

ANDRAGOŠKA SPOZNANJA

Studies in Adult Education and Learning

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30-LETNICA REVIJE ANDRAGOŠKA SPOZNANJA

Prva številka revije *Andragoška spoznanja* je izšla leta 1995, kar pomeni, da letos obeležujemo 30-letnico. V prvem uvodniku revije je Ana Krajnc (1995), glavna (in ustanovna) urednica, poudarila, da so *Andragoška spoznanja* »osrednja slovenska revija, ki bo vsebinsko enakovredno pokrivala *vsa področja izobraževanja odraslih*« (str. 3, poudarek v originalu). Gotovo po 30 letih publikacija ohranja tovrstno izhodiščno poslanstvo, saj objavlja prispevke s širšega področja družboslovnih in humanističnih ved, pa tudi drugih znanstvenih disciplin, ki obravnavajo raznolike vidike učenja in izobraževanja v odraslosti in starosti ter s tem povezane pojave, kakor tudi prispevke, ki pokrivajo različna področja izobraževanja odraslih, kot so splošno izobraževanje odraslih (pismenost), izobraževanje za dejavno državljanstvo in migrante, visokošolsko izobraževanje odraslih, izobraževanje in usposabljanje na delovnem mestu (učenje na delu), skupnostno izobraževanje, ljudsko izobraževanje, izobraževanje v muzejih, galerijah in knjižnicah, izobraževanje na daljavo in drugo (gl. Rubenson, 2010).

Revija je vsa ta leta prav tako odpirala prostor za širjenje stroke, krepila dialog in izmenjavo spoznanj med raziskovalci in praktiki, omogočala polemiko in kritiko ter imela pomembno vlogo pri razvoju in uvajanju novosti v izobraževanje odraslih v slovenski praksi, kot je predvidela Ana Krajnc (1995) ob začetku njenega izhajanja, reflektirala Nives Ličen (2014) ob 20-letnici revije in čemur pritrjujemo tudi sami v času našega urednikovanja.

Analiza ključnih besed vseh člankov in uvodnikov iz treh desetletij izhajanja kaže, da prispevki *Andragoških spoznanj* pričakovano najpogosteje obravnavajo različne izobraževalne in učne procese. »Izobraževanje odraslih«, »izobraževanje«, »vseživljenjsko učenje« in »učenje« so edine ključne besede s frekvenco pojavnosti nad 30 (gl. Slika 1).¹ Hkrati se vsaj trikrat med ključnimi besedami pojavi še 36 drugih izrazov za poimenovanje (različnih) procesov izobraževanja in učenja, kar kaže na precejšnjo konceptualno in pojmovno raznolikost (npr. priložnostno učenje, medgeneracijsko učenje, visokošolsko izobraževanje odraslih). Skupno se med vsemi 3307 ključnimi besedami prispevkov skoraj polovica

1 V večini člankov in uvodnikov so ključne besede že navedene, pri preostalih (predvsem prispevki iz prvih osmih letnikov) pa smo te izluščili iz samostalniških in posamostaljenih besed in besednih zvez naslovov prispevkov. Vse ključne besede smo pustili v izvorni obliki, v nekaterih primerih smo zgolj v prevladujočo obliko združili besede s skupnim pomenom in različnim slovničnim številom (npr. reforma/reforme, študijski krožek/studijski krožki, učeča se organizacija/učeče se organizacije) in poenotili različno zapisane sinonimne besede (npr. študentje/študenti, izpopolnjevanje/spopolnjevanje, IKT/informacijsko-komunikacijska tehnologija). Celoten kronološki seznam ključnih besed je dostopen na spletni strani revije kot priloga temu predgovoru.

(48 %) ključnih besed pojavi zgolj enkrat, 12 % ključnih besed se pojavi po dvakrat, najpogostejših 40 % ključnih besed pa je skupaj s frekvenco pojavnosti navedenih na Sliki 1.

Slika 1

Frekvenca pojavnosti ključnih besed člankov in uvodnikov v 30 letnikih revije

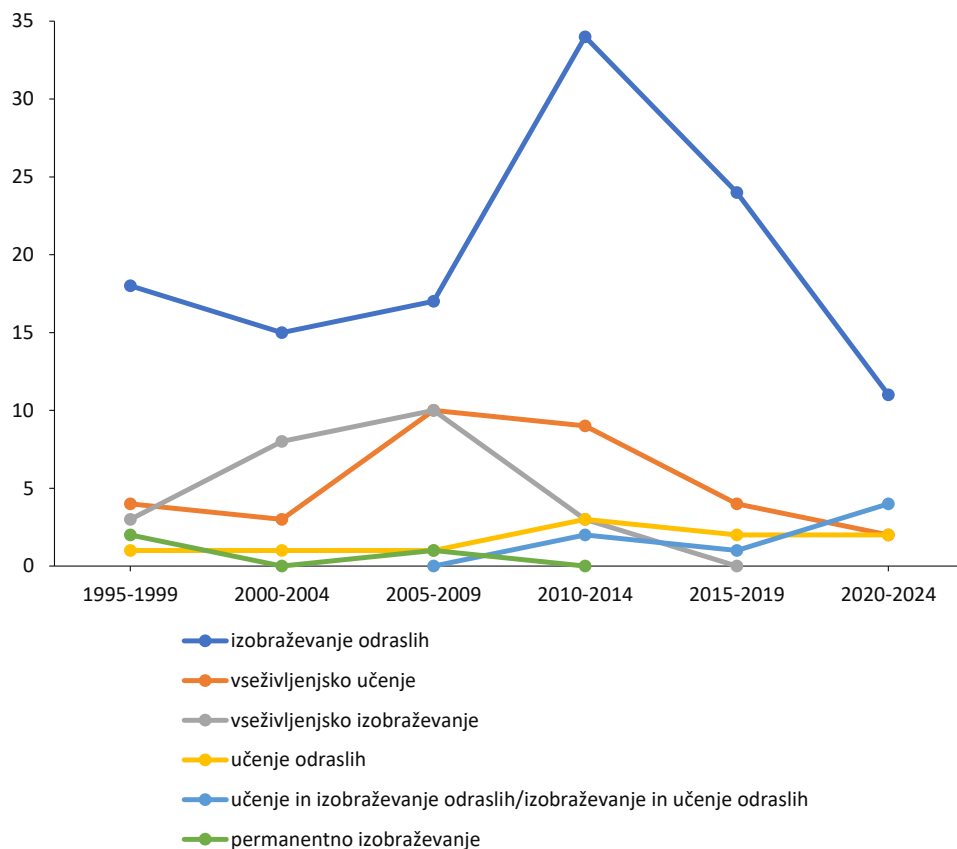


Opomba. Na sliki so navedene ključne besede, ki se pojavijo v vsaj treh različnih člankih in/ali uvodnikih.

Opazne so tudi nekatere spremembe v rabi konceptov skozi različna obdobja izhajanja revije, zato na Grafu 1 po petletnih obdobjih prikazujemo še frekvenco pojavnosti posameznih konceptov, ki specifično obravnavajo izobraževanje in učenje odraslih.

Graf 1

Osrednji izrazi za poimenovanje izobraževanja in učenja odraslih, ki so se v 30 letnikih pojavljali med ključnimi besedami uvodnikov in člankov *Andragoških spoznanj*



Opomba. Podatki so prikazani po petletjih, pri čemer je pomembno opozoriti, da je revija v obdobju 1995–2018 izhajala štirikrat letno, v obdobju 2019–2020 trikrat letno ter nato dvakrat letno. Število prispevkov in posledično število ključnih besed se je ob tem razlikovalo tudi med posameznimi letniki in številkami. Od skupno 3307 ključnih besed jih tako 352 sodi v prvo, 497 v drugo, 634 v tretje, 791 v četrto, 644 v peto ter 389 v šesto petletje izhajanja revije.

Ob pričakovani prevladi »izobraževanja odraslih« je bolj presenetljiv znaten upad rabe termina v zadnjem desetletju, v katerem je vse pogostejše njegovo pojavljanje v skupnem kontekstu z učenjem odraslih – kot »učenje in izobraževanje odraslih« oz. kot »izobraževanje in učenje odraslih«. Preostali koncepti v zadnjem desetletju prav tako izkazujejo upad, kar gre delno pripisati skupni manjši frekvenci ključnih besed. Kljub temu je opazen upad tudi pri »vseživljenjskem učenju« in »vseživljenjskem izobraževanju«, ki sta oba svoj vrhunec doživela v obdobju 2005–2009. Takšen upad odseva širše globalne trende, saj je dokaj skladen z angleškim govornim območjem, kot v tej številki *Andragoških spoznanj* v svojem članku pokaže Shalini Singh. Ob tem sta se očitno dva od navedenih konceptov

v tem obdobju povsem poslovala iz rabe: »permanentno izobraževanje« se je namreč nazadnje med ključnimi besedami pojavilo leta 2007, »vseživljenjsko izobraževanje«, nekdanji drugi najpogostejši koncept, pa leta 2014.

V zadnjih 10 letih postaja revija zaradi odprtega dostopa do člankov, objavljanja prispevkov v angleškem jeziku ter privabljanja (prepoznavnejših) mednarodnih avtorjev vse bolj vidna tudi med strokovnjaki in raziskovalci s področja izobraževanja odraslih v širšem mednarodnem prostoru. V zadnjih petih letih so poleg avtorjev iz Slovenije v njej objavljali avtorji iz Severne Amerike (ZDA, Kanade), Evrope (Bosne in Hercegovine, Cipra, Češke, Danske, Estonije, Finske, Hrvaške, Irske, Italije, Madžarske, Malte, Nemčije, Norveške, Portugalske, Slovaške, Srbije, Španije, Švedske, Združenega kraljestva), Afrike (Nigerije, Južne Afrike) in azijsko-pacifiške regije (Avstralije, Indije, Južne Koreje, Laos). Z odprtim dostopom do člankov prek spletne strani revije pa se je povečal tudi nabor bralcev, ki danes ne prihajajo zgolj iz Slovenije (čeprav ti ostajajo najštevilčnejši), ampak tudi iz drugih držav. Največji spletni doseg revija dosega v ZDA, Združenem kraljestvu, Hrvaški, Nemčiji, Kanadi, Avstraliji, Srbiji, Grčiji in Kitajski, večji nabor njenih rednih bralcev pa prihaja tudi iz Italije, Avstrije, Bosne in Hercegovine, Portugalske, Ukrajine, Češke, Madžarske, Švedske, Irske, Finske in Indije.

Posledično se je z odpiranjem revije širši mednarodni skupnosti od leta 2015 dalje povečala naša citiranost v revijah, ki so indeksirane v mednarodnih bibliografskih bazah, kot sta npr. Scopus in WoS, znatno se je okrepil mednarodni uredniški odbor, ki ga sestavljajo vidnejši akademiki in raziskovalci izobraževanja odraslih v evropskem prostoru, revija pa se je vključila v kar nekaj mednarodnih bibliografskih baz (npr. Erih Plus, DOAJ, CrossRef, EBSCO, ProQuest, Education Research Abstracts Online (ERA), CNKI, VOCEDplus, Asian Science Citation Index (ASCI)). Žal vsi ti napor (še) niso vodili do vključitve revije v mednarodno bibliografsko bazo Scopus, za katero si je uredniški odbor močno prizadeval, a bil pri tem žal trikrat neuspešen (v letih 2017, 2020 in 2022). Ključna dva »očitka« reviji s strani Scopusa sta, da ima premalo citatov v revijah, ki so že vključene v bazo Scopus (še posebej glede na leta izhajanja), ter da številne dobre mednarodne revije že obravnavajo tematiko izobraževanja odraslih. Čeprav argument o (premajhni) citiranosti lahko sprejmemo kot resno pomanjkljivost revije, čemur bo treba v prihodnosti posvetiti več truda – kljub temu, da so citati tudi predmet spora v mednarodni akademski skupnosti, saj je težko reči, kaj natančno kažejo citati (npr. negativni citati lahko kažejo na nestrinjanje ali iskanje napak v drugem dokumentu), citiranost se prav tako razlikuje med disciplinami, revije, ki ne izhajajo v angleškem jeziku, pa imajo le malo možnosti za mednarodno citiranje (Aman in Botte, 2017) – je predvsem drugi očitek reviji (in področju izobraževanja odraslih) skrb vzbujajoč. Sprašujemo se, na podlagi kakšnih kriterijev multinacionalni založniški gigant, kot je Elsevier, odloča o tem, kolikšno število revij potrebuje neko področje ali disciplina in kdaj je ta številka že prevelika. Še drugače. Imajo področja, kot so medicina, psihologija ali npr. ekonomija, že dovoljšno število dobrih mednarodnih revij, da (novonastale) revije, ki se želijo indeksirati v bazi Scopus, tega ne morejo doseči? Je revija, ki obravnava marginalizirano področje izobraževanja

odraslih, dovolj dobičkonosna za multinacionalne založniške gigante, ki na plečih akademikov, raziskovalcev, uredniških odborov in recenzentov v industriji tržnega znanstvenega založništva kuje ogromne dobičke?

Z odpiranjem revije mednarodni skupnosti smo akademikom in raziskovalcem s področja izobraževanja odraslih, ki ne prihajajo z dominantnega anglosaškega območja (območja, ki po številu revij in avtorjev dominira področju izobraževanja odraslih), prav tako omogočili prostor za izražanje drugih nacionalnih akademskih tradicij ter praktičnih in kulturnih izkušenj, ki ob globalni prevladi anglosaške (akademske) kulture postajajo vse bolj obrobne (prim. Fejes idr., 2019). A čeprav revija v svoji uredniški usmeritvi v zadnjih letih sledi načelom znanstvenih objav z vključevanjem tujih avtorjev ter objavljanjem v angleškem jeziku, hkrati še vedno spodbuja in neguje slovenski strokovni jezik z objavljanim prispevkov tako uveljavljenih domačih avtorjev kakor tudi mladih (doktorskih) raziskovalcev in praktikov.

Ob 30-letnici revije se zahvaljujemo vsem avtorjem, bralcem, recenzentom, urednikom, uredniškim odboru in založniku za vaš prispevek, saj brez vas reviji ne bi uspelo izhajati že 30 let. Lepo vabljeni k branju intervjuja z glavnimi in odgovornimi uredniki revije *Andragoška spoznanja* ob 30-letnici, v katerem postavljamo v ospredje vrsto izzivov, s katerimi se je soočala, se sooča in se bo soočala revija, ki proučuje izobraževanje odraslih, kakor tudi k branju pričujoče tematske številke *Naproti vseživljenjskemu učenju in temu, da se nikogar ne pusti ob strani: Razmišljanje o vlogah ključnih nosilcev izobraževanja odraslih za trajnostno prihodnost*.

