and (iv) governance.

These objectives resemble the most frequently indicated ones in local economic development strategies. It is the interconnection of these different dimensions of "learning" which result in a framework for a whole-of-community approach to learning cities, learning regions to underline the economic and social life of communities in the global economy.

In this broader conceptualisation, the scope of actions and value of learning goes well beyond a limited definition of industry clusters and issues of competitiveness, innovation (as important as these are). As the flow of learning initiatives, described by Yarnit (2000), Longworth (1999), Longworth and Franson (2001), Allison (2001) and others, learning makes its way through/in the community in different manners. With each of these activities, the community may learn and develop sustainably. Learning enables communities to face change, adapt and transform on their own. When the concept of learning cities, learning regions is understood in a broader framework, it opens up exciting potential and possibilities for many communities, particularly, when considered against reductionist narratives on exclusively economy-centred structure, by turning to more balanced models.
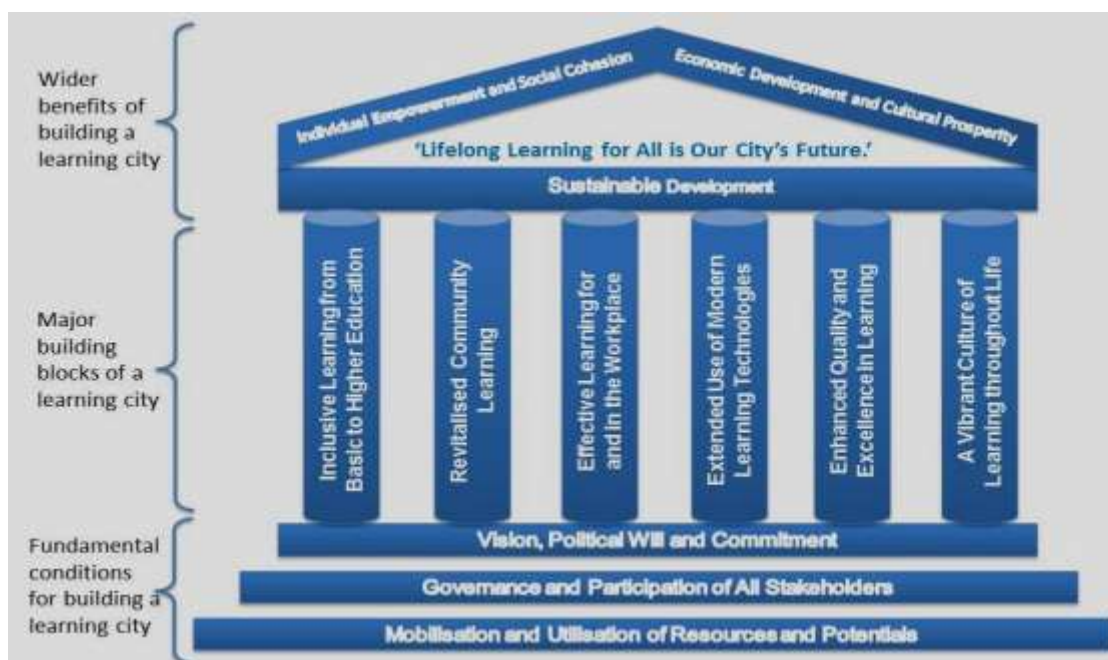
UNESCO's Global Learning City Initiative

Almost ten years after the OECD's Learning Regions project, the UNESCO, another inter-governmental organisation (IGO) initiated a new plan to realise a global learning city networking based on the mere fact that more than a thousand cities in the world have developed into or are building Learning/Educating cities. This obviously shows that the building of cities which put learning at the forefront of their policies and strategies has become a significant world-wide phenomenon.

Cities rarely work in isolation and practical examples have reflected that those cities that are members of a dynamic network of local authorities at national, regional and international levels, have accelerated their growth and competitiveness as learning cities. Most of these national, regional and international networks, while playing important roles in spreading the concept of learning cities, also have need of expertise networks or research organizations involved in developing tools and materials promoting and expanding the concept, and in establishing creative on-going working links between cities. There are also many cities still unaware or uncertain of the benefits that a truly global network of learning cities can bring to the development of lifelong learning and the learning society. For these reasons and more this initiative is timely. As UNESCO's centre of excellence for promoting lifelong learning, and in response to Member States' call to adopt a more pragmatic and instrumental approach to building a learning society, the

UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning (UIL) has recently proposed the establishment of the UNESCO Global Learning Cities Network (UNESCO GLCN) to enhance and accelerate the practice of lifelong learning in the world's conurbations. This idea was clearly represented by former UIL Director, Dr. Arne Carlsen, who with his team made significant efforts to make this whole issue become worldwide campaign to integrate better participation and performance in lifelong learning.

The overall aim of the establishment of the UNESCO GLCN has been to create an develop a global platform in order to mobilise cities and demonstrate how to use their resources effectively in every sector to develop and enrich all their human potential for fostering lifelong personal growth, for developing equality and social justice, for maintaining harmonious social cohesion, and for creating sustainable prosperity. The UNESCO GLCN is intended to be a timely and innovative initiative to offer appropriate means by which cities can develop themselves into learning cities and create better environment – for themselves and for their citizens. (UNESCO, 2013)

Graphics 1: The Framework of the UNESCO Global Learning City Index. Source: www.uil.unesco.org

Local Responses to Global Initiatives with the Aim of Community Development: The Pécs Learning City-Region Forum

Based on a decade-old international project partnership, to have dealt with Learning City-Region innovations in association with PASCAL Observatory, UNESCO Institute for LLL, the University of Pécs and its Faculty of Adult Education and HRD initiated the establishment of the Pécs Learning City Region Forum in 2013 to develop a direct tool in certain areas of pedagogical/andragogical work targeting training trainers, educators and facilitators of learning. The project was incorporated into the project of the University of Pécs, financed by the Hungarian Government's Social Renewal Operative Programme

(TÁMOP 4.1.2.B – Developing Teachers-Educators/Pedagógusfejlesztés), focusing on the Development of Teachers.

Its so called K4 project's sub-group decided to develop structural models for collecting and sharing good knowledge and experience for teachers, trainers, mentors and facilitators engaged in the promotion of quality learning and skills-development in formal, non-formal and informal settings. Therefore, the Pécs Learning City-Region Forum started its activities in the Fall of 2014 in three majors fields by accelerating partnerships and dialogues:

Atypical/Non-formal Learning platform (This platform tries to help cultural organisers, curators, managers be more successful with their educational programmes organised for adults and also for school-teachers engaged in the development of cultural programmes for children) Such a collaborative frame involves more than 8 organisation/institutions and their representatives in order to identify innovative learning methods, tools, methodologies with atypical contexts.

School and Environment platform (This platform supports dialogue amongst professionals developing specific environment-oriented programmes for local youth and their parents so as to become Nature-friendly, and conscious in protecting their environment. There is a specific focus to help school-teachers as adult learners building such orientations in the classroom and use available sources, programmes and curricula, etc. to achieve that goal based on collected best practises) Around nine member organisations/institutions work actively in the Forum through delegates, professional experts by providing platform-based exchange of ideas upon bringing closer school – pupils, their families to environment and environment-friendly, green thinking, actions and change-management with attention to interdisciplinary thinking and human behaviour.

Inclusion and Handicapped Situations platform(This platform helps teachers to engage in collaborative actions providing dialogue to understand problems emerging from working with young children with learning difficulties, e.g. autists)

The three dimensions of the Forum's platforms have enabled us to recognise some key barriers to collect and share good practices upon particular development works of partner organisations and institutions, which are:

- low levels of culture of mutual partnerships and collaborative actions to share experience and to develop professional skills, competence of educators/teachers, trainers and facilitators;
- limited time available for educators/teachers, trainers and facilitators to develop skills and share exchange knowledge, experience;
- small resources to constrain participation in programmes of the forum and, at the same time, heavy working load dominating majority of working time.

Choices for the development of learning in a learning city-region model:

Growing interest amongst decision-makers and stakeholders was generated so as to develop and maintain new and effective ways and methods for useful and problem-based

knowledge transfer amongst institutions/organisations in the school sector, labour market, cultural organisations and institutions and other respected informal learning grounds and environments.

European funds were available through the European Social Fund for collaborative actions amongst educational, cultural and environmental organisations for raising participation and providing counselling for better performance in learning.

There was a clear need for Common Identification of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for learning city-region development.

Finally, necessary improvement of learning conditions and collaborative spaces for young people with learning difficulties through inclusive learning environment was indicated too.

Recently, the Pécs Learning City-Region Forum has become a member of PASCAL International Observatory's Learning Cities Networks (LCN), more precisely, that of Harnessing Cultural Policies in Building Sustainable Learning Cities in order to continue ties to this international platform which was formally established in 2007 when Pécs hosted PASCAL's annual international conference on learning city-regions.

Cork Learning City: the Development of a Community Wide Learning Environment

It was the Cork Learning City Forum and its representation of wide range of stakeholders which established the Cork Learning Festival in 2004. This programme constantly grew into an annual week-long festival of around five-hundred activities offered by different types of providers. Opposite to the case of the Pécs Learning City-Region Forum, the scale of participation is rather high and the project reached up to the grounds of framework to get together local innovations practices and engagement with global networks of cities.

The Cork Learning City development is very much based on a special learning environment to represent four circles of learning embedded into a community model. This model reflects a community with strong local resonance and global reaches through UNESCO learning cities network and that of PASCAL International Exchange (PIE). Those circles of the learning environment demonstrate certain dimensions of a learning city which overlap with each other, yet signal some specific aspects at the same time. They are the Cork Learning Festival, the UNESCO Learning City Award and Growing Lifelong Learning in Cork, Learning Neighbourhoods as a pilot project of UNESCO in partnerships with PIE and, finally, EcCoWell, to reflect that learning cities should include environmental, economic, health, well-being and lifelong learning in order to reach for good societies.