Borut Mikulec, glavni in odgovorni urednik

Tadej Košmerl, tehnični urednik

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THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF *STUDIES IN ADULT EDUCATION AND LEARNING*

This year marks the 30th anniversary since the publication of the first issue of *Studies in Adult Education and Learning* in 1995. The editor in chief (as well as founding editor) Ana Krajnc (1995) wrote in the first editorial that *Studies in Adult Education and Learning* is “a central Slovenian journal, which will cover *all areas of adult education* equally” (p. 3, italics in the original). Thirty years later, we continue the journal’s original mission by publishing a diverse array of contributions from a wide range of social sciences, humanities and other scientific disciplines that deal with learning and education in adulthood and old age, as well as related phenomena, along with contributions that cover the different areas of adult education such as general adult education (literacy), active citizenship and migrant education, adult higher education, workplace education and training (work-based learning), community education, popular education, education in museums, galleries and libraries, distance education and more (see Rubenson, 2010).

Over the past three decades, the journal has created a space for the expansion of the profession, strengthened dialogue and knowledge transfer between researchers and practitioners, facilitated critical discussion, and played an important role in the development and introduction of new practices into Slovenian adult education, a mission that Ana Krajnc (1995) envisioned when the journal began, Nives Ličen (2014) reiterated on the occasion of its 20th anniversary, and that we have continued to uphold during our time as editors.

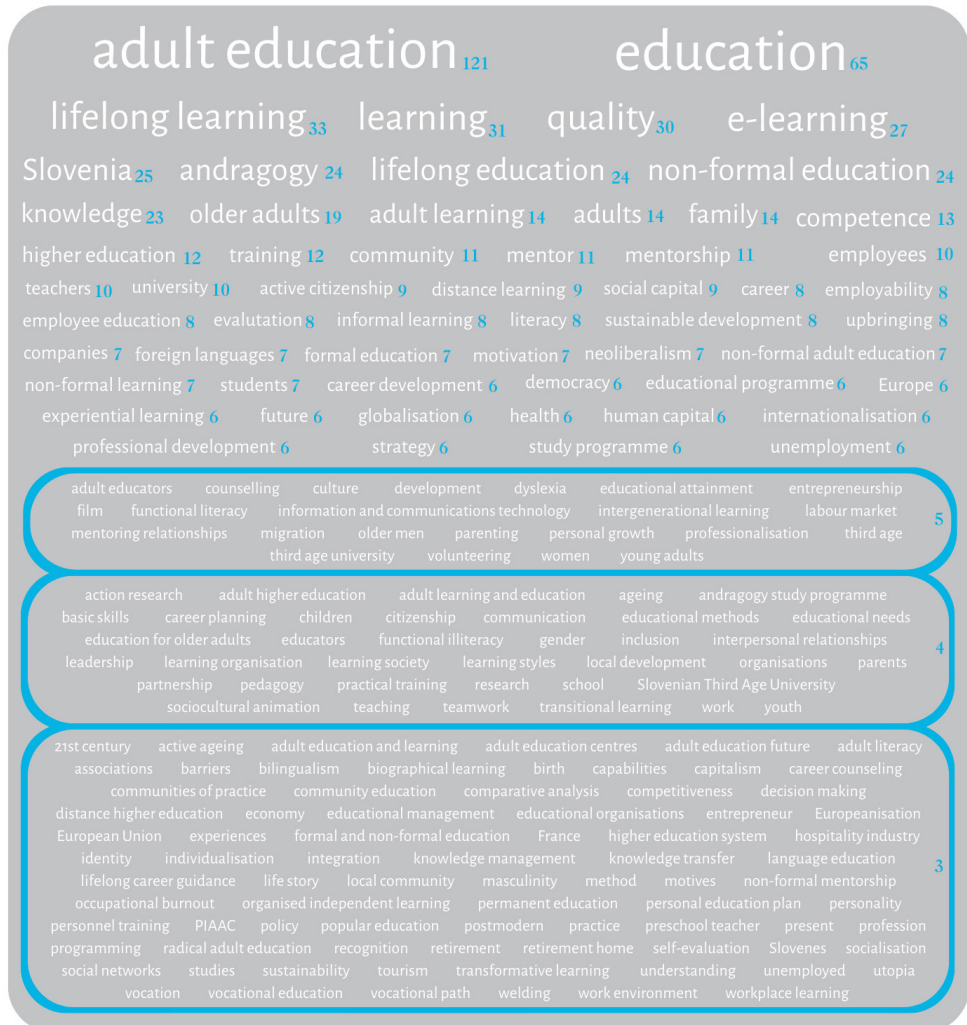
To mark the occasion, we have conducted an analysis of all the keywords from the articles and editorials of the past three decades, which has shown, as expected, that the most common topics addressed in *Studies in Adult Education and Learning* include various educational and learning processes. “Adult education”, “education”, “lifelong learning” and “learning” are the only keywords with a frequency of occurrence above 30 (see Figure 1).¹ 36 other terms for (different) educational and learning processes appear at least three times among the keywords. This indicates considerable conceptual diversity (e.g. informal

1 The majority of the articles and editorials provide keywords. When this is not the case (especially in the first eight volumes of the journal), we used the nouns and noun phrases in the titles. The keywords were used in their original form, with minor exceptions. If keywords with the same meaning appeared in different versions, we counted all instances of occurrence under the more frequently used version. This occurred in the case of singular and plural words (e.g. reform/reforms, learning organisation/learning organisations) and synonyms that did not use the same spelling or used abbreviations (e.g. ICT/information and communications technology). The full chronological list of the keywords is provided on the website as an appendix to this preface.

learning, intergenerational learning, adult higher education). Of the 3307 keywords in total, almost half (48%) appear only once and 12% appear twice. The most commonly used keywords (40%) and their frequency of occurrence are listed in Figure 1.

Figure 1

The frequency of occurrence of the keywords used in articles and editorials published in Adult Education and Learning in the past 30 years

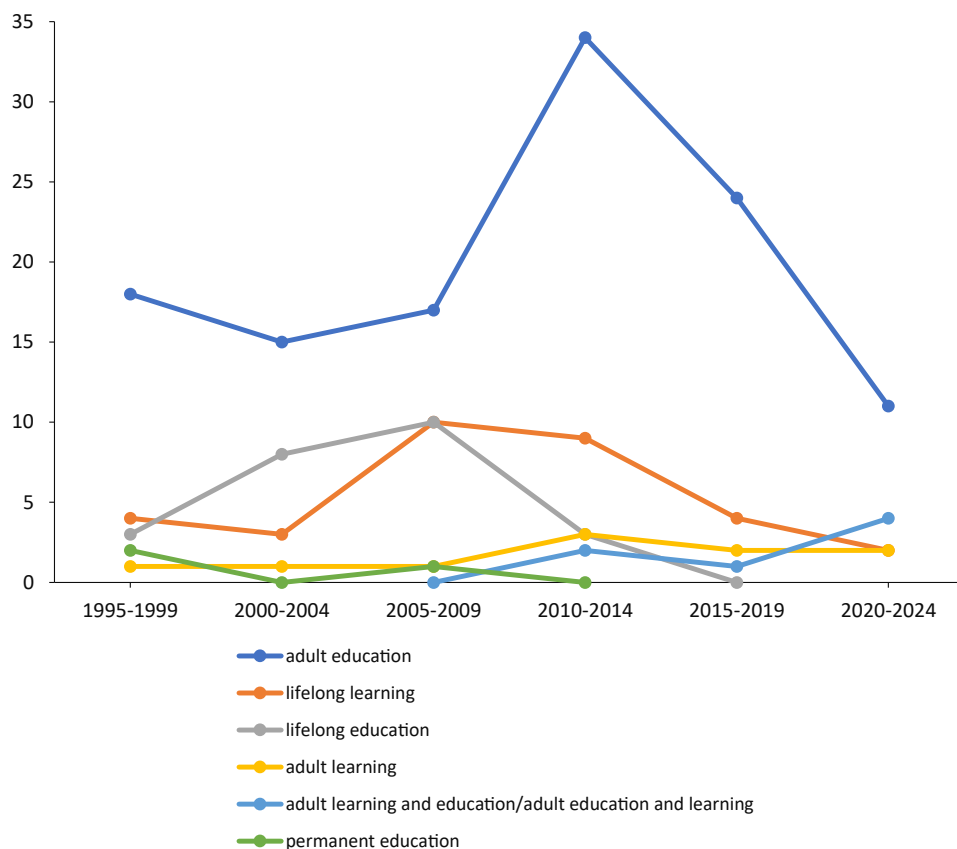


Note. The keywords listed above appear in at least three different articles and/or editorials.

Certain changes in how individual concepts were used at various times in the 30-year period are also noticeable. Graph 1 illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the terminology that specifically deals with adult education and learning in five-year intervals.

Graph 1

The main terms used to discuss adult education and learning that have appeared in the keywords of editorials and articles in Adult Education and Learning in the past 30 years



Note. As the graph shows the use of terms in five year increments, it is important to note that the journal was published four times a year between 1995 and 2018, three times a year between 2019 and 2020, and twice a year after that. The number of contributions and thus the number of keywords also varies across journal volumes and issues. Of the total 3307 keywords, 352 are from the first, 497 from the second, 634 from the third, 791 from the fourth, 644 from the fifth and 389 from the sixth five-year publication period.

The predominant use of “adult education” was to be expected, but what is more surprising is a significant decline in its use in the last decade, when it increasingly appears in the same context as adult learning – in the phrase “adult learning and education” or “adult education and learning”. There is also a decline in the use of the rest of the concepts in the last decade, which can in part be attributed to the overall lower frequency of keywords. However, there is also a noticeable decline in the use of “lifelong learning” and “lifelong education”, both of which experienced their peak in the 2005–2009 period. This reflects broader global trends, which have been fairly consistent across the English-speaking world, as Shalini

Singh shows in her article in this issue. Two concepts appear to have fallen entirely out of use in this period: “permanent education” last appeared among the keywords in 2007, and “lifelong education”, once the second most frequently used concept, in 2014.

In the last decade, open access to articles, publishing contributions in English and attracting (more notable) international authors have increased the visibility of the journal among adult education professionals and researchers in the international arena. In the last five years, the journal has published work by authors from North America (USA, Canada), Europe (Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Croatia, Ireland, Italy, Hungary, Malta, Germany, Norway, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Serbia, Spain, Sweden, the United Kingdom), Africa (Nigeria, South Africa) and the Asia-Pacific region (Australia, India, South Korea, Laos). Open access to articles via the website has increased our range of readers, who today come not only from Slovenia (although these readers remain the most numerous) but also from other countries. The largest online reach is recorded in the USA, Great Britain, Croatia, Germany, Canada, Australia, Serbia, Greece and China, and a substantial set of regular readers also comes from Italy, Austria, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Portugal, Ukraine, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Sweden, Ireland, Finland and India.

Since making the journal more accessible to the wider international community in 2015, citations in journals indexed in international bibliographic databases such as Scopus and WoS have increased, the international editorial board has been bolstered by prominent European academics and researchers of adult education, and the journal has been included in quite a few international bibliographic databases (e.g. Erih Plus, DOAJ, CrossRef, EBSCO, ProQuest, Education Research Abstracts Online (ERA), CNKI, VOCEDplus, Asian Science Citation Index (ASCI)). Unfortunately, despite the editorial board's efforts, *Studies in Adult Education and Learning* has not been included in the Scopus international bibliographic database (yet). The two key criticisms provided by Scopus are that the journal has an insufficient number of citations in journals already included in the Scopus database (especially in view of how long the journal has existed) and that many high quality international journals which deal with adult education already exist. The argument concerning citations can be accepted as a serious shortcoming and will require further effort in the future, although it should be noted that citations are also an object of dispute in the international academic community because it is difficult to say what it is exactly they show (e.g. negative citations may indicate disagreement or fault-finding in another document); additionally, citations vary between disciplines and journals not published in English have few opportunities for international citation (Aman and Botte, 2017). It is especially the second criticism of the journal (and the field of adult education) that is cause for concern. What criteria does a multinational publishing giant like Elsevier use to decide how many journals a certain field or discipline needs? When does this number become too high? Or to put it another way, do fields such as medicine, psychology or economics, for example, already have a sufficient number of high quality international journals that it is impossible for other (newly established) journals to be indexed in the Scopus database? Is a journal

that addresses the marginalised field of adult education profitable enough for multinational publishing giants that make huge profits off the shoulders of academics, researchers, editorial boards and reviewers in the commercial scholarly publishing industry?

By opening its doors to the international community, *Studies in Adult Education and Learning* has created a space for academics and researchers in the field of adult education who do not come from the dominant Anglo-Saxon area (which dominates adult education in terms of both the number of journals and authors) to speak about their national academic traditions, practical and cultural experiences, which are becoming more and more marginal due to the global dominance of Anglo-Saxon (academic) culture (cf. Fejes et al., 2019). Although the editorial direction of *Studies in Adult Education and Learning* is aligned with the principles of scientific publication by including foreign authors and publishing in English, it at the same time continues to encourage and nurture Slovenian adult education and its field-specific language by publishing both established domestic authors as well as young (doctoral) researchers and practitioners.

On the occasion of the journal's 30th anniversary, we would like to express our gratitude to all of our authors, readers, reviewers, editors, editorial boards and publishers. Thank you for helping the journal reach this important milestone. To mark the occasion, we cordially invite you to read an interview with the editors, in which we discuss the past, present and future challenges of publishing an adult education journal, as well as the current thematic issue entitled *Towards Lifelong Learning and Leaving No One Behind: Rethinking the Role of Adult Education Stakeholders for a Sustainable Future*.

Borut Mikulec, Editor in Chief

Tadej Košmerl, Technical Editor

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TOWARDS LIFELONG LEARNING AND LEAVING NO ONE BEHIND: RETHINKING THE ROLE OF ADULT EDUCATION STAKEHOLDERS FOR A SUSTAINABLE FUTURE

The call for the right to Lifelong Learning marks a remarkable shift from education to Lifelong Learning in global policies (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2022a). For adult learning, it implies a change from provisions organised within adult education sectors to adult learning opportunities available within the framework of Lifelong Learning. This shift has resulted from a transition lasting over more than half a century and has sparked debates among stakeholders regarding the changing power dynamics among them and considerations about the future. Papers in the current issue provide insights regarding this transition and reflect upon the possibilities for stakeholders to play a constructive role in shaping the future of adult learning.