The Lifelong Learning Festival of Cork has got deep community routes and has been devoted to participatory actions with intercultural and intergenerational aspirations. In this respect adult and lifelong learning plays an important role in the making of its programmes and depends on the focus to raising participation in events, gatherings and local discoveries through collecting and sharing good knowledge and experience amongst members of the community based on learning. Moreover, the Festival connects ten Community Education Networks which were established upon the 2000 governmental

paper, called as Learning for Life: White Paper on Adult Education. (White Paper, 2000.) These networks offer actions and programmes as parts of the Festival and have their special approach to some special groups of the community, for example, disadvantaged groups. Distinguished stakeholder groups play an important role in the planning and achievement of their programmes.

It must be added here that various forms and ways of communication are regularly used to reach out for the attention to different kinds of people, therefore, not only modern and electronic communication, but also traditional posters and brochures are used to capture the contact of potential visitors and participants. One has to point out that there is a significant free citizen engagement in the Festival based on the principles of equality and inclusion so as to provide and opportunity to participate in learning (Neylon and Barrett, 2013). In this regard, inclusiveness, free entry and open access to all are ongoing themes of the festival (Keane, Lane, Neylone and Osborne 2013).

The UNESCO Learning City initiative has also played a significant role in the achievements of the Cork Learning City developments. Both the establishment of the Cork Learning City Forum and the initiation of the Lifelong Learning Festival provided significant forces to realise the vision of people behind the original plans to make Cork a learning city and community. The attention of PASCAL towards learning city developments and innovative approaches made PASCAL to get Cork be involved in its networking.

That step brought Cork close to international partnerships which soon accelerated engagement with UNESCO agenda on learning cities in 2012. The example of Cork also reflects outstanding partnerships with wide stakeholder groups so as to engage them with the mission and goals of the project. The Learning Neighbourhoods initiative signalled a serious focus on local people especially in concentrated on the needs of districts of the city and people living those municipal areas of Cork with specific social, economic and cultural conditions and aspirations.

There have been several impacts and challenges to the Cork Learning City initiative and project. But collective actions of the communities of the city strengthened alliances amongst participants and brought higher level institutions into contact with marginalised groups. UNESCO interest may also help the renewal f the commitment of politicians and stakeholders to the initiative.

Cork may provide a good lesson for Pécs and for other cities which are right at the step to expand their initiatives into a wider public project and movement: start small and build up systematically, keep participation voluntary, ask all your participants to publicize their events to provide a special ownership and belongingness to the programmes and networking. Make sure that the kinds of learning showcased are as broad as possible, do not restrict participation to the state sector, publicly recognise and thank all those who organise events and, finally, never forget that it is a festival – fun and celebration are a powerful means of changing attitudes to learning. (Neylon, 2016)

Some Aspects for Comparison in Adult and Lifelong Education Research

While we try to underline here that learning cities and regions are worth be included into comparative adult education research, our explanation to the topic comes from the mere realities that learning cities today demonstrate a social, political and economic alliance to balance diverse needs through learning that may bring about and support the development of open and inclusive societies opposite to closed and exclusive communities.

Humanitarian and sustainable communities have to recognise and support learning and learning to live regardless to age, sex and social status.

Similarities and differences in the two city-based cases – reasons behind

Pécs and Cork are similar cities regarding not being capital cities. They were both cultural capitals of Europe during the Lisbon-decade, Cork at the beginning and Pécs right at the very end of that decade.

Pécs and Cork have all made use of the particular values of their communities, traditions and cultural activities, institutions and other respected formations so as to reconceptualise their visions and mission through learning.

Pécs and Cork have built on the voluntary work and participation of their citizens to celebrate learning through a Learning Festival. Cork has already achieved several festivals, but Pécs is just heading for planning and organising its own learning festival for September, 2017.

Both Pécs and Cork have opened to international partnerships and networking in learning city-region developments and innovations through PASCAL Observatory, but Cork joined the PIE network, while Pécs was invited to the LCN platform and its cultural network of PASCAL. Both Pécs and Cork have focused dominantly upon the participatory aspect of learning city innovations, therefore, favoured the involvement of adult and lifelong learners into their programmes and events.

Finally, both Pécs and Cork have made use of their former cultural capital status to aspire for a learning city title and, consequently, to apply for being selected as an UNESCO Global Learning City and potentially be recognised with a special Global Learning City Award.

As for the differences, Pécs is a relatively small town of one-hundred and fifty-thousand inhabitants, while Cork is a little larger with around two-hundred thousand inhabitants. Cork has got a rather developed and balanced structure of adult education institutions and associations, while adult learning and education in Pécs has got a deformed structure to mainly focus upon VET and labour market trainings with state monopolies. Cultural institutions and organisations, in this respect, have special roles and functions to provide spaces for atypical forms of learning.

Conclusions

It is obvious that learning cities and regions can be investigated as frames and special structures, on the one hand, to provide adult learning and education and, on the other, to incorporate informal learnings of adults and/or intergenerational/tandem learnings.

This paper tries to emphasize that researchers in adult and lifelong learning have always been close or even active participants of this initiative in many places of Europe and in other continents. Moreover, UNESCO, for many reasons, connected adult and lifelong learning to learning city developments. May we propose that further developments are needed in this frame through concentrated actions of comparative studies.

This focus, on the one hand, is currently embedded into the UN Agenda 2030 discourse on SDGs, especially into dimensions of SDG11 on Learning Cities. On the other, it is also connected into the frames of a new UNESCO Handbook for Lifelong Learning: Policy and Practice to come in Spring 2019 with a separate chapter on learning cities referring to implementations at the local level. It may help governments make use of this concept and demonstrate that in lifelong learning and education there is no one is left behind!

This orientation was well reflected in the October 2018 International Consultative Meeting on Lifelong Learning into Shanghai, China organised by UNESCO Institute for Lifelong Learning.

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Schools as Learning Organizations: Overview of Policy Development in Kazakhstan

Abstract

School leadership is the major concern in international education policy agenda. School capacity, along with effective school leadership, is the crucial means in school performance efficiency. Expectations from schools and school leaders are shifting along with the society's demands. Consequently, the countries are pursuing to adapt the education systems to match those needs and demands. Policies have shifted towards autonomous, accountable school systems to achieve greater outcomes. Therefore, school leadership has to operate in a dynamic educational environment that puts them under pressure of continuous change and development. The purpose of the exploratory study is to investigate the interrelation of the education policy development and school systems in Kazakhstan. The paper also considers a number of European policy development documents targeted at school improvement. It establishes the interrelation of the policymaking strategies between European settings and Kazakhstan. The study discusses the variety of leadership roles and the models of staff improvement aimed at school development. The paper aims at the establishment of the framework of understanding of schools as learning organizations which have a shared vision that directs and serves as motivation for continuous action to achieve individual and school goals. The findings include the overview of school management systems and existing practices of school development in Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, there is a number of challenges in understanding the concept of school leadership due to the lack of consistent research on effective practices. The paper reveals a number of inconsistencies in school systems that operate under state policies. The research provides recommendations on conducting research on school effectiveness that encompasses a variety of factors towards the holistic development of school systems as learning organizations. Another suggestion is to establish a nationwide database of successful leadership and development practices that encourage communication and collaboration between schools.
Key words: policy development; schools in Kazakhstan; school leadership; school development.

Introduction

School leadership has become the first concern in education policy agenda in an international scope. It also plays a crucial role in achieving school goals and improving

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school outcomes by developing the capacities of teachers along with the school climate and environment. Effective school leadership is essential in improving the equity and efficiency of school performance. The contemporary society's demands are changing so do the expectations for schools and school leaders. Consequently, the countries are pursuing to adapt their education systems to the contemporary needs of the world. On the other hand, the demand for higher student achievement is putting schools under pressure to show more evidence-based teaching and learning process.

However, school leadership cannot be seen as to operate in static educational environments. Principals deal with heavy workloads and potential candidates may be hesitant to apply because of not being confident caused by lack of training and preparation, limited career promotion, overburdened roles, and inadequate support and rewards (Pont et al., 2008). School leadership is a core interest in education systems across the world. Policy makers consider enhancing the quality of school leadership, make it consistent and sustainable (Pont et al., 2008, p. 9).

Mulford & Silins (2003) approached the school as a learning organization linking the leadership and the actual results and concluded that school leadership has an indirect influence on the learning achievements of students; his impact system demonstrates itself through learning organization culture. Schools as learning organizations have a shared vision that directs and serves as motivation for continuous action to achieve individual and school goals.

The concept of organizational learning supports the foundation of the learning organization. The notion of the learning organization and its structure can be strongly connected with Senge (1990) who accumulated that a new movement in corporate leadership could be the concept of the learning organization.

School leadership

It is vital to establish leadership of high quality for school improvement. One of the issues is that the leadership workforce is ageing and, as a consequence, a lot school leaders will retire over the next five to ten years (Pont et al., 2008). During this high demographic turnover of school leaders, the main focus of policy and practice is to make the principalship an attractive profession and foster future leaders. In systematic terms the current challenge of leadership is not only the quality improvement of the contemporary leaders but promotion of the consistent plans for future leadership and efficient leadership continuation and succession.

Before considering the school leadership as a policy component and priority, it is relevant to understand the concept and importance of this notion. A core element of most leadership definitions is that it involves a process of influence (OECD, 2001). "Most definitions of leadership reflect the assumption that it involves a social influence process whereby intentional influence is exerted by one person [or group] over other people [or groups] to structure the activities and relationships in a group or organization" (Yukl, 2002, p. 3).

The country context plays an ultimate role in understanding the term, however, the concept of school leadership is often used interchangeably with school management and

administration. The most widely spread remark is "managers do things right, while leaders do the right thing" (Pascale, 1990, p. 65) . While management is related to maintenance of current operations, leadership is associated with guiding organization by shaping people's attitudes, motivations and behaviors (Bush & Glover, 2003).

Dimmock (1999) provides a distinction between school leadership, management, and administration where the school leaders often encompass all three responsibilities: "Irrespective of how these terms are defined, school leaders experience difficulty in deciding the balance between higher order tasks designed to improve staff, student and school performance (leadership), routine maintenance of present operations (management) and lower order duties (administration)" (pp. 449–450). It is important to highlight that the three categories, leadership, management, and administration, are closely interconnected and it is unlikely for one of them to operate successfully without the others.

The distinction should be established between leadership and principalship. While the concept of principalship is grounded on the industrial model of schooling, where the major responsibility for the entire organization falls on one individual, the leadership is of much broader context. It is the concept where authority to lead doesn't endure on only one person, but can be distributed among people within and beyond the school community. School leadership can comprise people maintaining different roles and functions like principals, deputy and assistant principals, leadership teams, school governing boards and school-level staff involved in leadership tasks (OECD, 2001).

According to OECD (2001) school leadership is a priority in education policy agendas of many countries because of its crucial role in developing school practice, school policies and connections between schools and outer world. School leadership contributes to improved student learning; it bridges educational policy and practice; and links schools with their environments.

It should be mentioned that schools are under the enormous pressure to improve, change and adapt. It is the role of school leadership to deal consistently with the process of change. From today's societal trends and variety of contexts diverse scenarios of schooling can be pictured in the future. The OECD Schooling for Tomorrow (2001) proposed possible development of future schools and predicted six hypothetical scenarios for school systems over the next 10 to 20 years (Table 1).

Table 1. OECD Scenarios: What might schooling look like in the future? From "stable bureaucratic systems" to "system meltdown". (OECD, 2001, p.79)

BUREAUCRATIC SYSTEM	1	Schools in **Back to the Future Bureaucratic Systems**	This scenario shows schools in powerful bureaucratic systems that are resistant to change. Schools continue mostly with "business as usual", defined by isolated units – schools, classes, teachers – in top-down administrations. The system reacts little to the wider environment and operates to its own conventions and regulations.

RE – SCHOOLING	2	Schools as **Focused Learning Organisations**	In this scenario, schools' function as focal learning organisations, revitalised around a knowledge agenda in cultures of experimentation, diversity and innovation. The system enjoys substantial investment, especially to benefit disadvantaged communities and maintain high teacher working conditions.
	3	Schools as **Core Social Centres**	In this scenario, the walls around schools come down but they remain strong organisations, sharing responsibilities with other community bodies such as health or social services. Much emphasis is given to nonformal learning, collective tasks and intergenerational activities. High public support ensures quality environments and teachers enjoy high esteem.
DE – SCHOOLING	4	The **Extended Market Model**	This scenario depicts the widespread extension of market approaches – in who provides education, how it is delivered, how choices are made and resources distributed. Governments withdraw from running schooling, pushed by dissatisfaction of "consumers". This future might bring innovation and dynamism and it might mean exclusion and inequality.
	5	**Learning in Networks** replacing schools	This scenario imagines the disappearance of schools per se, replaced by learning networks operating within a highly developed "network society". Networks based on diverse cultural, religious and community interests lead to a multitude of diverse formal, non-formal and informal learning settings, with intensive use of ICTs
CRISIS	6	Teacher Exodus and **System Meltdown**	This scenario depicts a meltdown of the school system. It results mainly from a major shortage of teachers triggered by retirement, unsatisfactory working conditions, more attractive job opportunities elsewhere.

The scenarios are not determined to be absolutely realistic but can provide possible changes for the schools and foster policy-makers, stakeholders and school-level actors to take further actions.

It is obviously seen that school leadership has become a priority in education policy agenda in OECD and partner countries. It has a crucial role in improving school outcomes by motivating and building capacities of teachers as well as school climate. School

leadership has been going through changes caused by moving towards autonomy and new approaches to teaching and learning. Consequently, it is now characterized by a challenging set of roles including administrative and managerial tasks, financial and human resources, quality assurance and leadership for improved teaching and learning. Due to the retirement age of principals in many countries it is getting harder to replace them. Possible candidates are disheartened from applying because of lack of training, inadequate support, being anxious of not meeting the position requirements and overloaded responsibilities. OECD suggests the master plan to arrange and establish high quality leadership:

- (Re)defining school leadership responsibilities
- Distributing school leadership
- Developing skills for effective school leadership
- Making school leadership an attractive profession (Pont et al., 2008)

Policy and research

Consistency and efficacy of a school system involves policies that facilitate school community to work together beneficially and contribute to school development. However, the implementation of this kind of policies leads to challenges of control in systems that by past convention have been hierarchical but now increasingly moving towards more decentralized models, which often give more autonomy for schools and staff (European Commission, 2013).

There are five characteristics of a learning organization that could provide assurance for the model to be sustainable and functioning with reasonable effort: systems thinking, personal mastery, mental models, shared vision and team learning (Senge, Cambron-McCabe, Lucas, Smith, & Dutton, 2012). The significance of systems lies in the ability to see and understand things and phenomena globally together with its correlations. The personal mastery stands for leading towards a coherent image of the personal vision together with an objective assessment of the current situation and reformulating the way of thinking about future. The essence of the mental models undergoes with developing the awareness of attitudes and perceptions, beliefs that have influence on the behavior and operation. Shared vision represents the members of the organization have mutual purpose which reflects strong coherence within the members. The bottom line of team learning is to be found in transformation of collective thinking towards common goals through dialogue and skillful discussion (Senge, 1990).

Research that communicates the policy in Europe has analyzed a number of factors that contributes to effectiveness of teachers and school leaders. The framework of the work is conceived in the concept of the school as a learning community, or more precisely, as a learning organization. In this model, the school is envisioned as operating institution at a number of levels: the individual, teams, and a level of organization-wide practices (OECD, 2014a). These components together for a "learning culture", understood by a common ethos of team working and the goal of fostering **a goal of professional learning.** The crucial success of the model is ensured by mutual trust, and the innovation, time for

inquiry, freedom and capacity are predominant. It is important to highlight that the basis of the model is a strong identification of significance of collaboration and cooperation, and the gains of the schools being embedded in a supportive staff (Figure 1) (OECD, 2014b).

Figure 1. What makes a school a learning organization? (OECD/UNICEF, 2016, p.1).
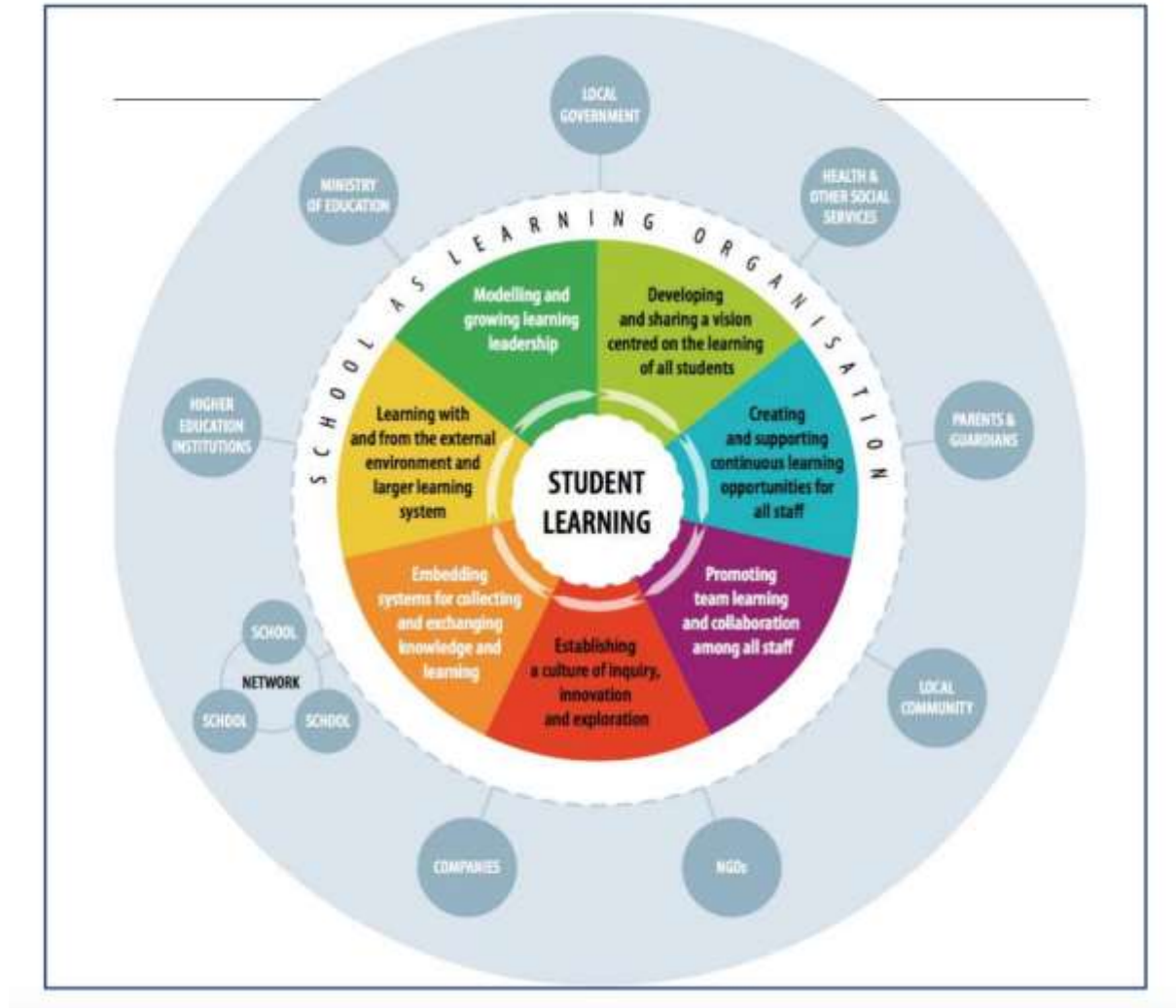
The model of the school as learning organization was developed due to number of reasons:

- School engages the whole staff in meeting the challenges and to respond to quality requirements;
- School encourages teachers and school leaders to improve pedagogy and contribute to shape policy through local and current practices;
- The success of the school as a learning organization is a culture of trust and shared commitment that supports collaboration as main value.