Since the late 1960s, a rise in the establishment of adult education sectors could be seen globally in correspondence with the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) arguing for the creation of lifetime educational opportunities for adults. Thus, UNESCO argued for the creation of a fourth sector including *Further and Continuing Education* (after secondary and tertiary education) and *Second Chance Education* (where access to education in prior life was unavailable). The rise peaked in Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries until the mid-1990s, after which a decline came and Lifelong Learning policies took over. The rise continued until the 2000s in low and middle-income countries, after which their adult education sectors started declining even though Lifelong Learning policies have not necessarily taken over.

Adult education sectors are experiencing declining attention from policy makers and the impact is visible in terms of a cut down in resources. While the offers with predominant adult literacy components are increasingly being merged with school education, the rest of the offers without an orientation towards employability are being moved under culture policies in most contexts (Global Education Monitoring Report Team, 2015; Singh et al., 2022). On the other hand, employability-oriented offers are being gradually integrated as adult learning within the larger framework of Lifelong Learning. These changes are evident in the CONFINTEA VII outcome document and its supporting documents that argue for placing

the learner at the centre of the (knowledge) economy and the (knowledge) society to ensure a sustainable future.

Resources play a major role in shaping this transition. To be at the centre of the (knowledge) economy and the (knowledge) society, the learner needs to be either rich or funded by other stakeholders. With the growth of knowledge economies (and hence knowledge societies), the need for constant learning has become the norm. However, it was already evident in the 1970s and 80s that the state was unable to bear all the costs for adult learners over their lifetime and alternative sources for investments in learning were to be explored. The themes regarding the rise and decline of adult education sectors globally, the integration of adult learning into the Lifelong Learning Framework and the role of resources are discussed in the paper *Beyond Education: Mapping Policy Changes From the Sectors of Adult Education to Lifelong Learning Ecosystems (1972–2022)*.

In OECD countries, two models have been most common. While some countries pushed the individual to share the costs with the state and bear the consequences for (not) investing in learning, other OECD countries adopted cost-sharing among stakeholders, including the state, private companies, collective groups (like civil society and social partners), and the individual learners (and their families). The financial crisis of 2007–08 exposed the perils of the former model and most OECD countries now ensure investments in Lifelong Learning through cost-sharing (see also Singh, 2023).

An increasing Matthew Effect among learners (participants vs. non-participants in Lifelong Learning), however, is visible in the OECD countries. Despite financial support, learners are affected by other factors, for instance the unavailability of adequate offers, the freedom to choose learning opportunities, supporting arrangements to induce learning like paid leave, etc. Two papers in this issue, *Challenging the Matthew Effect Through Individual Learning Accounts? Case Studies from Denmark and France* by Shalini Singh and Søren Ehlers, and *Promoting Equal Access in German Adult Education: Navigating Resource Mobilisation and the Commitment to “Leaving No One Behind”* by Sophie Lächer, raise this concern. While in Denmark, social partners are a leading force in developing policies and allocating resources, private companies take the lead in Germany. Nevertheless, the consequences are similar in both cases. More investments are made into the high-skilled, younger learners who comprise the workforce, whereas the low-skilled, older adults (over 40) and those who are not a part of the mainstream workforce are often left behind. Empirics shows that this is a common trend in OECD countries. The OECD argues for the development of more flexible systems or rather *ecosystems* to attract stakeholders, increase investments and enhance participation in learning. Mapping the transition in the OECD countries, at least in terms of policy, shows a move towards such learning *ecosystems* where learning opportunities could be collectively created in sustainable ways.

Thus, no matter how unrealistic the call for the *right to Lifelong Learning for All* at Marakech may sound right now, it appears to project a vision which is accommodating,

sustainable, organic, and filled with possibilities for learners. The fourth paper, *“Leaving No One Behind” As a New Motto for the UN System: Its Impact on Portuguese Adult Education Policy* by Rosanna Barros, depicts a situation where the transition is evident in policy, but implementation is a challenge. The Portuguese case also showcases how the European Union (EU) is supporting its member states in providing opportunities for Lifelong Learning and trying to facilitate what UNESCO is also asking for. However, the supporting documents of CONFINTEA VII show that the EU is far ahead in facilitating the transition towards Lifelong Learning Ecosystems even though the focus until now has been on formal aspects or Lifelong Learning Systems only (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2022b). The difference and its implications are discussed in the paper *Beyond Education: Mapping Policy Changes From the Sectors of Adult Education to Lifelong Learning Ecosystems (1972–2022)*.

The term Lifelong Learning is often mentioned in the policy discourse of various countries due to the increasing influence of international organisations, but the transition to Lifelong Learning is still far from being a reality in most low and middle-income countries (Singh, 2023). These contexts are characterised by economies *without* high-end knowledge business (unlike the OECD countries), abundant cheap labour, and traditional education markets with massive profits, because of which Lifelong Learning is not a pressing need. Stakeholders who control education policies in these contexts do not benefit from a transition to Lifelong Learning and disadvantaged adult learners often remain at the receiving end (Singh et al., forthcoming).

With similar nomenclature, policy makers keep introducing the same old provisions and maintain the *status quo*. For instance, in India, the education system predominated by crony capitalism (nexus between the political elite and big business) has ensured that the provisions should *appear* up-to-date but do not alter the *status quo* (Singh, 2024a). Therefore, a program predominantly meant for literacy (one of the most basic aspects of adult education) and basic skills has been renamed as ULLAS, *Understanding Lifelong Learning for All in Society*. Lifelong Learning has been thereby introduced as a component of Second Chance education (Adult Education; Government of India, 2024). Similar examples can be cited from all over the world where a certain terminology is adopted but actual changes cannot be identified.

To understand what is meant by the transition as per the UNESCO documents, it is relevant to compare the difference between the *Sectorial Approach to Education (and the Adult Education Sector)* and *LLL Ecosystems (and ALE within the Framework of LLL)*. Table 1 provides a snapshot of this comparison using some basic questions viz. who, what, when, where, why, and how, instrumental in the transition. The comparison is based on four UNESCO/UIIL policy documents used in the paper *Beyond Education: Mapping Policy Changes from the Sectors of Adult Education to Lifelong Learning Ecosystems (1972–2022)* as they capture some of the most relevant turning points in the transition. To highlight the differences, some basic characteristics of the *ideal type* of Education Systems and Lifelong Learning Ecosystems are discussed. While transitions take place, some of the

Table 1

Comparison between the Sectorial Approach to Education (and the Adult Education (AE) Sector) and Lifelong Learning (LLL) Ecosystems (and Adult Learning and Education (ALE) within the Framework of LLL)

Criteria	Sectorial Approach to Education and the AE Sector (Figure 3)	LLL Ecosystems and ALE within the Framework of LLL (Figure 4)
Who?	Who sets the agenda?	Choices for the learner are available and the learner may choose what is preferable and how it is preferable
	Primary stakeholders	Learners and providers of learning possibilities, facilitators in learning
	Who is the learner?	A self-directed learner able to navigate the Learning Ecosystem according to their own needs, preferences, and capabilities
	Focus of policies	Learning (learner-oriented with the learner as the centre for most considerations)
	Nature of learning outcomes	Learning outcomes based on learning parameters, e.g. average hours of learning required
	Point of departure for offers	Point of departure for education (autonomy in learning = learning techniques and other considerations related to learning)
	Type of offers	Individual offers, not necessarily institutionalised and demand-based
	Approach	Bottom-up (decisions are made primarily based on learners' needs and preferences regarding what and how to learn and there are specific mechanisms to do so, e.g. Individual Learning Accounts and Recognition of Prior Learning)
	Qualification frameworks	Single/integrated (implies that the learning outcomes of one level are qualifying inputs for the next level, e.g. in the European Qualifications Framework for Lifelong Learning, learning outcomes are connected at each level)

Criteria	Sectorial Approach to Education and the AE Sector (Figure 3)		LLL Ecosystems and ALE within the Framework of LLL (Figure 4)	
	When?	Age-specificity	Where?	What?
Where?		Age-specificity	Opportunities for certain types of learning during certain stages of life	Opportunities for all types of learning are always available during the lifetime
		Settings (formal, non-formal and informal)	Formal, non-formal and informal settings are relevant for valuing learning and for access to further pathways for learning and work	Settings are not relevant; recognition of prior learning provides pathways for further learning and work
		Disciplines	Disciplines are relevant for access to further pathways of learning, e.g. one can only study a discipline if they have followed certain disciplinary pathways	Disciplines are not relevant
		Contexts (socio-economic background, prior investment in learners, etc.)	Context/background of the learner could be education-system, working and non-working adults, retired or post-work-life adults; opportunities and resources are available accordingly. Usually restricted and narrow because the providers of resources have a great deal of control (e.g. collective resources provided by the state or employer resources)	Context is not important and opportunities as well as resources are independent of the adult learner's background. Comparatively free from contextual constraints because possibilities are spread across life and across settings. Also, control over possibilities and opportunities is limited in an ecosystem
Why?		Policy objectives (What are the resources spent on and why?)	Instrumental view of education (e.g. emancipation, human capital approach, pleasure, etc.) and education as an end in itself	Instrumental view of learning (for better earnings, better life conditions) and learning as an end in itself
		Methods/process/didactics	Teaching methods: pedagogy and andragogy	Learning techniques
How?		Criteria for ensuring access	Enrolments and teaching inputs	Participation in learning and performance evaluation
		Integration across policy areas	Limited, embedded in education policy and the education system	High, spread across policy areas to promote learning everywhere
		Measurement	Diversified because learning outcomes are specific to each sector, not depending on other sectors	Non-diversified and linked through learning outcomes

characteristics change gradually. Thus, the more the characteristics of Lifelong Learning Ecosystems are reflected in policies, the greater the move towards them.

Most countries have education ministries that determine education policies to support their vision of the economy and society. The state, even though it officially sets the agenda for education, might be influenced by various stakeholders including the market, social partners and/or civil society. Usually, the provisions are formulated and regulated by the state-market *duet* or a state-market-social partners/civil society *triad* wherever the social partners are well organised (for instance, in Denmark; as shown by Singh and Ehlers in this issue) and civil society is strong (for instance, in Belgium; Conter, 2024).

Since the focus of education policies is *what to teach* (content and curricula), *how to teach* (andragogy and didactics), and *whom to teach* (target groups), the primary stakeholders include teachers, education providers (for instance, universities), and students (and their families). In adult education sectors, teachers may define themselves as educators, animators, facilitators and so on because the nature of adult learners is different from that of children and adolescents. Adult learners are characterised as students or *recipients* of education, and provisions aim at teaching and evaluating them. The learning outcomes depend on parameters such as enrolment, the number of teacher-student contact hours, evaluation is based much on teacher discretion and so on. Thus, sector-based education systems are predominantly teaching-oriented (Ehlers, 2019). Learners have a negligible say in the decision-making process, even though they might have an indirect influence over the offers they pay for.

On the other hand, the OECD argues for the development of learner-oriented policies that place the learners at the centre of all provisions. The learners are free to choose what and how they want to learn. The provisions do not necessarily need to be controlled by top-down national visions of development¹ focused on employability and/or the socio-cultural-political agendas of governments. Several EU countries appear to be moving towards policies termed as national, but in fact most adult learning policies are increasingly aligning with EU policies. The EU closely monitors and shapes these policies through instruments like the *Education and Training Monitors* and the *European Semester Recommendations* (Singh, 2024b). The paper “*Leaving No One Behind*” *As a New Motto for the UN System: Its Impact on Portuguese Adult Education Policy* highlights the influence the EU has had on the Portuguese policy for adult learning.

Instead of controlling the contents, processes, and outcomes of provisions, the state and other stakeholders are supposed to facilitate the learners in becoming *self-directed* (OECD, 2019). Further, conducive environments should be provided so that learners could navigate the learning environments according to their needs and preferences. Investments, therefore, need to be channelled into developing the capabilities required for self-directed learning, removing barriers to participation, and facilitating the availability

1 The term “development” has not been included in the final declaration at Marrakech which aims at creating a *sustainable future*.

of diverse offers. Learning outcomes are based on learning parameters such as the number of average hours required to learn something, for instance, in the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) in EU countries.

Such provisions are possible in *ecosystems* where there is room for stakeholders to invest and grow organically and instead of a traditional *duet* or *triad* (common in education systems), could be represented by a *quad* (see Figures 1 and 2). Unlike the top-down approach in education systems where learners do not have a say in decision-making, Lifelong Learning Ecosystems offer bottom-up possibilities for learners. It is unrealistic to assume that learners will sit at the negotiation table and decide, but several mechanisms to include their voices at the decision-making level are already being implemented.