It can be clearly seen that in this context teacher education is a core in the policy improvement. The arranging of Continuing Professional Development (CPD) is the main

policy concern (European Comission, 2018). There is a tendency to higher level of formal qualification for Initial Teacher Education (ITE), and a trend towards more diversified types of professional development (European Commission, 2015). Teacher education is seen as an element of the more general policy goal of increasing the attractiveness of the profession (European Commission, 2014).

The ET2020 Working Group developed a conceptual model that supports the quality of teachers and teaching through continuum of teacher profession. This model links five interrelated perspectives, those of teachers' learning needs (a continuum of teacher education/professional development); (instrumental) support structures; career; professional competence levels; and the cultural (local) perspective of a school (Figure 2).

Figure 2. Five perspectives on the continuum of the teaching profession. (European Commission, 2015, p. 19)
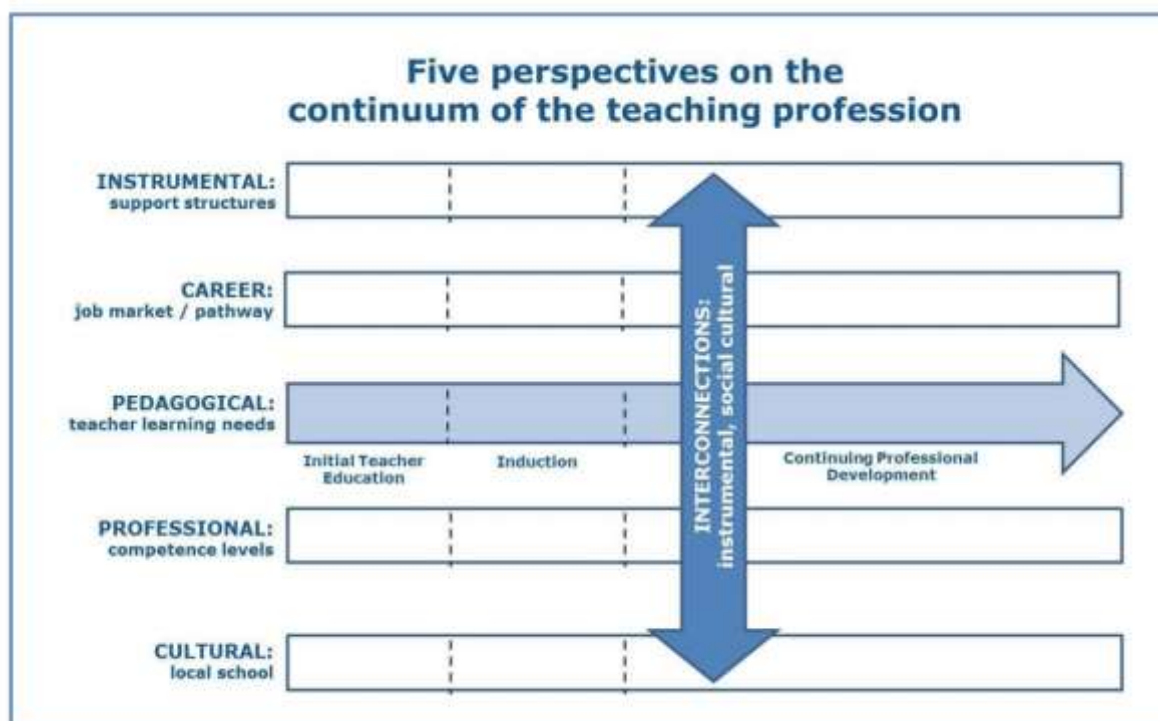
Notably, there has been support of the practice of distributed leadership and the meaning of networks to foster the exchange of experience and collaboration (Council of the EU, 2013). In fact, shared tasks and responsibilities involve the whole school as a professional learning community. The principal's role under this model becomes of delegation, encouraging, and entrusting individuals and groups in the context of the teamwork and professional collaboration (Eurydice, 2007). Policies that aim to build these emphases on teacher leadership capacity consequently have an important role.

Principal's role in teacher development

It has been almost two decades since the role of principals was outlined as teacher educators (Hord, 1988). Since that time the researchers in the field of teacher education

moved towards explaining the principal's role as one of managing, supervising and participating in teachers' professional development. Morine-Dershimer (2002) discusses the need for principals who support professional development.The other perspectives emphasize the importance of principals' active involvement in teachers' development in professional practice of schools (Lieberman & Miller, 1990). These views demonstrate a subtle but meaningful shift of the focus from what principal does to what teacher needs.

The teacher development is outlined as "arguably the most central function of educational leadership. The challenge of achieving is described as follows: "Even principals who acknowledge their responsibility to foster teacher development often claim that is not a function they feel capable of performing well" (Leithwood, 1992, p. 86). Still educational administration researchers admit the principal's role in teacher development and associate it to the widely spread notion that principals are instructional leaders (Glanz, 2005). Nonetheless, this relation brings its own set of issues from teacher education perspective in that it draws to the focus on how the principal's leadership affects students' learning outcomes rather than teachers' developmental needs.

Blasé & Blasé (1999) discuss the principal's role in teachers' professional development and data from a qualitative research that analyses the perspectives of what teachers identify as characteristics of principals who have a positive influence on teachers' class performance. In the study the authors identified the strategies that principals use to support teachers' development:

Talking with teachers to promote reflection which can be provided five major talking strategies: making suggestions; giving feedback; modeling; using inquiry and soliciting advice and opinions; and giving praise

Promoting professional growth which can be set by the following six strategies: emphasizing the study of teaching and learning; supporting collaboration efforts among educators; developing coaching relationships among educators; encouraging and supporting redesign of programs; applying the principles of adult learning, growth, and development to all phases of staff development; implementing action research to inform instructional decision making (pp. 133–135).

Payne & Wolfson (2000) express the similar view on principals' role in promoting teacher development from the perspective of principal practitioners: principal as a role model for continual learning; principal as a leader of the learning organization; principal as a motivator and supporter; principal as resource provider; principal as facilitator (p. 15).

Education policy in Kazakhstan

Education policy can be conditionally considered from two layers: first layer is history and establishing the of the educational system and educational policy in the country; second layer is supranatural which stands for a process of educational system integration of new strategies and tools of education development coordination. It is a new layer that bears novelty:

In practice: new priorities, strategies, tools for cooperation, and coordination methods of the educational policy,

In scientific and methodological field: new comparison and new knowledge. These tools of the educational policy can be classified as integrating or coordinating one (Mynbayeva, Yesseyeva, & Anarbek, 2015, p. 644).

Kazakhstan is among the countries to pursuit innovation in school education for continuous modernization and reformation with an advent of globalization. Kazakhstan, which set the goal to enter top 30 developed countries in the world, is having huge changes in education system, in particular, in school education policy (Yelbayeva & Mynbayeva, 2017). From 1991 to 2016, the formation of school policy of the Independent Republic of Kazakhstan has passed five stages.

Table 2. Five stages of school policy of Kazakhstan (Zueva, 2013, p. 8; Damitov, 2008, p.43):

1991 - 1994	the establishment of a national education system the revival of the national system the proclamation of national school models formation of legislative and regulatory basis of the education system
1995 - 2000	conceptual establishment of school reforms development of state standards and programs the creation of the National Testing Centre the only model of schooling: 4 + 5 + 2 the first phase of implementation of the State program of informatization of 1997-2001
2001 - 2004	the publication of new textbooks pilot version in 104 schools of 12-years education: 4 + 6 + 2 Unified National Testing (UNT) criteria for assessing the quality of textbooks the second phase of informatization of education system for 2002-2004
2005 - 2010	the Bologna Declaration in March 2010 State Program of Education Development for 2005 – 2010 the third and fourth stages of the informatization program for 2005-2007 and 2007-2010
2010 - 2015	modernization of school education transition to 12-years education

In recent years the school policy addressed issues that include:

"Trilingual" policy which comprises subjects conducted in English and hiring foreign teachers.

The policy transferring to 12-years education system encompassing the readiness of material and technical base of the schools and the issues of professional competency of school teachers (Yelbayeva & Mynbayeva, 2017, p. 385).

Every historical stage of reforms, "teachers focus on the search for the new forms and methods of training, innovative technologies provided the focus on the individuality of a learner, improving their skills, and the higher teaching institutions set the task to train the teachers so-called "new formation" (Yelbayeva & Mynbayeva, 2017, p. 385).

The change of state educational policy principles can be observed in the following table.

Table 3. The comparative description of education policy's main principles in contextual definition in the "Law on Education" of the Republic of Kazakhstan ("Law on Education", 1992, 1996, 2007)

1992 - 1993	1999	2007
State policy principles in education: RK citizens' equal right to education; The free education services in the field of state education programs; The diversity of education organizations in accordance with the directions and forms of teaching; The continuation of education process according to the importance of teaching levels; Scientific, legal and ecological directionality of education; Progress of education; The democracy of education system; Intellectual feature of state education organizations; The independency of the education from ideological and political influences that may affect objective education.	State policy principles in education: RK citizens' equal right to education; The attainability of all levels of education systems in accordance with intellectual, psychophysical, individual demands of the citizens; Intellectual feature of education; Motivate person to learn and develop individuality; The continuity of the educational process in accordance with the importance of educational stages in unity of education and training; The diversity of education organizations in accordance with the directions and forms of teaching; The democracy in education system; expansion of academic capabilities and the capabilities of educational organizations	State policy principles in education: Everyone's right to a quality education; The superiority of the development of education system; The attainability of all levels of education systems in accordance with the intellectual development, psychological-physiological and individual features of the people; Intellectual, humanistic and development feature of education, the priority of human and national values, people's life and health, free development of an individual; Respect for human rights and freedom; Motivation of the thrust for knowledge of an individual and development of personality; Continuation of education process that provides interrelation of education levels;

	Educational and humanistic feature of education; Integration of knowledge, science, production; Professional orientation of students; Informatization of education system. Political parties and religious communities not allowed to join educational societies and influence their activities.	Unity of teaching, training and development; The democracy in education system, the transparency of education services system; The diversity of objects of educational organizations, objects of teaching and training in accordance with teaching directions.

Main directions of educational policy study are trends of educational system development within the framework of the selected policy. Within scopes of the research a new tool of comparative researches has been developed – mapping of education development strategies. This method helps to systematize, reconsider, and trace milestones of education development, and to re-evaluate history of education development. The strategy maps assist in understanding and formation of new strategies, forecasting of education development. Having carried out the analysis of secondary education of Kazakhstan in the Soviet and independence periods the following strategies of secondary education development were revealed (Mynbayeva & Pogosian, 2014).

Figure 3. Course of educational system development in Kazakhstan (Mynbayeva et al., 2015, p. 646).
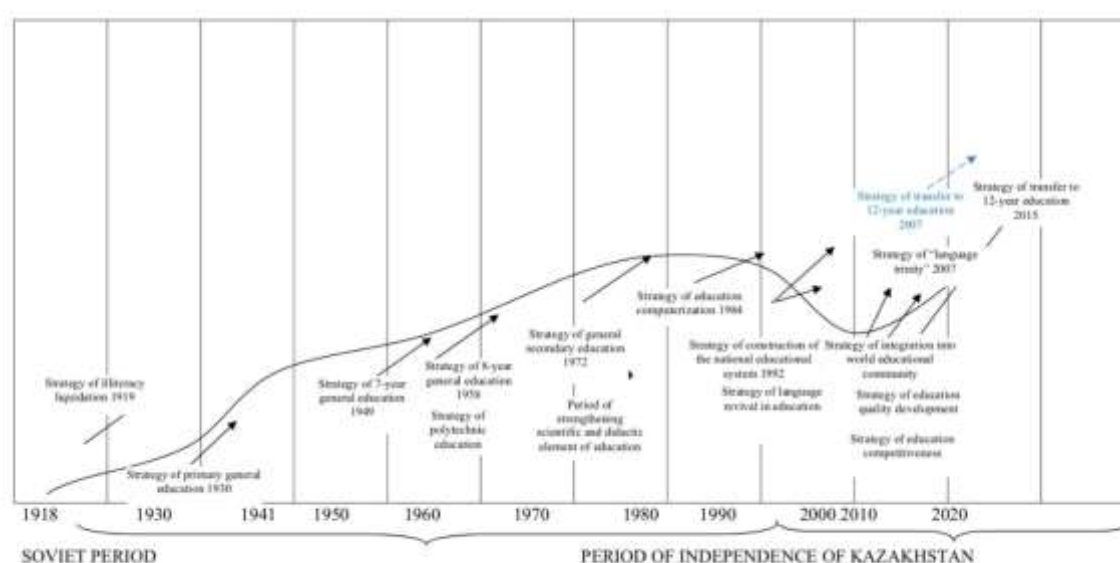
The following strategies are conventional for Kazakhstan. The Soviet period: elimination of illiteracy, compulsory secondary education, public education; a tradition of Kazakhstani people to appreciate knowledge and education is set. Educational strategies of independent Kazakhstan: "lifelong learning – LLL", permanent education, integration into the world community, competitiveness of education, "triunity of languages", computerization, variation of training, etc. Within scopes of the research a strategy map for development of school education in Kazakhstan has been developed starting from the 1930s to the present moment (Figure 3).

School improvement: changing roles of school leaders in a complex education system

Kazakhstan has been subjected to a profound educational transformation since the beginning of this century. The main reasons for educational reform are the need to improve economic competitiveness, with the aim of becoming one of the 30 most developed countries by 2020, and a concern to respond to demands for high-quality education according to world standards, on the part of a newly emerging wealthy class (Daly, 2008).

The life of any school is regulated by a number of decrees and guidelines from the Ministry of Education and Science. School principals are personally accountable to the local authority: rural schools, to the district department of education; city schools, to the city department; and specialized schools, to the region department and/or their managing organizations, such as AEO NIS or Daryn Centre (Yakavets, 2016). As in many other countries (e.g. the UK), principals begin their professional careers as teachers and progress to leadership via a range of leadership tasks and roles, these often being described in the literature as 'middle leadership' (Yakavets, 2016). The latest Order (No.57ii) adopted by the MoES (2012) introduced a new system for selecting principals on a competitive basis, with the successful individuals being awarded five-years' tenure and the opportunity to reapply at the end of it (Yakavets, 2016).

The Ministry of Education and Science aims to attract the best candidates to leadership posts and eliminate local 'bad practice'. For this purpose, the selection procedure for school leaders has been changed and is currently conducted on a competitive basis (MoES, 2012). The key requirements are as follows:

- Higher pedagogical education;
- Not less than 5 years' experience working in an educational organization;
- The first or highest teaching qualification;
- Not less than 3 years' experience in administrative work;
- A supporting recommendation from the regional Department of Education;
- No criminal record.

The Kazakhstani research on principals working in a culture that can be referred to Hofstede's terms as having high power distance, collectivist and uncertainty avoidance

characteristics (Hofstede, 1980). The school leaders in Kazakhstan are increasingly exposed to ideas, theories and events beyond the national borders, which could shape their understanding and practice of leadership and management. Overall, the account shows some attempts at integrating Western thoughts with traditional practices, however, for practitioners it is not only difficult to know 'how does it work', but the challenge is that 'the system itself is directed downwards' (Yakavets, 2017, p.16).

There are some other concerns raised in the literature about the critical role of the headteacher's activity in the Kazakhstani context: raising the quality of education (Valieva, 2010; Milovanova, 2010), leading successfully without stress (Kondrashkin, 2010), effective organization of school management, distribution of functional responsibilities (Dozortseva, 2011), correlation of leadership and gained achievements, and leader's spiritual-practical activities in nurturing stuff (Dorozhkina, 2011). Apart from these perspectives there is a claim "the art of leadership can be attained by experience and success; high performance of a leader dependent on the ethical values of the headteacher" (Zhaksylykova, 2010, p. 13). Additionally, "it is conditional for the leaders to be capable to build trust, be creative, be open-minded and respect different perspective, be analytical, be ready for decision-making and take strategic actions" (Zhaksylykova, 2010, p. 16).

In improving the quality of teaching and learning environments in schools good school leaders are essential. As it was mentioned above, in general terms, teachers who have completed an initial teacher education degree and with minimum five years of pedagogical experience can apply for deputy and principal positions in Kazakhstan (although in the case of ungraded secondary schools, at least three years of pedagogical experience is required, while managerial experience is not mandatory) (OECD, 2018).

For improving the quality of learning in Kazakhstan, recruiting and retaining good quality teachers is crucial. Teachers benefit from a career structure associated with a cetification process, known as teacher attestation; in 2017, only about 9.5% of teachers in general secondary education did not have a higher education degree, usually in rural (10.7%) rather than urban schools (7.5%) (OECD, 2018, p. 13). Teachers and school leaders should undertake professional development at least once every five years to improve their qualifications (OECD, 2014).

 The OECD has previously recommended that Kazakhstan develop professional standards for teachers and school leaders, raise the bar to enter the profession, limit the number of places in initial teacher education to levels closer to the needs of the school system, improve the quality of initial teacher education programmes and institutions, and require a higher education qualification to enter the teaching profession at all educational levels (OECD/The World Bank, 2015).

According to the latest OECD (2018) report on policy overlook of Kazakhstan number of strengths and challenges were highlighted. The key strengths include some conducing learning environments according to self-reports (e.g. low levels of student truancy) and the frequent appear of school-based professional development opportunities for teachers. However, the key challenge is that Kazakhstan faces the key challenge of establishing clear career pathways that strengthen the status of teaching and school leadership, raising the

bar to enter the profession, and of providing quality education and improvement opportunities for them (OECD, 2018, p. 13).

In 2011 the National Skills Upgrading Centre, Orleu, was established where teachers can participate in teacher professional development. It aims to offer the chance to enhance professional qualifications in order to become eligible for promotion. The training is funded by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan (MESRK). Given the recent introduction of the professional standards, it will be important for Kazakhstan to continuously monitor their implementation process of the professional standards to ensure that they support the teaching workforce to improve its practice (OECD, 2018, p. 14).

Conclusion

Introducing new educational reforms leads to an increase of complexity in education governance. Consequently, school leaders' roles and responsibilities are subject to change. The current globalization era is being influenced by economics, globalisation and digital communication, and these changes are bringing further uncertainty to leaders' professionalism. As a consequence, the status of the principal, as it relates both to its prestige as well as to its governance, is being influenced by various factors, including sociological, political, cultural and economic ones.

Effective school leadership is important, however in isolation, is not enough condition for successful schools. It is the reciprocal activity and development in all the three dimensions of the whole school community. The capacity building is a crucial factor in school effectiveness and an important dimension of school improvement. In the case of Kazakhstan, it will be interesting to explore the connection between capacity and effectiveness. The question can be asked on the relationship of school's capacity and basic reforms in educational system.

Many changes and innovations were introduced in Kazakhstan education system keeping its national features and integrating into the world's knowledge and cultural space with the purpose to form and develop a person who can meet the requirements of the world market but also keep the model of traditional education.

Since becoming an independent country, the Republic of Kazakhstan implemented a range of works in the school policy in order to improve school education system, including defining national secondary education system of Kazakhstan; the establishment of the "Law on Education" that set the rights and obligations of the subjects in education field; mark the reforms to improve education system; "Trilingual policy" in secondary education; "Transfer to 12-year education" of secondary education.

The concept of organizational learning supports can be strongly connected with that new movement incorporating leadership. The policy strategies show that schools are in the constant development and open two learn, however the developments of schools as learning organizations are still on its initial stage.

In order to make the changes in school policy constructive the further conceptualization of schools as learning organization in the context of Kazakhstan can be offered. This means, to organize the introduction of changes that are expected in school policy and the

education system. The major goal of the country is to keep national authenticity and define its place in the world arena of science and culture. In order to achieve it's important to study the advanced experiences of other developed countries and correcting their own shortcomings. Based on the overview of policy improvement it is expected can that the changes in school policy in accordance with the globalization requirements can improve the quality of education in Kazakhstani schools and will allow to fully integrate into the world scientific space.