Figure 1

The structure of policy-making stakeholders in Education Systems

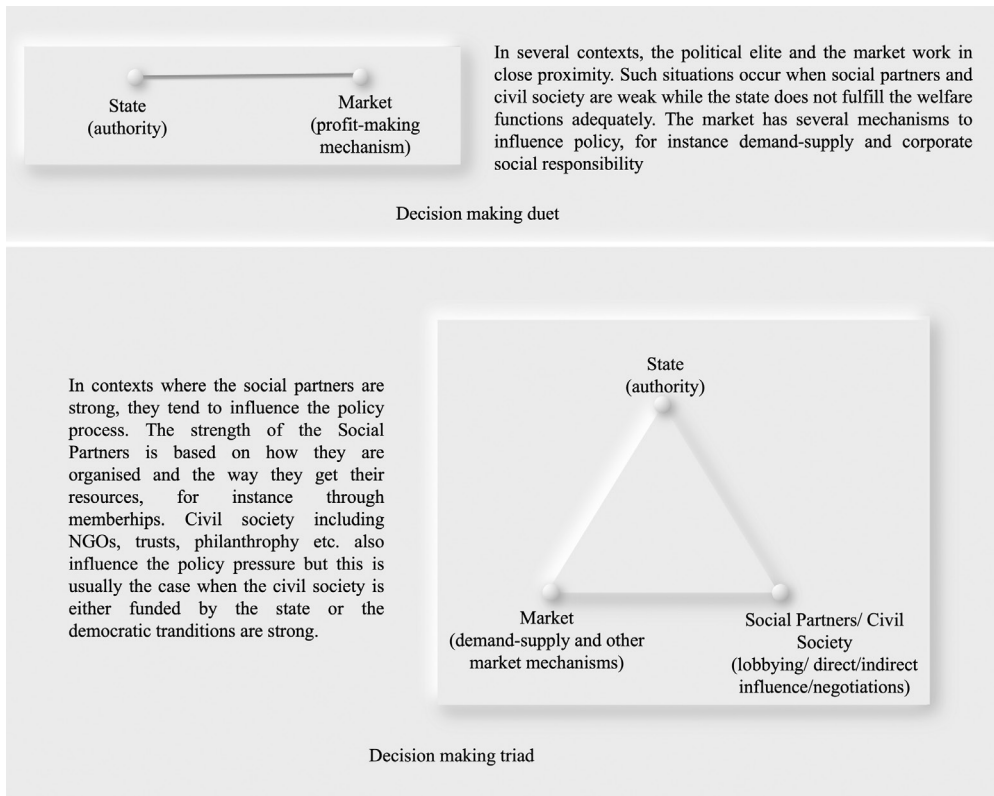
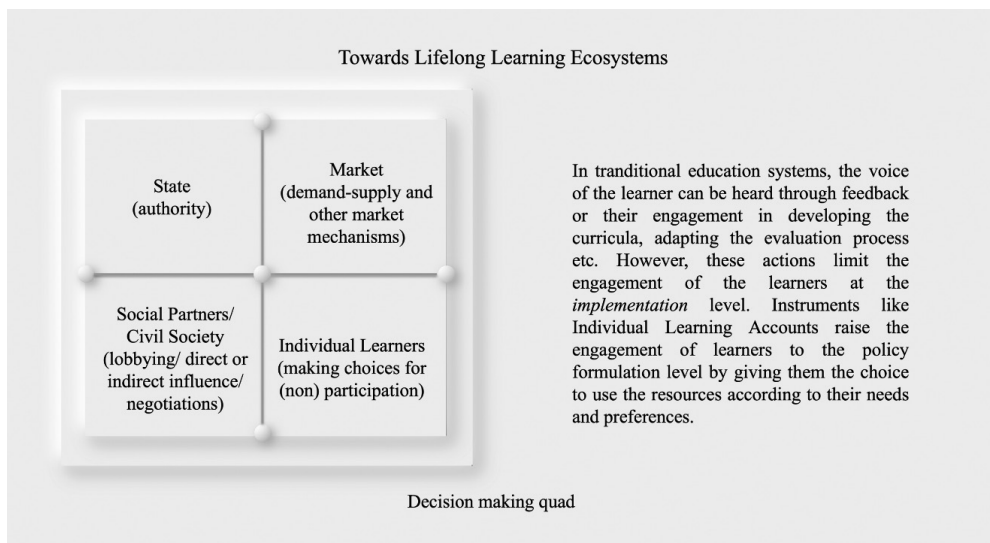


Figure 2

The structure of policy-making stakeholders in Lifelong Learning Ecosystems



The paper *Challenging the Matthew Effect Through Individual Learning Accounts? Case Studies from Denmark and France* argues for developing instruments like *Individual Learning Accounts* that give considerable direct and indirect control to learners for influencing the nature and volume of offers they receive. While other stakeholders provide resources to the learners, the learners have the choice to use these resources according to their needs and preferences. The model is successful in France, is being tested in the Czech Republic (see Kopecký et al., 2024), and is recommended by the EU for implementation in its member states.

However, *Individual Learning Accounts* and other such instruments are context-specific, and their success depends on investments being made in the learners in the initial period of their lives. This is also why Lifelong Learning Ecosystems need to be designed so that learning opportunities are integrated in a manner that allows learning experiences to support further learning. Some examples of this are initiatives like Recognition of Prior Learning, creating pathways for interdisciplinary learning across qualification frameworks, open access to research, use of digitalisation and Artificial Intelligence for self-directed learning, and promoting offers with transversal skills.

As elaborated in the paper *Beyond Education: Mapping Policy Changes from the Sectors of Adult Education to Systems of Lifelong Learning (1972–2022)*, education systems are ideally characterised by offers organised in sectors which are collective, institutionalised (accredited and recognised by certain authorities) and supply-based (aligned with national visions; Ehlers, 2019). A move towards individual (especially using digitalisation and artificial intelligence), not necessarily institutionalised (e.g. offers through YouTube), and

demand-based (depending upon what learners want) offers, not organised according to sector-specific outcomes is, however, visible in several contexts. Lifelong Learning Eco-systems are supposed to provide flexible pathways for learners to build their learning profiles by moving amid offers and choosing what appears relevant to them across disciplines, settings (formal, non-formal and informal), space (i.e. different education systems) and time (at any age). Accordingly, offers are integrated *vertically* (throughout life) as well as *horizontally* (across disciplines and settings). Moreover, valuing prior formal, non-formal and especially informal learning (for instance, through Recognition of Prior Learning) is already being implemented and measurements are non-diversified, implying that learning outcomes are not specific to (sub)sectors of education (Singh, 2020). They are rather linked to ensure that learning outcomes from one offer might act as a learning outcome for another opportunity.

The often-fragmented qualification frameworks with limited flexibility to move between offers in most education systems do not fulfil this condition. In some contexts, more than one qualification framework exists (for instance, in India), which implies that in the process of ensuring the autonomy of sector-specific stakeholders, learning pathways often lead to dead ends or scarce opportunities for further learning. Learning outcomes from one (sub)sector may not necessarily be relevant for the learning outcomes of other (sub)sectors, which reflects the lack of an integrated framework. Integrated frameworks can in fact save resources by avoiding repetition and dead ends and create synergy by enriching the learning profile of the learner (see Figures 3 and 4).

Figure 3

The basic structure of a standard Education System with Sectors of Education having autonomy in varying degrees (some variations might occur depending on the context)

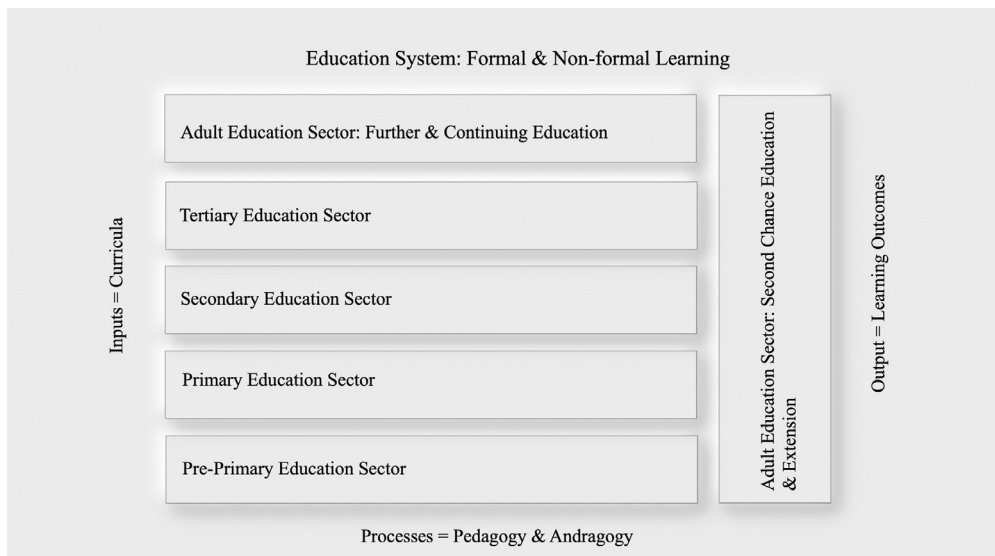
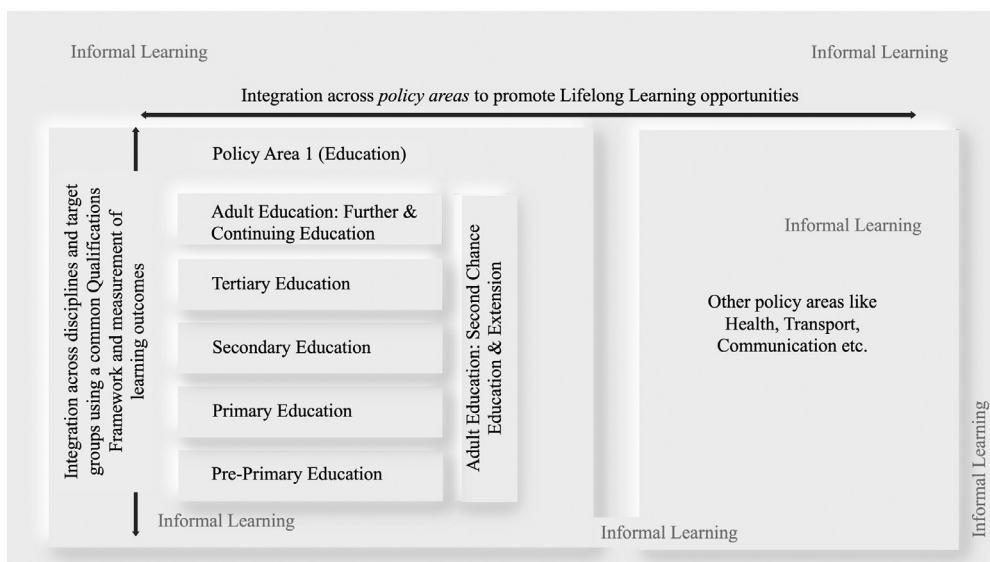


Figure 4*Evolving Lifelong Learning Ecosystems*

Including all types of provisions across disciplines, settings, and ages, aligning the measurement of their outcomes accordingly, and keeping learning as the point of departure for all activity within a Lifelong Learning Framework is the core idea behind Lifelong Learning Ecosystems that promise to provide a central place for the learner.

It is imperative to note that while education systems epitomise an instrumental view of education, implying the purpose of education is emancipation, human capital, pleasure and the like, Lifelong Learning Ecosystems represent an instrumental view of learning. For instance, learning for employability, a better life, pleasure and so on. It is difficult to claim that Lifelong Learning Ecosystems are not instrumental, but they certainly provide more room for learners because the control of the state is decreasing. It can be argued that the market could get a free hand in such a situation and especially the disadvantaged learners would be increasingly left behind. This is what needs to be shaped with instruments like Individual Learning Accounts and adult educators have a major role to play in this through research (for instance, through the European Society for Research on the Education of Adults – ESREA), practice (for instance, through the German Adult Education Association – DVV), and direct/indirect influence (for instance, through the International Council for Adult Education – ICAE).

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Editor of Thematic Issue*

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NAPROTI VSEŽIVLJENJSKEMU UČENJU IN TEMU, DA SE NIKOGAR NE PUSTI OB STRANI: RAZMIŠLJANJE O VLOGAH KLJUČNIH NOSILCEV IZOBRAŽEVANJA ODRASLIH ZA TRAJNOSTNO PRIHODNOST

Zahteva po pravici do vseživljenjskega učenja v globalnih politikah označuje pomemben premik od izobraževanja k vseživljenjskemu učenju (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2022a). Za učenje odraslih pomeni prehod od določb sektorjev za izobraževanje odraslih k možnostim za učenje v okviru vseživljenjskega učenja. Premik je posledica dogajanja, ki traja že več kot pol stoletja, med ključnimi nosilci v izobraževanju odraslih pa je sprožil razprave o spremembah, ki jih vnaša v razmerja moči posameznih nosilcev, ter razmišljanje o prihodnosti. Prispevki v tej številki revije ponujajo vpogled v ta premik in razglabljajo o možnostih ključnih nosilcev, da igrajo konstruktivno vlogo pri oblikovanju prihodnosti učenja odraslih.

Od poznih šestdesetih let 20. stoletja naprej je bilo mogoče po svetu opaziti povečanje vzpostavljanja sektorjev za izobraževanje odraslih v skladu z zavzemanjem Organizacije Združenih narodov za izobraževanje, znanost in kulturo (UNESCO) za ustvarjanje priložnosti za izobraževanje odraslih v celotnem življenjskem obdobju. UNESCO se je zavzemal za vzpostavitev četrtega sektorja, ki vključuje nadaljevalno izobraževanje (*Further and Continuing Education*, ki sledi srednješolskemu in visokošolskemu izobraževanju) in ponovne priložnosti za izobraževanje (*Second Chance Education*, za ljudi, ki v preteklosti niso imeli dostopa do izobraževanja). Ta prizadevanja so v državah Organizacije za gospodarsko sodelovanje in razvoj (OECD) dosegla vrhunec do sredine devetdesetih let prejšnjega stoletja, nato pa je sledil upad in so mesto izobraževanja odraslih prevzele politike vseživljenjskega učenja. V državah z nizkim in srednjim dohodkom se je vzpon nadaljeval do začetka 21. stoletja, nato pa so sektorji za izobraževanje odraslih začeli propadati, tudi če na njihovo mesto niso stopile politike vseživljenjskega učenja.

Oblikovalci politik vedno manj pozornosti namenjajo sektorjem za izobraževanje odraslih, učinek pa je viden v zmanjšani količini sredstev. Tako se ponudbe za razvijanje pismenosti odraslih vedno bolj pogosto uvrščajo pod okrilje šolskega izobraževanja, preostale ponudbe, ki niso usmerjene v zaposljivost, pa v večini kontekstov pod okrilje kulturne politike (Global Education Monitoring Report Team, 2015; Singh idr., 2022). Na drugi

strani se v zaposljivost usmerjene ponudbe kot izobraževanje odraslih postopoma vključuje v širši okvir vseživljenjskega učenja. Te spremembe so očitne v končnem dokumentu CONFINTEA VII in njegovih podpornih dokumentih, ki zagovarjajo umestitev učečega se človeka v središče gospodarstva (znanja) in družbe (znanja), da bi tako zagotovili trajnostno prihodnost.

Na ta prehod v veliki meri vpliva vprašanje sredstev. Učeči se človek je lahko v središču gospodarstva (znanja) in družbe (znanja), če je bogat ali pa ga financirajo drugi ključni nosilci. Z rastjo gospodarstev znanja (in s tem družb znanja) je potreba po nenehnem učenju postala norma. Vendar so že sedemdeseta in osemdeseta leta prejšnjega stoletja jasno pokazala, da država ni sposobna pokrivati vseh stroškov odraslih učečih se v času njihovega življenja. Treba je bilo raziskati alternativne vire naložb v učenje. Teme v zvezi z vzponom in zamiranjem sektorjev za izobraževanja odraslih po vsem svetu, integracijo učenja odraslih v okvir vseživljenjskega učenja in vlogo, ki jo ima pri tem vprašanje sredstev, obravnava prispevek *Onkraj izobraževanja: Spremembe politike od sektorja izobraževanja odraslih do ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja (1972–2022)*.

V državah OECD sta bila najbolj pogosta dva modela. Nekatere države so prisilile posameznika, da si stroške deli z državo in nosi posledice za (ne)vlaganje v učenje, druge države pa so vzpostavile delitev stroškov med ključnimi nosilci, torej državo, zasebnimi podjetji in preostalimi skupinami (npr. civilno družbo in socialnimi partnerji) ter učečimi se posamezniki (in njihovimi družinami). V letih 2007–2008 je finančna kriza razkrila nevarnosti prvega modela in večina držav OECD zdaj naložbe v vseživljenjsko učenje zagotavlja z delitvijo stroškov z drugimi ključnimi nosilci (glej tudi Singh, 2023).

Vendar pa je v državah OECD viden vse večji Matejev učinek (sodelujoči v primerjavi z nesodelujočimi v vseživljenjskem učenju), saj se kljub finančni podpori kaže vpliv drugih elementov, kot so slaba dostopnost ponudb, vprašanje svobodne izbire priložnosti za učenje, delovanje mehanizmov, ki podpirajo učenje (npr. plačan dopust) itd. Zaskrbljenost na tem področju izražata dva prispevka v tej številki: Shalini Singh in Søren Ehlers v prispevku *Preprečevanje Matejevega učinka z individualnimi učnimi računi? Študije primerov iz Danske in Francije* ter Sophie Lächer v prispevku *Spodbujanje enakopravnosti dostopa v nemškem izobraževanju odraslih: Vprašanje mobilizacije virov in zavezanost, da »nikogar ne pustimo ob strani«*. Kljub temu, da so na Danskem socialni partnerji vodilna sila pri razvoju politik in dodeljevanju sredstev, v Nemčiji pa imajo glavno vlogo zasebna podjetja, so v obeh državah posledice podobne. Več naložb je vloženih v izobraževanje visokokvalificiranih, mlajših delavcev, medtem ko so nizkokvalificirani, starejši delavci (nad 40 let) in tisti, ki niso del redne delovne sile, pogosto zapostavljeni. Empirične raziskave kažejo, da je v državah OECD ta trend pogost. OECD se zato zavzema za razvoj prožnejših sistemov oziroma *ekosistemov*, ki bi pritegnili večje naložbe ključnih nosilcev in večjo udeležbo pri učenju. Tranzicija v državah OECD, vsaj v smislu politike, pomeni premik k takšnim učnim *ekosistemom*, kjer bi lahko priložnosti za učenje ustvarjali skupaj in na trajnosten način.

Ne glede na to, kako nerealno se trenutno sliši poziv k *pravici do vseživljenjskega učenja za vse* iz Marakeša, se zdi, da zastavlja vizijo prihodnosti, ki je prilagodljiva, trajnostna, organska in polna možnosti za tiste, ki se učijo. V četrtem prispevku, »*Nikogar ne pusti ob strani*« kot novi slogan sistema Združenih narodov: *Vpliv na politiko izobraževanja odraslih na Portugalskem*, avtorica Rosanna Barros opisuje situacijo, kjer je prehod jasen na ravni politike, izvajanje te politike pa je velik izziv. Portugalski primer prikazuje tudi, kako Evropska unija podpira države članice pri zagotavljanju priložnosti za vseživljenjsko učenje in izpolnjevanju zahtev Unesca. Vendar pa podporni dokumenti CONFINTEA VII kažejo, da je Evropska unija že precej spredaj pri omogočanju prehoda na ekosisteme vseživljenjskega učenja, čeprav je bil do zdaj poudarek na formalnih vidikih ali zgolj na sistemih vseživljenjskega učenja (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2022b). Razlika in njene posledice so obravnavane v prispevku *Onkraj izobraževanja: Spremembe politike od sektorja izobraževanja odraslih do ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja (1972–2022)*.

Izraz »vseživljenjsko učenje« je zaradi vse večjega vpliva mednarodnih organizacij pogosto del političnega diskurza v različnih državah, kljub temu pa je prehod na vseživljenjsko učenje v večini držav z nizkimi in srednjimi dohodki še vedno daleč od resničnosti (Singh, 2023). Za te države so značilna gospodarstva brez visokokakovostnega poslovanja z znanjem (v nasprotju z državami OECD), na voljo je veliko poceni delovne sile, tradicionalni izobraževalni trgi pa poslujejo z velikimi dobički, zaradi česar ni perečih potreb po vseživljenjskem učenju. Izobraževalne politike so v rokah ključnih nosilcev, ki nimajo koristi od prehoda na vseživljenjsko učenje, končne posledice pa nosijo pogosto prikrajšani odrasli učeči se (Singh idr., v pripravi).

Oblikovalci politik uporabljajo podobno nomenklaturu in tako še naprej uvajajo iste stare določbe in ohranjajo status quo. V Indiji, denimo, je izobraževalni sistem podvržen pajdaškemu kapitalizmu (povezanost politične elite z velikimi podjetji), ki zagotavlja, da so določbe *videti* posodobljene, dejanska situacija pa ostaja enaka (Singh, 2024a). Tako so program, ki je pretežno namenjen opismenjevanju (eden najosnovnejših vidikov izobraževanja odraslih) in osnovnim spretnostim, preimenovali v ULLAS (ang. *Understanding Lifelong Learning for All in Society*, razumevanje vseživljenjskega učenja za vse v družbi). Vseživljenjsko učenje so tako uvedli kot sestavni del ponovne priložnosti za izobraževanje (Government of India, 2024). Podobne primere, kjer je uporabljena nova terminologija, dejanskih sprememb pa ni mogoče zaznati, je mogoče navesti z vsega sveta.

Da bi razumeli, kaj je mišljeno s prehodom v skladu z Unescovimi dokumenti, je pomembno poznati razlike med *sektorskim pristopom do izobraževanja (in sektorjem za izobraževanje odraslih)* in *ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja (ter učenjem in izobraževanjem odraslih v okviru vseživljenjskega učenja)*. Tabela 1 prikazuje to primerjavo z vidika nekaterih osnovnih vprašanj o ključnih elementih prehoda, tj. kdo, kaj, kdaj, kje, zakaj in kako. Primerjava temelji na štirih dokumentih Unescovega inštituta za vseživljenjsko učenje, na katere se nanaša tudi prispevek *Onkraj izobraževanja: Spremembe politike od sektorja*

Tabela 1

Primerjava med sektorskim pristopom k izobraževanju (in sektorjem za izobraževanje odraslih) in ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja (ter učenjem in izobraževanjem odraslih v okviru vseživljenjskega učenja)

Kriteriji	Sektorski pristop k izobraževanju in sektor za izobraževanje odraslih (Slika 3)	Ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja ter učenje in izobraževanje odraslih v okviru vseživljenjskega učenja (Slika 4)
Kdo?	Kdo odloča?	Učenci imajo možnost izbire in lahko izberejo, kaj se želijo učiti in na kakšen način.
	Primarni ključni nosilci	Učenci in ponudniki izobraževanja, posredniki v izobraževanju
	Kdo je učeči se?	Samousmerjen učeči je sposoben krmariti po učnem ekosistemu glede na lastne potrebe, želje in zmožnosti.
	Fokus politik	Učenje (usmerjeno na učečega, pri čemer je učeči središče večine vidikov)
Kaj?	Značilnosti učnih rezultatov	Učni rezultati so določeni na podlagi parametrov učenja, npr. povprečnega števila ur učenja.
	Izhodišče za ponudbe	Izhodišče za učenje (avtonomija pri učenju = tehnike učenja in drugi vidiki, povezani z učenjem)
	Vrste ponudb	Individualne ponudbe, ki niso nujno institucionalizirane in temeljijo na povpraševanju.
	Pristop	Od spodaj navzgor (odločitve se sprejemajo predvsem na podlagi potreb in želja učečih o tem, kaj in kako se učiti, to pa omogočajo posebni mehanizmi, npr. individualni učni računi in priznavanje predhodnega učenja)
	Ogrodje kvalifikacij	Enotno/integrirano (učni rezultati ene ravni vodijo na naslednjo kvalifikacijsko raven). Npr. v evropskem ogrodju kvalifikacij za vseživljenjsko učenje so učni rezultati povezani na vseh ravneh.

Kriteriji	Sektorski pristop k izobraževanju in sektor za izobraževanje odraslih (Slika 3)		Ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja ter učenje in izobraževanje odraslih v okviru vseživljenjskega učenja (Slika 4)	
	Kdaj?	Starostne omejitve	Priložnosti za določene vrste učenja v določenih življenjskih obdobjih	Priložnosti za vse vrste učenja so dostopne v vseh življenjskih obdobjih.
Kje?	Okolje (formalno, neformalno in priložnostno)		Formalna, neformalna in priložnostna izobraževalna okolja so pomembna za vrednotenje učenja in za dostop do nadaljnjih poti učenja in dela.	Vrsta izobraževalnega okolja ni pomembna; nadaljnje učenje in delo omogoča priznavanje predhodnega učenja.
	Discipline		Discipline so pomembne za dostop do nadaljnjih poti učenja. Npr. disciplino je mogoče študirati samo, če je oseba sledila določenim disciplinskim potem.	Discipline niso pomembne.
Zakaj?	Kontekst (družbeno-ekonomsko ozadje, predhodne naložbe v učeče se itd.)		Kontekst/ozadje učečega je lahko izobraževalni sistem, zaposleni in nezaposleni odrasli, upokojeni odrasli ali odrasli po prenehanju dela, priložnosti in sredstva pa so na voljo glede na ta kontekst. Običajno omejeno in ozko, ker imajo ponudniki sredstev velik nadzor (npr. kolektivna sredstva, ki jih zagotavlja država, ali sredstva delodajalcev).	Kontekst ni pomemben; priložnosti in sredstva so neodvisni od konteksta, ki mu odrasli pripadajo. Sorazmerno brez omejitev, ki izhajajo iz konteksta, ker so možnosti razpršene skozi življenjsko obdobje in po različnih okoljih. Prav tako je v ekosistemu nadzor nad možnostmi in priložnostmi omejen.
	Cilji politike (za kaj so porabljena sredstva in s kakšnimi razlogi?)		Instrumentalen pogled na izobraževanje (npr. emancipacija, vidik človeškega kapitala, zadovoljstvo, itd.) in izobraževanje samo zase	Instrumentalen pogled na učenje (za boljši zaslužek, boljše življenjske pogoje) in učenje samo zase
Kako?	Metode/procesi/didaktike		Metode poučevanja: pedagogika in andragogika	Tehnike učenja
	Kriteriji za zagotavljanje dostopa		Vpis in vnosi poučevanja	Sodelovanje pri učenju in vrednotenje delovanja
	Integracija na področjih, ki jih politika pokriva		Omejena, vpeta v izobraževalno politiko in izobraževalni sistem	Visoka, razširjena po področjih politike za spodbujanje učenja povsod
	Meritve		Raznolike, ker so učni rezultati specifični za vsak sektor in niso odvisni od drugih sektorjev.	Neraznolike in povezane z učnimi rezultati

izobraževanja odraslih do ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja (1972–2022). Zajemajo namreč nekatere najpomembnejše prelomnice tega prehoda. Vključene so nekatere osnovne značilnosti *idealnega tipa* izobraževalnih sistemov in ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja, kar nam omogoča boljši vpogled v razlike med njima. Med prehodom se nekatere lastnosti spreminjajo postopoma, in bolj ko se značilnosti ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja odražajo v politikah, večji je premik k njim.

Večina držav ima ministrstvo za izobraževanje, ki odloča o izobraževalnih politikah, s katerimi države podpirajo svojo družbeno in gospodarsko vizijo. Čeprav je država tista, ki uradno določa načrt in okvire izobraževanja, je lahko pod vplivom različnih ključnih nosilcev, npr. trga, socialnih partnerjev in/ali civilne družbe. Določbe običajno oblikuje in ureja *dvojica* države in trga ali pa *trojica* države, trga in socialnih partnerjev/civilne družbe. Do slednjega prihaja v državah, kjer so socialni partnerji dobro organizirani (npr. na Danskem, kot lahko preberemo v prispevku avtorjev Singh in Ehlers v tej številki) in je civilna družba močna (npr. v Belgiji; Conter, 2024).

Ker se izobraževalne politike osredotočajo na to, *kaj poučevati* (vsebine in učni načrti), *kako poučevati* (andragogika in didaktika) in *koga poučevati* (ciljne skupine), so primarni ključni udeleženci učitelji, ponudniki izobraževanja (npr. univerze) in učeči se (in njihove družine). V sektorjih izobraževanja odraslih se lahko učitelji opredelijo kot vzgojitelji, animatorji, moderatorji itd., saj je narava odraslih učečih se drugačna v primerjavi z otroki in mladostniki. Odrasli so označeni kot *prejemniki* izobraževanja, določbe pa so namenjene njihovem poučevanju in vrednotenju. Učni rezultati so odvisni od parametrov, kot so vpis, število ur stika med učiteljem in učečim se, vrednotenje, ki v veliki meri temelji na presoji učiteljev, itd. Sektorski izobraževalni sistemi so tako pretežno usmerjeni v poučevanje (Ehlers, 2019). Učeči imajo v procesu odločanja zanemarljivo vlogo, čeprav lahko posredno vplivajo na ponudbe, ko te tudi plačajo.

Po drugi strani pa OECD zagovarja razvijanje k učečemu usmerjene politike, ki učeče se ljudi postavlja v središče vseh določb. Ti lahko svobodno izbirajo, kaj in kako se želijo učiti. Ni nujno, da določbe nadzorujejo od zgoraj navzdol zasnovane nacionalne vizije razvoja,¹ ki se osredotočajo na zaposljivost in/ali družbeno-kulturno-politične vladne programe. Zdi se, da se v več državah Evropske unije večina politik izobraževanja odraslih sicer imenuje nacionalna politika, dejansko pa je usklajena s politikami Evropske unije. Hkrati Evropska unija pozorno spremlja in oblikuje te politike z instrumenti, kot so opazovanja, analize in priporočila na področju izobraževanja in usposabljanja (*Education and Training Monitor; European Semester Recommendations*) (Singh, 2024b). Vpliv Evropske unije na portugalsko politiko izobraževanja odraslih je obravnavan v prispevku »*Nikogar ne pusti ob strani*« kot novi slogan sistema Združenih narodov.