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Living in Diverse Communities: Women's Experiences on Integration and Inclusion in Carrigtwohill and East Cork (Ireland)

Summary

The paper is based on a field research carried out in cooperation with Carrigtwohill Family Resouce Centre and other local stakeholders who provide services for immigrant communities, Asylum seekers, new-Irish and Irish women living in East Cork with a particular focus on women with children. The research pays particular attention to the women's aspirations, expectations and concerns for their children (language, cultural and religious identity, education, etc). It explore experiences of social inclusion in Irish society from both the migrant/refugee perspective and from the perspective of Irish women.
Key words: Gender; Social Inclusion; Irish Society; Diversity; Migrants.

Introduction

This study addresses the position and experience of minority ethnic women in East Cork (South-East of Ireland), and it is based on research carried out amongst women living in the village of Carrigtwohill and surrounding areas. Participants in the research comprised Asylum Seekers, refugees, migrants, new-Irish and Irish women, with a particular focus on women with children. The aim of the reserach was to explore experiences of social inclusion in Irish society from both the migrant/refugee perspective and from the perspective of Irish women. Although the unique situation of the Ireland, as on one side it is the only European nation that has been colonised, something that give a exceptional understanding of the experiences of people in other colonised countries. While on the other side, this situation has not prevented the Irish society from racism and discrimination against other minorities (McVeigh, 1992).

Ireland consider a country with the highest rate per head of population in the world who 'welcomed' immigrants (see Ruhs, 2004; McWilliams, 2007). Moreover, Banks (2008) states that the Irish 2006 census found that "about one in ten of the population was born outside the state" (ibid: 63), something that show the large-scale of the immigration phenomenon in Ireland. This caused a dramatic change in the "Irish economy, culture and politics" (ibid.). However, this multicultural situation made Ireland the last country in Western Europe to transform in this direction.

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The latest alternative civil society report that led by the Irish Network Against Racism (INAR, 2019), and has been submitted in November 2019 to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (CERD) states that migrant and ethnic minority women face a combination of racial and gender inequalities. However, the women's experiences were diverse and varies based on their ethnicity, migration status, income level and family status.

Study and Methodology

Our research interviews began with a discussion on how women themselves define or describe 'social inclusion' and 'integration'. It focuses on the positive aspects and successes of the Irish experience, as well as the challenges. The paper outlines policies and practice of social inclusion, as it relates to migrant and Irish women, in the context of life in Ireland. Various aspects of life in Ireland are explored including faith, culture and belief systems; access and participation in institutions of the State (Education, Health, Political, Legal and Civic Life); access to housing and employment opportunities. For those who have children, there is a fcous too on 'being a parent' in Ireland. The research pays particular attention to the women's aspirations, expectations and concerns for their children (language, cultural and religious identity, education, etc).

The core question asks if Ireland is a place where migrant/refugee women can live a dignified life and where there expectations and aspirations are being met? It also presents the views of women in the wider community in relation to migrant inclusion in Irish life. The study sought to raise issues and questions but also to begin a dialogue between women in East Cork. The objective was to listen to the voices of women, record their experiences but also to ask them to make recommendations about how we might create a more inclusive East Cork. The study is a qualitative one, as it aims to look deeper and talk longer in order to delve into the life of integration in East Cork. This provides more depth but also some limitations. The stories that we present here are only the stories of the people who participated in our study. It is not meant to be the "only story" of migrant women in East Cork. Moreover, this study is presented through the voices of the women who took part in the six focus groups which were held in May 2019. In total fifty women participated in the research. It concludes with a set of recommendations for the future integration of migrant women in Ireland.

Background of Participants

A total of 52 women (and one man) from different regions of the world, including Irish people participated in this research. All participants were living in East Cork and were from Ireland, China, England, Russia, Nigeria, Benin, Italy, Malawi, Palestine, Poland, Algeria, Tunisia, Pakistan, D. R. Congo, Albania, Kosovo, Zimbabwe, India, and Brazil. Most were employed in a number of sectors as nurses, care assistants, community development, academia, office assistants, childcare, hotel and restaurant industry, cleaning, and IT. Some depended on their husbands and were dependant on them for their visas. Some were caring at home for their children, some of whom were born in

Ireland and some who were not. The majority were settled in Ireland and saw their future in Ireland. In consideration with comments made by research participants, the researchers, and in agreement with the research participants, decided not to use anonymously in order not to identify any individual participant.

Countries of Origin:

Ireland: 11	China: 2	England: 1	Russia: 3
Nigeria: 6	Benin: 3	Italy: 4	Malawi: 2
Palestine: 1	Poland: 4	Algeria: 1	Tunisia: 1
Pakistan: 3	Congo: 3	Albania: 3	Kosovo: 1
Zimbabwe: 2	India: 1	Brazil: 1	

Age Profile:
26-35 years old: 24 research participants
36-55 years old: 28 research participants
56-65 years old: 1 research participant

Legal Status in Ireland:
Asylum Seekers: 21 research participants
Refugees: 2 research participants
Moved to Ireland for work: 11 research participants
Moved to Ireland for marriage: 5 research participants
Born in Ireland: 11 research participants
Other: 3 research participants

Employment Status:
Employed (many describe as 'under employed'): 27 research participants
Unemployed: 18 research participants
Working at home caring for own children: 7 research participants
Working at home caring for children of others: 1 research participant

Findings and Analysis

We divided the findings for few areas and fields, based on the concerns that the research participants had expressed. this paper concentrated mainly with the following topics:

1. Education

Education is a very high priority for the women in this study, both for themselves and for their children. A number of key themes emerged regarding their experiences of education in Ireland. The first was the experience of 'reinventing' themselves. Many of the research participants already had a degree or equivalent in their country of origin. Finding themselves in Ireland they often had to reinvent themselves, even after quite successful initial careers in their own countries. One woman with a master's degree in computer science from a Nigerian university said that she is finding it very difficult to find even very

basic work. She could not point to any specific evidence of discrimination but she felt an ongoing "knowing" of her qualifications being of lesser value in Ireland. Therefore, now an asylum-seeker living in Direct Provision, she had to start again on a FETAC Level 4 course and like many of the women in Direct Provision, was taking any opportunity she could to attend what courses were available to her.

Some fields of study are difficult to transfer to an Irish context for instance degrees in law, teacher qualifications and degrees in the humanities. Several women said that recognition of prior work or educational attainment "did not happen", either within the education system or as they apply for jobs. One woman from a Middle Eastern country, said that she had worked as a language teacher in her own country, but when she married an Irish man and moved here, she ended up working in a call centre because it was "the only work I could find". She too was very frustrated and felt under-employed.

Those who are married to Irish people, find their husbands are continuing with their careers and bringing in higher salaries, while they find themselves caring in the home or in jobs where they feel underemployed. Some feel that their education systems are not valued as much as those who studied in Ireland. The level of frustration about recognition of educational backgrounds was palpable in all six groups. One woman said "they just think we are stupid", another said "it's my skin colour, it's as simple as that".

Another very strong theme was the separation of Church and State in the Education system (and in other state institutions such as Health). There were very strong feelings about this in the focus groups with people from most countries saying they could not understand why the Catholic Church is not completely separate from the school system. This study cannot emphasise enough the strength of feeling about this aspect of Irish education. Almost all participants said that this is something which did not happen in their country of origin.

For many participants they simply could not understand the concept of a church operating through the education system. They were aware too of the power this gave to the Church, even if that power is declining in Ireland.

> *Please explain to me why the Church and State are not separate. I cannot, I simply cannot understand it. In my country they are completely different things. Isn't that better for the Church? Isn't that a stronger church, where they have people who want to be there?*

Finally, there was a strong feeling that there was a need for more political and civic education in Ireland, particularly amongst those living in Direct Provision. The feeling was that the general population do not understand why people come to live here and that "knowledge about the outside world" is "very basic" in Ireland, one of the participants expressed this by "Ireland needs more political education. People need to know why asylum seekers and refugees have to move". INAR (2019) mentions similar finding in their report.

In terms of the experience of their children in the education system, some challenges were identified. Mostly these related to incidents within schools where an issue was not, in their opinion, handled well by the school. The incidents mentioned related to a sense of being what one research participants' terms "an outsider all the time" and "having to be the one to fit in". Some asked why teachers do not receive adequate training or even find out about the cultures of the students in their classrooms.

However, overall, experiences of the education system in relation to their children were positive. Generally, while mothers had concerns for the future of their children, they were hopeful and considered education to be a very important means of progressing and having good jobs in the future. The general opinion was that the education system is good but not as good as Ireland thinks it is for migrants. The main concern was lack of awareness amongst teachers and particularly school principals about the nuances of intercultural incidents.

Those in Educate Together Schools were decidedly more positive about the experience of their children in the school system. Like most participants in this study they were in favour of church/state separation and found the system incomprehensible. They praised their school for all of the efforts made to promote integration not just in terms of culture, but also in terms of disability and social inclusion in general. There was not any sense of 'migrant children' having to 'integrate in to' the majority, but rather they were all there together, all children and their backgrounds, including their religions, or those of no faith, were celebrated. Some Irish women in this system also valued this very highly since they did not have to justify "having no faith", whereas in other parts of society they "still felt" they had to defend themselves. While another research participant explained that "integration for me is also about me feeling free to just not have a faith".

2. Health and Social Welfare

Overall participants were positive about the health and social welfare systems. Issues they had were generally similar to those of the overall population, rather than their migrant status. However, there appears to be a lack of knowledge (about 50% of participants) about services which are available in Ireland relating to women's health, such as smear tests and breast checks. Those who had given birth were better informed because they had found such information in maternity hospitals. INAR alternative report (2019) mentions that the migrant and ethnic minority women's access to quality healthcare is a recurrent problem, particularly asylum seekers women "due to remoteness of Direct Provision centres and poor transport links with GP practices and hospitals" (INAR, 2019: 34).