Namesto nadzora nad vsebino, procesi in rezultati določb naj bi država in drugi ključni udeleženci učečim omogočili, da postanejo *samousmerjeni* (OECD, 2019). Poleg tega je treba ustvariti učna okolja, po katerih lahko učeči sami navigirajo v skladu s svojimi

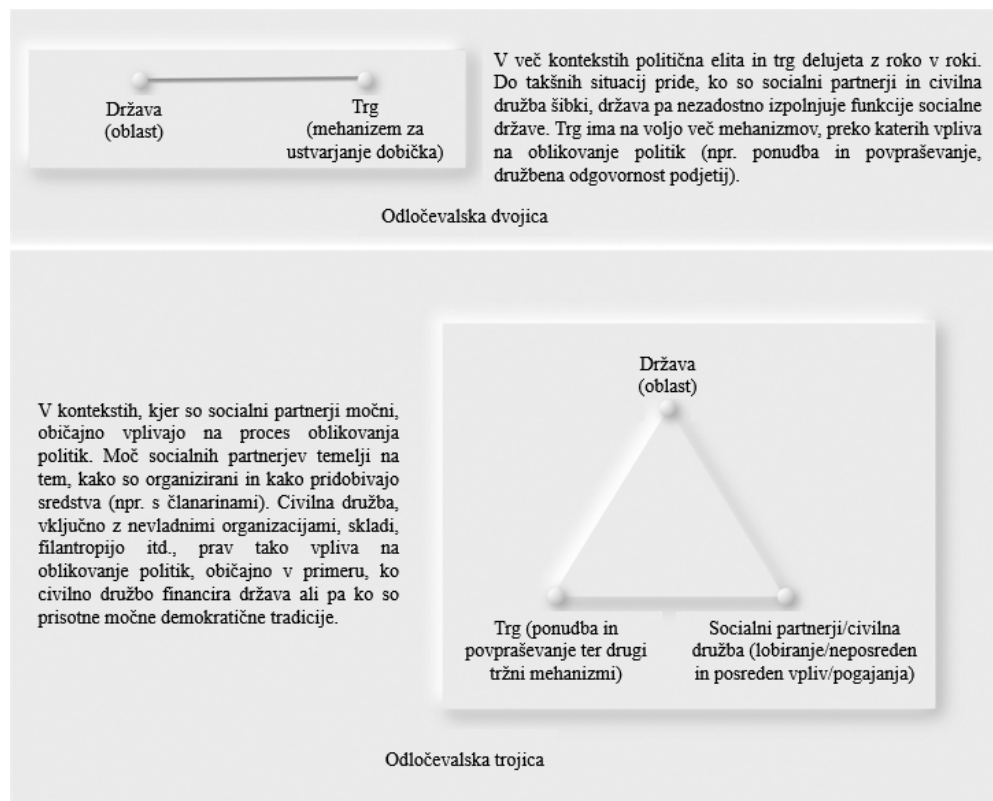
1 Izraz »razvoj« ni bil vključen v končno deklaracijo v Marakešu, katere cilj je ustvariti *trajnostno prihodnost*.

potrebami in željami. Investicije je zato treba usmeriti v razvoj zmožnosti za samousmerjeno učenje, odpravo ovir pri sodelovanju in lažji dostop do raznolike ponudbe. Učni rezultati temeljijo na učnih parametrih, kot je povprečno število ur, potrebnih za učenje nečesa, npr. v Evropskem sistemu prenašanja in zbiranja kreditnih točk (ECTS) v državah Evropske unije.

Takšne določbe so možne v *ekosistemih*, kjer imajo ključni nosilci prostor za vlaganje in organsko rast, namesto tradicionalne *dvojice* ali *trojice* (običajne v izobraževalnih sistemih) pa bi jih lahko predstavljala *četverica* (glej Sliko 1 in Sliko 2). V nasprotju s pristopom od zgoraj navzdol iz izobraževalnih sistemov, kjer učeči se nimajo besede pri odločanju, ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja učečim se ponujajo možnosti od spodaj navzgor. Nerealno je sicer domnevati, da bodo učeči lahko odločali za pogajalsko mizo, vendar pa je vpeljanih že več mehanizmov, prek katerih bodo njihovi glasovi slišani tudi na ravni odločanja.

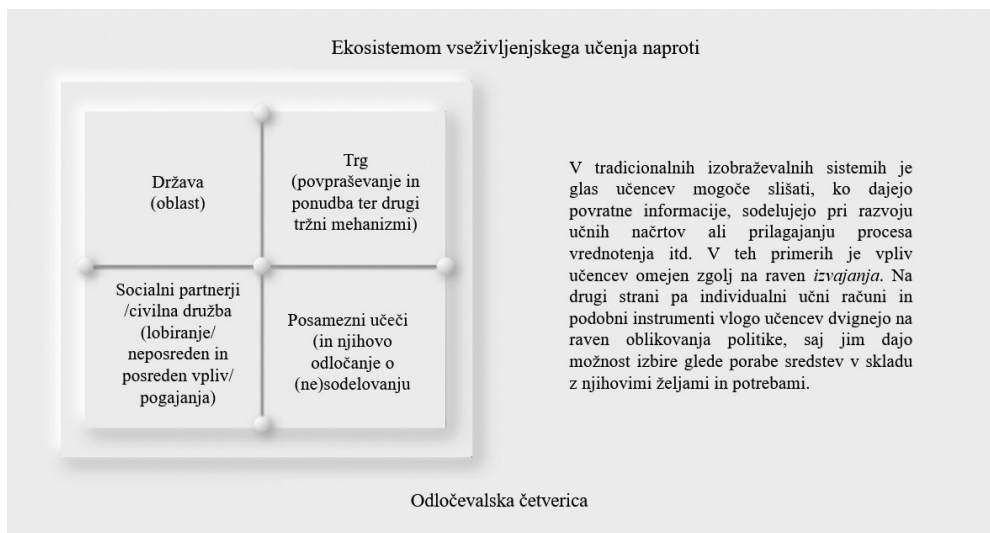
Slika 1

Struktura ključnih nosilcev oblikovanja politike v sistemih izobraževanja



Slika 2

Struktura ključnih nosilcev oblikovanja politike v ekosistemih vseživljenjskega učenja



Avtorja prispevka *Preprečevanje Matejevega učinka z individualnimi učnimi računi? Študije primerov iz Danske in Francije* se zavzemata za razvoj instrumentov, kot so individualni učni računi (ang. *Individual Learning Accounts*). Ti omogočajo, da je precejšen neposreden in posreden nadzor, prek katerega lahko vplivajo na naravo in obseg ponudb, ki jih prejmejo, v rokah učečih se. Medtem ko sredstva zagotovijo drugi ključni nosilci, se lahko učeči samostojno odločajo in jih porabijo v skladu s svojimi potrebami in željami. Model uspešno deluje v Franciji, testirajo ga na Češkem (glej Kopecký idr., 2024), Evropska unija pa ga priporoča vsem državam članicam.

Kljub temu je pomembno poudariti, da so individualni učni računi in drugi podobni pristopi odvisni od konteksta, njihov uspeh je namreč odvisen od naložb v učeče se v začetnem obdobju njihovega življenja. To je tudi razlog, zakaj morajo biti ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja oblikovani tako, da učenje podpira in spodbuja nadaljnje učenje, npr. prek pobud za priznavanje predhodnega učenja, ustvarjanja interdisciplinarnih učnih poti na podlagi kvalifikacijskih ogrodi, odprtega dostopa do raziskav, uporabe digitalizacije in umetne inteligence za samousmerjeno učenje ter ponudb na področju transversalnih veščin.

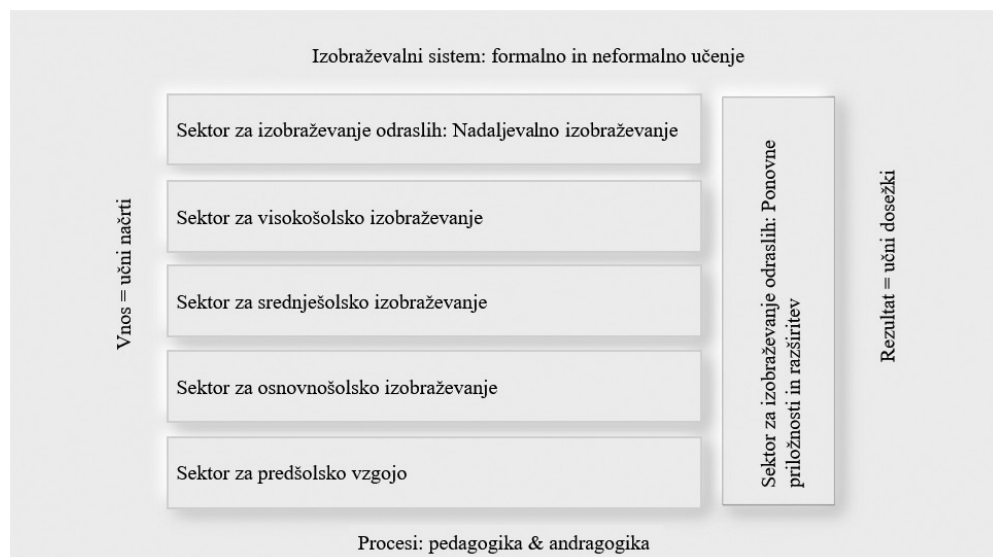
Kot je pojasnjeno v prispevku *Onkraj izobraževanja: Spremembe politike od sektorja izobraževanja odraslih do ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja (1972–2022)*, so za izobraževalne sisteme značilne ponudbe, organizirane v sektorjih, ki so kolektivni, institucionalizirani (akreditirani in priznani pri določenih organih) in utemeljeni na možnih ponudnikih (usklajeno z nacionalnimi vizijami; Ehlers, 2019). V več kontekstih je viden premik k individualnim ponudbam (zlasti z uporabo digitalizacije in umetne inteligence), ki niso nujno institucionalizirane (npr. ponudbe na YouTube), in ponudbam, ki temeljijo na

povpraševanju (so odvisne od tega, kaj si učeči želijo) in niso organizirane glede na rezultate specifičnega sektorja. Ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja pa naj bi učečim zagotavljali prožne poti za izgradnjo njihovih učnih profilov s premikanjem med ponudbami in izbiro tistega, kar se jim zdi pomembno, med različnimi disciplinami, okolji (formalnim, neformalnim in priložnostnim), prostori (tj. različnimi izobraževalnimi sistemi) in časovnimi opcijami (v kateri koli starosti). V skladu s tem so ponudbe integrirane tako *vertikalno* (skozi vse življenje) kot *horizontalno* (prek disciplin in izobraževalnih okolij). Poleg tega se vrednotenje predhodnega formalnega, neformalnega in zlasti priložnostnega učenja (npr. s priznavanjem predhodnega učenja) že izvaja, meritve pa niso raznolike, kar pomeni, da učni rezultati niso specifični glede na določen (pod)sektor izobraževanja (Singh, 2020). Sistemi meritev so med seboj povezani, da bi zagotovili, da učni rezultati iz ene ponudbe lahko služijo kot podlaga za nove priložnosti.

Tega pogoja ne izpolnjuje pogosto razdrobljeno ogrodje kvalifikacij, kjer je premikanje med ponudbami omejeno v večini izobraževalnih sistemov. V nekaterih okoliščinah obstaja več kot eno kvalifikacijsko ogrodje (npr. v Indiji), kar pomeni, da zaradi zagotavljanja avtonomije ključnih nosilcev določenega sektorja učne poti pogosto vodijo v slepe ulice ali pa dajejo le redke možnosti za nadaljevanje učenja. Učni rezultati posameznega (pod)sektorja niso nujno povezani z učnimi rezultati drugih (pod)sektorjev, kar kaže na slabo medsebojno povezanost znotraj ogrodja. Ustrezno integrirano ogrodje lahko pomaga prihraniti sredstva, saj se izogiba ponavljanju in slepim ulicam, z obogatitvijo učnega profila učečega pa ustvarja sinergijo (glej Sliko 3 in Sliko 4).

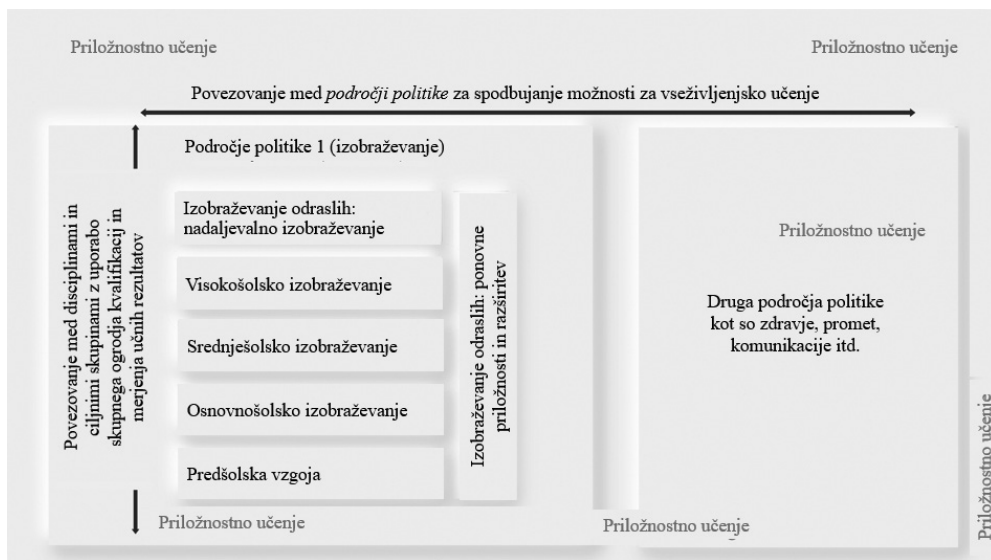
Slika 3

Osnovna struktura standardnega izobraževalnega sistema s sektorji izobraževanja, ki imajo različne stopnje avtonomije (razlike se lahko pojavijo glede na kontekst)



Slika 4

Razvoj ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja



Osrednja ideja ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja, vključno z vsemi vrstami določb po disciplinah, okoljih in starostih, je ustrezno usklajevanje merjenja njihovih rezultatov in ohranjanje učenja kot izhodišča vseh dejavnosti v sklopu okvira vseživljenjskega učenja. Ekosistemi obljubljajo, da bodo učečega se človeka postavili v središče dogajanja.

Nujno je opozoriti, da medtem ko gre pri izobraževalnih sistemih za instrumentalni pogled na izobraževanje, ki vključuje izobraževanje, usmerjeno v emancipacijo, razvoj človeškega kapitala, užitek in podobno, gre pri ekosistemih vseživljenjskega učenja za instrumentalni pogled na učenje, ki, denimo, vključuje učenje za zaposljivost, boljše življenje, užitek. Težko je trditi, da ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja niso instrumentalni, vsekakor pa ponujajo več prostora za učeče se saj se nadzor države manjša. Trdimo lahko, da bi trg v takšnih razmerah lahko imel proste roke in da bi bili predvsem prikrajšani učeči vedno bolj zapostavljeni. Na to problematiko je treba odgovoriti z instrumenti, kot so individualni učni računi. Izobraževalci odraslih imajo pri tem pomembno vlogo na področju raziskav (npr. prek Evropskega združenja za raziskovanje izobraževanja odraslih (ESREA)), prakse (npr. prek nemškega združenja za izobraževanje odraslih (DVV)) ter neposrednega in posrednega vpliva (npr. prek Mednarodnega sveta za izobraževanje odraslih (ICAE)).

Shalini Singh,
urednica tematske številke

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Shalini Singh

BEYOND EDUCATION: MAPPING POLICY CHANGES FROM THE SECTORS OF ADULT EDUCATION TO LIFELONG LEARNING ECOSYSTEMS (1972–2022)

ABSTRACT

The paper aims at mapping the macro level transitions in global policies from adult education to lifelong learning, and hence the move beyond educational sectors towards lifelong learning ecosystems. Ehlers' Box Model and policy frameworks are used to analyse policy documents from international organisations to highlight two transitions: first, from educational sectors to lifelong learning ecosystems; and second, from the sector of adult education to adult learning and education within the framework of lifelong learning. The paper argues that the transitions are inevitable due to resource considerations and provide enormous opportunities for learners, but these opportunities are not reflected in participation. The stakeholders engaged with adult education could therefore either facilitate the transitions, shape the emerging possibilities positively, and voice the concerns of the unheard learners, or resist the transition and perish due to lack of relevance, and thereby resources, in the long run.

Keywords: *lifelong learning ecosystems, policy frameworks, institutionalisation in education and learning, policy transitions and change, adult learning and education (ALE)*

ONKRAJ IZOBRAŽEVANJA: SPREMEMBE POLITIKE OD SEKTORJA IZOBRAŽEVANJA ODRASLIH DO EKOSISTEMOV VSEŽIVLJENJSKEGA UČENJA (1972–2022) – POVZETEK

Cilj članka je opredeliti tranzicije, do katerih prihaja na makro ravni globalnih politik, in sicer prehod od izobraževanja odraslih do vseživljenjskega učenja ter posledično prehod od izobraževalnega sektorja do ekosistemov vseživljenjskega učenja. Za analizo dokumentov mednarodnih organizacij smo uporabili Ehlersov model in politične okvire ter tako izpostavili dva premika: prvi je prehod iz izobraževalnega sektorja v ekosisteme vseživljenjskega učenja, drugi pa prehod sektorja izobraževanja odraslih v učenje in izobraževanje odraslih znotraj okvira vseživljenjskega učenja. Oba prehoda sta zaradi pogojev za dodeljevanje sredstev neizogibna in učecim se ponujata ogromno priložnosti, a se to skozi njihovo nesodelovanje ne potrjuje. Zainteresirani akterji

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v izobraževanju odraslih lahko torej ta preboda spodbudijo s pozitivnim pristopom do novih priložnosti ter hkrati izrazijo pomisleke neslišanih učečih se ali pa se spremembam uprejo in tako dolgoročno izginejo zaradi pomanjkanja relevantnosti in posledične izgube sredstev za delovanje.

Ključne besede: *ekosistemi vseživljenjskega učenja, politični okviri, institucionalizacija v izobraževanju in učenju, prehodi in spremembe politik, učenje in izobraževanje odraslih*

INTRODUCTION

The demand for the *right to Lifelong Learning* (hereafter LLL) at CONFINTEA VII (UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning, 2022) has sparked a debate among the stakeholders working with Adult Education (hereafter AE) all over the globe (Benavot et al., 2022; Elfert & Draxler, 2022; Grotlüschen et al., 2023; K. Popović, personal communication, 3rd July 2023). The conference outcome document marks an end to the Global Reports on Adult Learning and Education (GRALE; representing the sector of Adult Learning and Education, hereafter ALE) and induces new structures, tools, and the like for strengthening a global LLL systems. Further, the document reflects the crossroad at which several stakeholders engaged with AE are finding themselves. The dilemma is about whether to embrace the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation/UNESCO Institute of Lifelong Learning (hereafter UNESCO/UIIL) advocacy (backed by other key international organisations and UNESCO member states as reflected in the CONFINTEA VII outcome document) in favour of the right to LLL or whether to revive the weakening sector of AE and hold back against further policy change in this direction. However, most stakeholders claim to promote the interests of adult learners and contemplate a future where they are free to choose and able to learn throughout life, and be at the centre of learning societies, which in turn are contemplated as the nuclei of a sustainable future. The major discussion is therefore not about the outcome (interest of the learner) but rather regarding the provisions, processes, and the sharing of influence among stakeholders backed by the resources at their disposal. The type of provisions and processes instrumental in determining what is significant in a certain context determine what resources matter and therefore which stakeholders acquire influence. All this, however, is relevant in determining which learners get what opportunities to learn in a given context and thereby indirectly impacts the interest of the learners.

Empirical data suggests that despite a wide range of initiatives over several decades, issues of access for adult learners (in diverse ways) are a challenge all over the world (World Bank, 2022). Considerations about the quality of offers makes this even more challenging (World Bank, 2022; Singh & Ehlers, 2024). This “unfinished business” makes several stakeholders sceptical about the increasing predominance of the LLL agenda, arguing that such a *policy change* will lead to provisions where only work-based opportunities for a certain section of adults (those with resources in the broader sense) are to be promoted while the rest will be left out. The scepticism is not baseless. Research shows that an

increasing Matthew Effect can be seen even in the most resource-rich countries with high state responsibility like Denmark (Singh & Ehlers, 2024) while countries like India (where the state is withdrawing from investing in all types of adult learning) try to square off the statistics by merging the literacy figures of children and adults to show better performance against educational indicators (Singh, 2024). Comparative statistics from several countries highlight the trend to use integrated (instead of sector-wise) data to show better performance in education by offsetting and covering the gaps in AE where limited progress has been recorded (UNESCO, 2015; World Bank, 2022).

This paper delves deeper into this debate and dilemma among the various stakeholders engaged with AE, maps the transitions in global policies towards LLL, discusses the consequences for adult learners regarding access to learning, and contributes to develop an understanding for future preparedness regarding the same. The research questions for the paper are:

What transition(s) can be observed in the global policies on adult education over the past half century (1972–2022)? What are the consequences of these transitions for adult learners regarding their access to learning opportunities?

The paper argues that a move towards *LLL ecosystems* (defined in the discussion section) is inevitable, but the results may vary based on the kind of *architecture* that develops to support it in the coming years. The choice among stakeholders is therefore to either resist policy changes as long as they can and avoid cooperation leading to the complete absence of their voices in the long run, or constructive cooperation for shaping a future LLL architecture with ALE included, where they reinvent their role and keep voicing their concerns embedded in LLL ecosystems.

METHODOLOGY

CONFINTEA Conferences focus on the contextual realities, challenges, and the role of AE in dealing with them all over the world, rather than merely focusing on the disciplinary aspects (Knoll, 2014). They discuss the direction in which ALE is moving and should move (UIL, n.d.-b). The type of stakeholders involved (including representatives of the state, social partners, civil society, markets, individuals, etc.), inputs (like background reports), processes and outcomes (declarations by state and influential non-state actors) of the CONFINTEA make their outcome documents relevant sources for analysing global policies. This paper therefore compares two CONFINTEA Conference outcome documents, CONFINTEA III and CONFINTEA VII, to map the transitions over the past half a century. Since the two documents focus on policy formulation, the paper includes two supporting documents: the UNESCO (1976) Recommendations on AE, and the UIL (2015) Recommendation on ALE, which focus on policy implementation.

While the CONFINTEA outcome document of 1972 argues for the development of AE sectors globally (UNESCO, 1972), the 1976 recommendations suggest how the same

can be achieved. The 2015 recommendations replace the 1976 recommendations and elaborate on why and how the move in international policies beyond AE sectors and towards *adult and lifelong education* (not ALE) within the framework of LLL systems can be achieved. The outcome document of 2022 marks a clear digression from a sectorial approach (arguing for the development of sectors in education, for instance, as reflected in the 1972 document) and argues to move beyond sectors. The document argues in favour of a systemic approach for developing LLL systems where the focus of all activities is learning for a sustainable future irrespective of how, when, where, and why it takes place.

The documents are analysed based on the following questions (Table 1): which stakeholders were involved, what was the context in terms of the time and space in which they were embedded, what content were the documents focusing upon in terms of challenges they highlighted and solutions they proposed, and what arguments they made to justify the content. Afterwards, a comparison was made to map the changes reflected in the documents. Interpretations were made using Ehlers' Box Model focusing on the rationality of policy stakeholders, and Policy Frameworks focusing on the context within which various policies have been embedded over the last century.

To further facilitate the interpretation of these documents, some sensitive information was collected from personal communication with experts closely involved with the conceptualisation and preparation of the UIL Recommendation on ALE from 2015 and the CONFINTEA VII document from 2022: Prof. Katarina Popović, Prof. Arne Carlsen, Dr. David Atchorena and Dr. Werner Mauch. Experts involved with the previous two documents were unavailable, especially because they were prepared about five decades ago. The information from the experts provided important insights to understand the rationality of the stakeholders involved and highlight the background concerns of policy stakeholders. This information is not mentioned anywhere in research publications but is relevant for the interpretation of the documents in question. For instance, the information revealed why and how certain stakeholders could not get involved during the final stages of shaping the Marrakech document and why it was both contested and justified according to the rationality of the different stakeholders involved.

Google Ngram Viewer, a database of publications on Google, is used to analyse the trends in publications. The conceptual framework includes Ehlers' Box Model which focusses on how to use policy (non-scientific) sources in a scientific way for research and *policy frameworks* to study the contexts within which these policies are embedded (Ehlers, 2019; Singh, forthcoming).

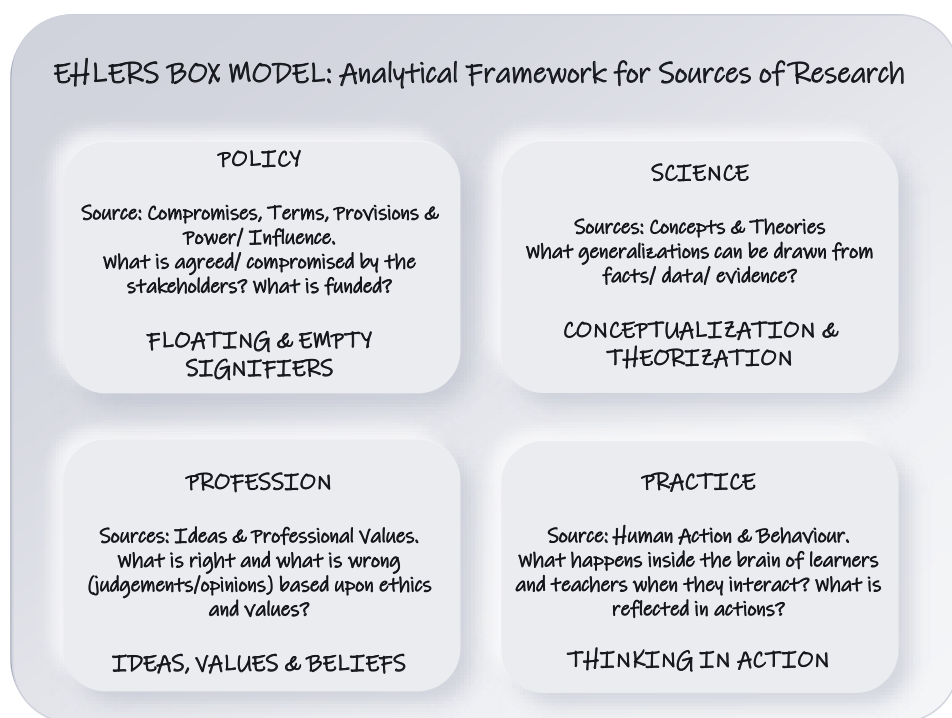
CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Ehlers' Box Model (Figure 1) is an analytical tool which differentiates between four different types of sources of research including policy, practice, science, and profession, based on the rationality of stakeholders representing each of these sources (Ehlers, 2019; Singh, 2017; Singh & Ehlers, 2019). Since policies are a result of compromise among

stakeholders, they are different from science (based on evidence), practice (based on actions), and profession (based on professional norms embedded in ideas and values). Therefore, their interpretation for scientific use should be done differently. Policies include keywords as terms which could be *empty* and *floating signifiers*. While empty signifiers are symbolic and are neither backed by resources nor intended to be implemented, *floating signifiers* change meaning according to the context. During policy analysis, it is relevant to identify these terms (which could be evidence-informed) and not assume that they have a fixed meaning like *scientific concepts* grounded in theory and facts.

Figure 1

Ehlers Box Model



Note. Created by S. Ehlers for the paper. Adapted from "The rise of a learning regime in Europe: Transnational policy terms mapped and discussed," by S. Ehlers, in T. Frisrup (Ed.), *Socially engaged practices in museums and archives* (p. 21), 2019, Jamtli Förlag.

As policy terms, AE, ALE, and LLL in the CONFINTEA and Recommendation documents could be identified as *floating signifiers* because they have been backed by resources, with evidence on their implementation globally while their meanings change depending upon the context in which they are embedded.