Generally, most of the research participants were happy with the staff of the maternity services, who are very professional and friendly although language barriers did cause some difficulty at times. The issue that was of greatest concern in relation to giving birth and childcare was the lack of extended family supports and for some, loneliness in that experience. While no participants used the term 'post-natal depression' the descriptions of "feeling alone", "on my own" or "lonely" after childbirth, indicated that 'post-natal depression' may be exacerbated by lack of social supports. For those living in smaller

villages or rural areas, this isolation was exacerbated, as one participant explained this by "you might have people from my country in Dublin or even Cork, but not in the country in East Cork. I am the only one from my country around here".

Within the health and social welfare systems one of the most difficult aspects was form filling, some of which are long and difficult to understand. Partly this is a language issue but there are also references to words, acronyms, systems or state bodies which people who are new to Ireland, or even in Ireland for a few years, are not familiar with. For those married to Irish people they found their husbands had to help translate or explain what these terms mean. In general, information which is available can be hard to follow if such a translator/interpreter is not available. While the people in this study had not had a medical emergency, some said they worried that if they had to call an ambulance or if they were in a serious situation in hospital, that they may not be able to communicate. One individual found this prospect very stressful and thought about it frequently, as "medical words are difficult" she said.

An advantage of including Irish born participants in the study was that some of nuances of the experiences of migrant women could be explored in the context of how an Irish person might experience such an incident.   There were several detailed stories of experiences with the social welfare system, where migrant women had found "the system is difficult". This is difficult to articulate in a report of this nature but there is a cultural 'knowing' in a society, there are hidden meanings or 'ways of doing things' that are not always apparent to someone relatively new to this society. However, the most prevalent opinion about the health and social welfare systems related to information. While all of the research participants, including Irish women, acknowledged that there is a lot of information, they still found it hard to find what they were looking for, that there is a lot of "very confusing language" and that it is hard to get important information about rights and entitlements in different languages.

3. Housing

Housing is an area which received gasps when first mentioned. For many women in this study they had already accessed housing but not without considerable difficulties. A markedly common opinion was the following: "when I was looking for a house, I had to get an Irish friend to ring around landlords. If I made the call, the house was always gone. Actually, I am not sure if it was because I am a foreigner or because they assume that I am on a housing payment".

Other challenges were those similar to the wider population, with housing allowance payments being deemed 'totally inadequate' and rising rental costs. Many participants were struggling with paying their rent. A particularly noteworthy point relating to housing concerns people living in Direct Provision Accommodation Centres who have been granted leave to remain in Ireland but who still live in Direct Provision Centres because (a) they cannot find affordable rental housing and (b) they are limited to the area because their children are in school in that area and they do not want to move them to a different school, some children had already been disrupted several times in their young

lives. These difficulties cause many considerable concerns, stress and worry for themselves and for their children.

4. Employment

Three key issues emerged in this study: unemployment, underemployment and deskilling. As discussed above some women felt that while their husbands were developing their careers, they themselves were held back because of language barriers and the need to reinvent themselves. There were very strong feelings that more was needed to support migrants with career progression. For instance, formal recognition of prior work experience or qualifications would be helpful so that migrant people would not to 'start again from scratch'. Some women had heard about programmes in other countries (e.g. programmes in Denmark or the UK which helped refugees and migrants who had degrees in areas such as law or humanities) supporting migrants to work towards meaningful progression. Most of the women in the study felt very frustrated in jobs for which they found unsatisfying and frustrating.

Many noted the size of Ireland as a country, which they found "very tiny" and felt that the size of the country meant there would never be certain kinds of jobs. One woman said most of her friends were working in call centres, and the jobs there was "boring", "slavish" and full of "bad working practices". However, many participants find that it is difficult to find a position which was of a similar level to their previous ones in terms of interest, prospects and salary. A very important aspect here is that all of the immigrant research participants felt that their lives had been 'on hold', that their careers had taken a back seat and that they often had to start again as though they were just out of school.

INAR (2019) mentions the opportunities to access the employment sector is profoundly gendered for dew reasons, such as caring responsibilities, gap between qualifications, and labour market position. The report mentions that the most affected badly are particularly African women who are more than twice as likely to be unemployed as their Irish counterparts.

5. Children and Young People

Generally, there was hope for the future as most of the immigrant women felt that their children would do better in Ireland than they had because the children were growing up in Ireland, understood "how things work here" and had good English. Some of the participants had concerns about their children not doing well because of their skin colour or nationality but overall even those women felt hopeful for the future of their children. Overall, they still felt hopeful that Ireland is progressing. They also felt that it can be hard for their children if they are assumed "not to be Irish because they are black". One woman said that this made her teenage son very angry and, she said, he wants to "raise awareness" about the fact that "...some people born in Ireland are not white, but they are still Irish".

Virtually all the women felt that Ireland was a good place for their children to grow up, although they all also wanted their children to keep a connection to their 'other' identity.

They said they would like to see more work done on preserving cultures in schools and communities.

Some of the research participants had mention the difference in their children's upbringing as opposed to their own upbringing, and many mentioned differences in gender roles in Ireland compared to their own upbringing. This was seen as a positive thing, particularly for their daughters, as one woman said she wouldn't want her 13-year-old daughter to go through what she went through when she was a teenager. While another woman said that her husband was struggling with this in Ireland but, she said, "he will have to deal with it".

6. Political and Community Participation

Generally, the women in this study were interested in the politics of Ireland and the world. There was some concern that Irish people were somewhat complacent about politics and particularly global politics. This point was made in all focus groups and particularly made by asylum seekers who felt Irish people did not understand why they were in Ireland. Although many participants had expressed that Ireland is "my country", but they said that some of the Irish people still have negative stereotypes about them and their countries, and that "they don't realise that there are millions of people living there. We are all different".

The women in this study were from different rural areas in East Cork, or from small towns and villages in East Cork. They did not identify with any one community group, but several were trying to actively engage within their own communities. There was some frustration about real integration into local level decision-making. There was a sense that the 'older' communities, the more established people who had lived in the area for generations, had a lot of power and control and that at times they did not understand what was happening. Decisions were made "behind closed doors" said one woman. Here again there was a discussion about the complacency of Irish people in relation to issues which affected the lives of all. The women couldn't fully understand why people were not taking action at a local level on issues which impact on their lives. Therefore, many women did not feel connected to the local decision making and did not know how to make an impact on for instance local authority decisions. However, the women were open to doing so and willing to engage. They all felt that voting was important.

7. Social and Cultural

There were mixed views on whether, or not, Irish people were warm and welcoming. There were many anecdotes about either how friendly or how unfriendly Irish people are and many opinions. A similar idea of Irish people was expressed many times; that there is an "outward friendliness initially, but Irish people are hard to really get to know and becomes friends with".

Isolation was mentioned, particularly by those living in smaller or more remote areas. There was a sense that there was some resistance and unfriendliness by some who perhaps did not "have to make an effort because they are already established".

While many women said they were happy and had made friends, there were quite a number of women who felt a need for social networks. This was particularly evident for those who were not working or who were caring for children in the home, although having Irish partners or husbands did help. As one woman said that "it is the wider network of friends that I miss…. We need one another. It is very hard to get to know people here because people have their networks already. I find it quite lonely". Social networks were considered important for having outlets outside the home, but also for practical reasons such as childcare and babysitting, which they missed their extended families and their support.

This linked to a discussion about how people socialise in Ireland. It was noted by several that the weather makes a difference to how people socialise. Life is not lived as much outdoors as it is in many countries. This has an impact on peoples' personality and how they live their lives. The 'pub culture' was alien to many of the women who talked about the need for different kinds of social outlets, especially ones which were safe for women to go to alone.

Those who practiced a religion or who had particular cultural rituals felt they could openly practice them in Ireland, although "heads do turn a bit when we wear our bright African clothes on Sundays, but it doesn't happen as often as it used to".

8. Racism, Prejudice and Discrimination

Previous resources and researches focused on this area, such as Christie (2003), Horgan, Martin and O'Riordan (2011), Haynes, Power, Devereux, et al. (2016), Fanning and Michael (2019), among others. Many of the issues relating to discrimination and prejudice that raised in our research have already been mentioned above, such as experiences of isolation as 'new communities', difficulties in accessing local political structures, lack of recognition of prior qualifications and experience, some landlord attitudes towards people paying through the housing assistance payment, etc.

Overall the participants in this study did not use the term 'racism' and did not express concern that they had experienced racism. However, a number of incidents were mentioned which would commonly be called 'racism' or at the very least 'prejudice' or 'stereotyping'. For instance, one woman said that her neighbours thought she was the housekeeper when she first moved the area with her husband; one woman said that people spoke to her about living in Direct Provision and 'taking our resources' and that 'we have our own homeless'; another spoke about how people had 'stereotypes' of African people. She said she felt that a lot of people still had an image of black people "backwards". She said she knew it was "not most people" but "still a lot of people are just not used to people with black skin around here". One Asian woman who wears a Hijab said that she does experience "a lot of name calling in some parts of Cork city and I feel intimidated and afraid".

Conclusion and Recommendations

Firstly, we believe that a wider research project might give a different picture. However, our discussions with 52 research participants does provide a strong flavour of opinions

on the theme of "integration" of migrant women in East Cork. In general, Ireland has not yet reached a point in many aspects of life, where it has come to terms with the realities of global migration flows, interdependence between countries, economies and educational systems. We cannot continue to operate effectively as a country unless policy makers, statutory bodies, educational institutions and the population as a whole, understand that Ireland and the world have changed forever.

We no longer live in a country with a primarily white Irish population. Many of our businesses, care supports and health systems rely on inward migration. As a relatively developed and safe country in a global context we also need to understand that we have a responsibility to respond to the many global crises that lead to forced migration. Refugees, asylum seekers and people who are called 'undocumented', are human beings to whom we have political and ethical duty, because they have the right to be here and they have the same human rights as any other human being living on our collective planet. We have to embrace these new realities, rise to the challenges and opportunities they pose and listen to the voices of migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers who live alongside us as neighbours and friends. Many people in a society have challenges associated with their particular lives. Migrant women also have specific challenges which relate to their migration/refugee/asylum status.

Clearly there are some challenges facing the women in this East Cork study. Some of the issues will require medium term to long term solutions, but some can be implemented in the short term. Ultimately if there is the political will these are issues which can be addressed by policy makers, educational institutions, statutory bodies, support services, the community and voluntary sector and the community in general making a concerted effort to work together.

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Analysing the Role of Universities in the Develoment of Learning Cities – a Case Study to Integrate Diverse Adult Learning Communities

Abstract

The research focus of the paper is to present a case study in community learning facilitated by a formal-learning agency, i.e. university. Taking a global perspective, the question that is posed to what extent universities can be agents in bridging formal and non-formal learning initiatives and act as forerunners for lifelong learning, since universities offer a wide range of learning opportunities and skills development based on adult student diversity. This process is also learning for the university itself. This paper brings to the fore some aspects of lifelong learning from the perspective in which universities can be the engines. This paper argues, having conducted interviews, that building diverse communities is no longer a policy-driven agenda, but a bottom-up inventiveness initiated by citizens, both local and global.

Key words: learning communities; solidarity, dialogue, cooperation, bridging people, cultural diversity

 "Knowledge is power. Information is liberating. Education is the premise of progress, in every society, in every family." Kofi Anan

The University of Pécs, Hungary embarked on a journey leading to new 'shores' of mutual respect, understanding and solidarity its local communities in the region long has been forgotten by policy makers. By successfully applying for UNESCO Global Network of Learning Cities network, since 2017 along with the City of Pécs annually organizes a 'Learning Festival' in cooperation with the Learning Region of Pécs, founded in the framework of the Pécs Festival Days in order to 'inhibit' public places for community and experimental learning. The 3rd Learning Cities Festival of September 2019 will build on past experiences while introducing nem practices to address notions of sustainability, intergenerational dialogue, while sharing methods of experimental and community learning in the European Cultural Capital 2010 city of Pécs. The paper is also designed to evaluate the role of the learning city model in community development in compliance with UNESCO's SDG 4 and SDG 11 for creating a diverse community in a multi-ethnic region striving for recognition via the methodology of interviews. The Learning Festival of Pécs (LFP) has become one of the trademarks of the city of Pécs since its creation three years ago. It covers various spheres of learning and presents a wide spectrum of learning

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tools as well. Learning city as defined by UNESCO is a city that uses all resources to promote learning, restore learning strength in communities, simplify it for and in the workplace, outspread new learning techniques, enhances the quality of it, fosters a culture of learning throughout life. Pécs is a Hungarian city located in the south west of the country, this city has been awarded from UNESCO the global learning city award in the year 2017, as part of learning cities community they make a lifelong learning festival to promote learning throughout life for all ages By showcasing a wide variety of enjoyable and informative events. The authors posit that students of all ages, are 'univer-city citizens' per se and can acquire new skills and attitudes in a wide range of contexts are significantly better equipped to adapt to changes in their own environments (UNESCO, 2015). Since one of the basic documents the Beijing Declaration on Building Learning Cities highlighted, the benefits of building a learning city include more improved social cohesion, increased soci- cultural prosperity, and more sustainable development (UIL, 2013), Pécs has been determined to utilize these opportunities in a region striving for economic improvement. The researchers conducted three interviews the participants, both students participating as visitors and participants at stands during the festival to see how they have seen the evolution of this festival throughout three years, how public interacts and most importantly how this festival adds to the various ways of learning and to the brand of Pécs as a European Cultural City. Interviews were conducted at the end of the last day of the festival so as to have a post event feedback and a global view of the learning process that have been going through various ways, time slots and in different locations of the city.

"...with a warm handshake"

The first interview was done with Tímea, one of the contributers and members of Pécs's religious education office. Tímea said that this was the first time for the office to be one of the participants of the learning festival in Pécs, each year they organize stands in a different city, and this year their presence occurred with Pécs Learning Festival.

Picture 1: The education office stands of the Bishopric of Pécs at the Pécs Learning City Festival 2019

The main objective of the religious education office is to education the public young audience (mainly children) about Christianity as a religion but most importantly about Catechesis and its methods. During the Learning Festival the main target of this office become youngsters and children. There were many tools used for the education purpose for this event: dolls, coloring books, animated books, candles, paintings and games. Tímea precisely described these tools as efficient for various reasons: they captivate young children which creates a desire to visit the stand, that changes afterwards into a need to learn more about the Catechesis, religion and various topics offered by the office. These tools represent also a method to simplify the knowledge to children and public audience and create a transferred canvas that could be used over and over among the public audience when shifting this knowledge to others.

Choosing to be part of the Learning Festival of Pécs was far from an arbitrary matter, being part of this event was a well prepared in date, venue and participation. The learning Festival has become one a journey itself where thousands of people from all over Hungary, Europe and the world come to discover the city, the local specialties in food, tradition, music and culture. It is a way of acquiring knowledge without being mentally aware of the learning process. This is why Tímea and her team from the Religious Education Office of Pécs have opt for this particular yearly event to present themselves and what they offer to the audience. Another very crucial motive n choosing this type of creative festival learning is that members of the office are being put outside of their regular on office routine and get to meet the target audience (children and youngsters) in the street and have them discover the creative festival setting. On the other hand, when we asked Tímea about the challenges they may encounter during these festivities and type of learning, the major challenge was the one related to bringing up adults especially and getting them curious about learning about Catechist or try the various non-traditional tools. Tímea finished our interview by saying: "Learning can never done by force, just like God would give us his help and wait for us to come to him, we follow the same pattern, we offer the knowledge and welcome every new comers with a warm handshake."

Inclusivity – non-biased age groups

Our third interviewee was a Jordanian student, Suhad from the University of Pécs. She claimed that since many of the events of the learning festival were organized in the center of the city, "it was is perfectly reachable place by all means, the organization was great, all members were helpful even when they couldn't speak English they have let me participate in all activities. I was happy about it because regularly I don't interact with Hungarian especially old people, but they were some old ladies I have dealt with and they were welcoming and cheerful." She also emphasized that the education methodology was non-formal and was very experimental, "I could walk from one stand to another, asking questions, taking photos, participating in the activities introduced,". There were many activities including arts and crafts, physical games such as walking on the rope, spiritual activities as yoga, medical activities measuring blood pressure and body fat, the student

kept listing and added: "For me, it was an outstanding experience because it was fun and I actually got to learn many things I didn't know before.

One of the most amazing things about the festival is that it was made for all ages from child age to elderly people, the activities included could match any age group, and I was fascinated by the arts and crafts activities as they had lots of options like drawing on cards, telling the differences between two pictures taken by a university teacher, finding common points between many photos". Having asked her impressions about diversity and tolerance, Suhad was eager to note: "I was treated well and respectfully especially being a foreign girl wearing a Hijab and this was a great thing for me. I truly appreciated how everyone was helpful, it was totally peaceful, we chatted with all generations included and it was great. It felt good being asked about my culture and how do we do things in my country. A true inclusive experience, indeed".

Learning for all

During our tour at the Learning Festival, we were captivated by a stand which combined a very number of drawings and paintings with beautiful colors, this is where I met Julia she was one of the members in charge of the education center for gypsies or frequent travelers. The center is also based in Pécs and its main objective is to attract kinds among gypsy travelers so as to have the education they need. The center has created a kindergarten and an elementary school for this purpose and the classes and tailor made for this particular target group that respects their needs, lifestyle and attributes.

Picture 2: The stand of roma pastorate at the festival

Being part of the Learning Festival of Pécs has built on a wide community of gypsy kids that join the classes offered by the organization, it is an excellent way to promote not only for the office but also for the atypical learning methods specifically designed for the targeted group as Julia says. The Festival of Learning in Pécs is a distinguished opportunity to also showcase various kids that are designed for the gypsy travelers young kids that would introduce the learning process to them, motivate and stimulate the learning mental processes through learning by doing, using games, drawings and interactive social processes. On the other hand, Julia emphasizes on the fact that due to

the LFP, their office is having an extensive number of participants in the festival that end up joining the office and getting their youngsters into the preschools and kindergarten established by this office, but also a great opportunity for them to market the office to foreigners and tourists that most of them become fascinated by the idea of having tailor made learning classes for a group that often does not succeed frequently in finding a position within a traditional education system. Julia finished her speech by expressing gratitude for having such a festival that builds big communities of visitors each year and that markets their original education and learning model made exclusively for young gypsy travelers kids.

The Learning Festival from a Moroccan perspective

Through the three days of the Learning Festival of Pécs and through the various stands, events and actions, as an international student in Pécs, the Moroccan author could see the effectiveness of such an event on international students like me, since it is the first meeting point with the Hungarian culture and civic society but also an opportunity for learning by doing, learning by seeing and learning by experiencing. In addition to the religious teacher and learning for all initiatives or projects, we have witnessed several other "learning opportunities" in which the participants can learn on different spheres and through various methods: first aid, doll making workshops and even gambling. As a student of the University of Pécs, the festival made my theoretical vision and hypotheses about lifelong learning quite visual, the festival gathers groups from various ages, genders and preferences to build a collective knowledge that can be classified as non-traditional learning, through which the participant can get involved in workshops and courses that do not apply only for specific requirements, previous knowledge or target group, the learning environment is a common cultural and learning space. On the other hand, Pécs targets tourists from various countries and continents through this festival and have managed to have a very diverse community of visitors this year as well through what I have witnessed but also encouraged the participation of local organizations and national offices to be part of the radiance of Pécs as a European capital of culture since 2010 that have shown its capacities to distinguish itself through the European sphere.

Summary

We have posited that by taking a global perspective, universities can be agents in bridging formal and non-formal learning initiatives and can act as forerunners for lifelong learning, since universities offer a wide range of learning opportunities and skills development based on adult student diversity. As we have seen from the interviews, this process is also learning for the university itself broadening its perspectives on intergenerational dialogue and inclusivity. This paper bought to the fore some aspects of lifelong learning from the perspective of the universities, subsequently argues that learning society has a vital role in empowering citizens and effecting a transition to sustainable societies (Szederkényi, Németh, 2018: 132). On a local scale, universities are now urged to analyze and implement new practices to abide the changing contexts in which adult learners and communities in our ever-changing world find themselves.

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