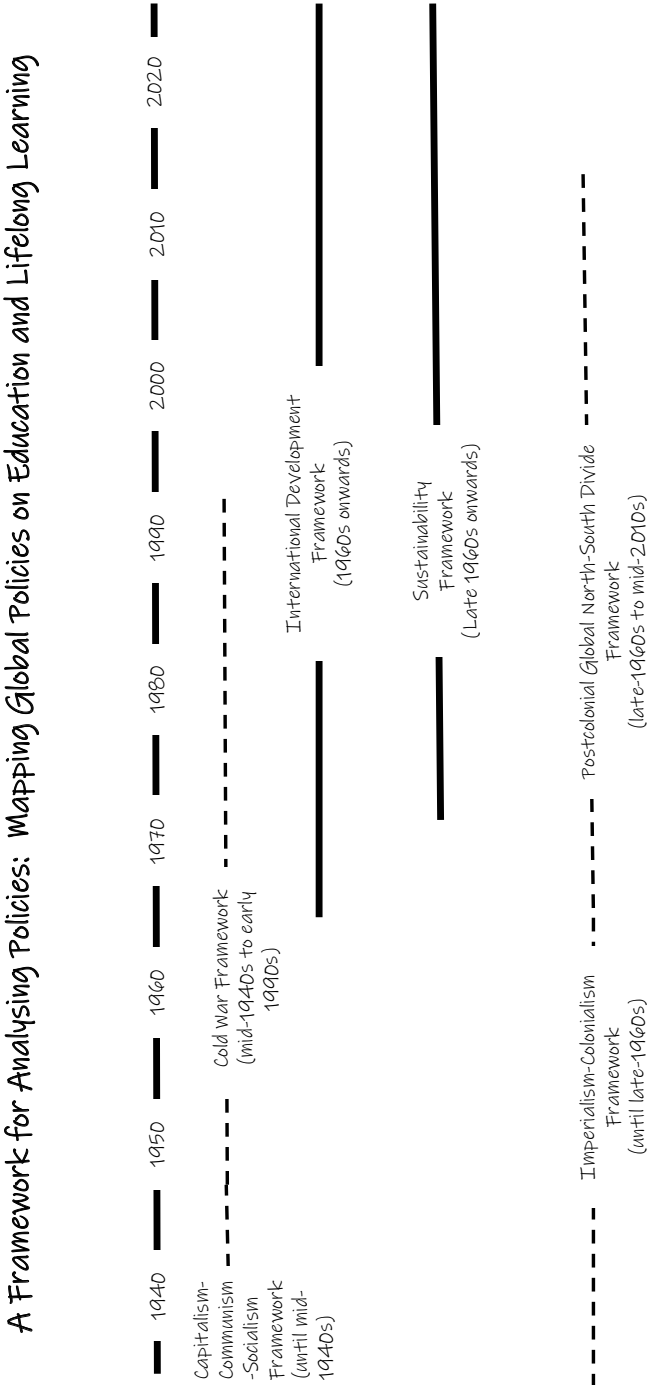
Just as concepts and theories (relationships among concepts) are embedded in *conceptual frameworks* (Ehlers 2019; Sabatier, 2007), policies are embedded in *policy frameworks*

(Singh, 2020a). To understand and interpret policy terms and overall policies (compromises among stakeholders to do or to abstain from doing something), it is relevant to understand the context around them. *Policy frameworks* comprise a vital aspect of the contexts within which policies are embedded.

A policy framework can be described as a flexible, vague, non-binding, abstract structure comprising of rules, norms, values, narratives, ideas, and the like, with ample space for bargaining among stakeholders (Singh, 2020a). It results from the bargains among the stakeholders to satisfy their interests and often changes with the change in the influence of the stakeholders striving to achieve their interests constantly during the bargaining process. While small changes can be accommodated within the flexible and vague structure of a policy framework, major changes might lead to the change from one framework to another and the rise of other frameworks. More than one framework exists at a particular time because the number and priorities of stakeholders may vary. While some could be predominant, others could be ancillary, less significant, or even competing.

The following six policy frameworks (described in sets of two to highlight the continuity among them) are relevant for mapping international AE and LLL policies (Figure 2).

Figure 2
Frameworks for analysing policies: Mapping global policies on education and lifelong learning



Note. Figure 2 shows a chronological mapping of shifting policy frameworks influencing global policies on education and lifelong learning. The active frameworks are shown with constant lines whereas the inactive frameworks are shown with the dotted lines. Later in the paper, policy outcomes from CONFINTEA III, UNESCO Recommendations of 1976 and 2015 and CONFINTEA VII are used to map the transition from Adult Education to Lifelong Learning using these frameworks (See Figure 2). From “A framework for policy analysis and issues of internationalisation,” by S. Singh, in S. Singh, T. Fristup, L. Sonne, & S. Ehlers (Eds.), *Internationalisation @ Home*, forthcoming, Novus Publishing. Source: Singh (forthcoming).

The Imperialism-Colonialism Framework (until the mid-1960s) and the Postcolonial Global North-South Divide Framework (late 1960s to mid-2010s)

The Imperialism-Colonialism Framework was characterised by the interests of stakeholders representing imperialist powers and the colonies. Several policy negotiations and international policies were driven by the bargain among them. Around WWII, colonies started becoming independent, but they lacked resources due to the exploitation by imperial powers who became rich at their cost. The arguments on international forums have often highlighted the colonial past of poor countries and claimed that even after independence, rich countries manage to manipulate international agreements in such a way that the exploitation of poor countries continues. Thus, they argued for compensation in terms of assistance from rich countries (Global North) to the poor ones (Global South) in the form of development assistance and preferential treatment in different policy areas. Education aid and investment in educational infrastructure in poor countries by the rich ones directly and through institutions like the World Bank was a part of this. Even though the terms “Global North” and “Global South” have become popular since the 1980s, the division has been apparent since decolonisation started.

The Capitalism-Communism-Socialism Framework (until the mid-1940s) and the Cold-War Framework (mid-1940s to early 1990s)

The Capitalism-Communism-Socialism Framework is characterised by events (like the establishment of the International Labour Organization) and policies (policies of the International Labour Organization) driven by stakeholders who represented industrialisation, communist or socialist movements and Capitalism, Communism or Socialism were political priorities (and not ideologies) for this framework (Singh, forthcoming). These could have been representatives of workers, industrialists, and other influential stakeholders.

Following WWII, this framework further evolved into the Cold-War Framework. This framework is characterised by cold war politics among the two camps led by the USA and the USSR respectively, and the Non-Aligned Countries which were in neither of the camps. Several education policies during that time were characterised by Cold War politics. For instance, one of the reasons why the countries belonging to the US camp channelled assistance including education loans directly and through institutions like the World Bank was that they wanted to stop the newly independent countries from accepting communism and aligning with the USSR (Singh, Schiller et al., 2023).

It is notable that even though the World Bank started its educational initiatives in poor countries under this framework, several other factors like lack of educational infrastructure in these countries resulted from the policies embedded in the Imperialism-Colonialism and the Global North-South Divide Frameworks. Thus, this is an example of overlapping policy frameworks.

The International Development Framework (mid-1960s onwards) and the Sustainability Framework (late 1960s onwards)

The disagreement among stakeholders from the rich and the poor countries found solace in the framework on development. Most stakeholders agreed that they needed development and as a consequence, four development decades (1961–70, 1971–80, 1981–90 and 1991–2000) were announced, followed by the Millennium Development Goals (Jackson, n.d.). The term *development* was a floating signifier which changed meaning over time and space. Thus, while it was interpreted as economic growth during the 1960s, it expanded to include human development during the late 1980s. This approach towards ceaseless growth was, however, challenged by another competing approach called the *sustainability approach*.

Several stakeholders often highlighted the gaps in ceaseless economic growth models and argued in favour of limits to growth (sometimes degrowth) and balanced growth (in favour of inclusion). They argued that ceaseless development was a narrow perspective of viewing how humans should live and factors like environmental degradation exposed humans to disasters and the destruction of the whole planet. Thus, the focus was on long-term approaches optimising the use of resources so that they did not deplete in the future.

While LLL (as a political priority) was initially embedded in the Cold War and the International Development Frameworks (during the late 1960s and 70s), it later became more grounded in the sustainability framework. An overlapping of both the frameworks after much struggle also led to the development of the Sustainable Development Goals (Singh, 2020a).

FROM CONFITEA III TO CONFITEA VII: TOWARDS THE RIGHT TO LIFELONG LEARNING

CONFITEA III in 1972 was organised in the beginning of the second development decade (UNESCO, 1972). Both the positive and negative consequences of the first development decade (1961–70) were already visible and the role of AE in promoting development and dealing with development challenges was discussed at CONFITEA III (UNESCO, 1972). The main background paper entitled *Adult Education in the Context of Life-Long Education* emphasised the need to consider AE in the larger context of life-long education (UNESCO, 1972). The Conference is often described as a government conference because state representatives predominated it (Ireland & Spezia, 2014; Knoll, 2014). It reflected and shaped the governance of AE by facilitating the development of a political and legal framework around it. After the conference, it took four years to finalise the Recommendations on AE that various stakeholders should follow (UNESCO, 1976).

CONFITEA III in 1972 and the following Recommendations on AE in 1976 reflect the strive for international development and economic growth wherein educating adults was considered relevant to deal with structural changes in the economy (Kallen & Bengtsson, 1973; UNESCO, 1972). On the one hand, stakeholders in rich industrial economies

(where education was a right, not a privilege during the 1970s due to a well-developed infrastructure and resources gained during the colonial period, later termed the Global North) claimed that the right to AE (institutionalised provisions for further and continuing education) could be extended to the adult population for social emancipation and social justice (UNESCO, 1972, 1976; Singh, 2023). On the other hand, stakeholders in poor countries (former colonies with drained resources, lacking even the basic infrastructure for education, later termed the Global South) with limited means even for basic education, who could (or willingly did) not manage to declare it as a right, organised offers for options that were not necessarily institutionalised or semi-institutionalised (non-formal provisions) (UNESCO, 1972, 1976; Singh, 2023). The collaboration among the stakeholders further reflected the Cold War urge to avoid the expanse of communism resulting from the increasing influence of the USSR due to poverty and exclusion (Singh, 2023).

The 2015 Recommendations on ALE and CONFITEA VII highlight that human activity has consequences for the planet and thereby awareness regarding how to avoid the destruction of the planet due to ceaseless economic growth has to be developed through learning (UIL, 2016, 2022).

In 2015, while CONFITEA VI was awaiting a mid-term review, the Education for All (EFA) and the Millenium Development Goals (MDG) period ended, and Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) were adopted. This was the time when the UIL (2016) released the Recommendation on ALE to suggest how ALE could be implemented all over the globe *within the Framework of Lifelong Learning*.

The 2015 Recommendations and CONFITEA VII are embedded in the sustainability framework, focusing upon the development of humans as learning individuals who should form the core of learning societies and hence ensure a sustainable future (Singh, 2020, 2023; UIL, 2022). It is notable that even though the term *sustainable development* is used in several places in the outcome document of CONFITEA VII, it is *not included* in the conclusive statement at the end of the document (UIL, 2022).

Predominant state influence can be seen in the CONFITEA VII to some extent even though the background reports and preparatory meetings had inputs from non-state actors (D. Atchorena, personal communication, 16th August 2023; UIL, 2022). The organisers preferred avoiding last minute changes and therefore the physical attendance of non-state actors (especially civil society) was not necessarily given priority during the conference (D. Atchorena, personal communication, 16th August 2023; K. Popović, personal communication, 3rd July 2023). Although it was possible to participate online, the physical attendance of actors might have created a more engaged impact of stakeholders during the conference (K. Popović, personal communication, 3rd July 2023).

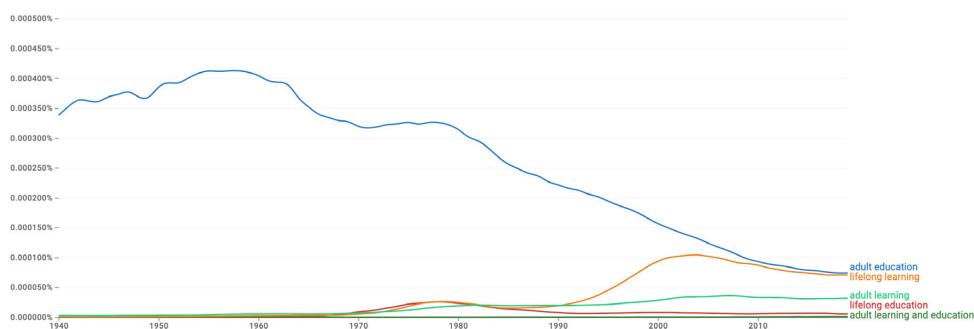
CONFITEA VII advocated for the *right to LLL* including ALE (UIL, 2022). This has been widely perceived and criticised as the transition from the humanistic agenda of the right to lifelong education (extension of the right to education to the adult population) to the economic agenda of making individuals responsible for their learning and therefore

entrusting them with the duty to learn (Biesta, 2022). The argument is that while education is embedded in the democratic right of everyone to realise their own potential ensured by the state owing to social emancipation and social justice, learning is embedded in a market-based approach and models of competence (Barros, 2012; Biesta, 2022; Milana, 2012). Based on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the EU approach, the move has been criticised further for restricting education within a narrow understanding of functionality and instrumentalism (Biesta, 2022).

Google Ngram Viewer shows the declining use of the phrase AE against an increasing use of the phrase LLL in publications, especially since the 1990s (See Figure 3).

Figure 3

Use of the phrase Adult Education, Adult Learning, Adult Learning and Education, and Lifelong Learning in publications in the English language up to 2019 on Google

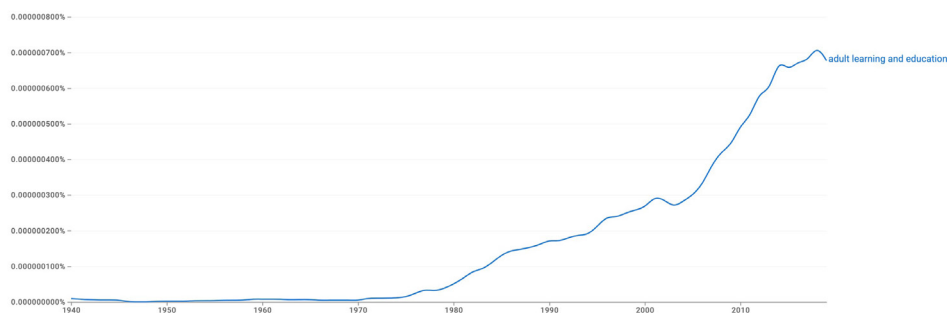


Note. Created on Google Ngram Viewer on 29th September 2023 by the author.

Further, even though the phrase *ALE* is used far less frequently than AE and LLL (See Figure 3), its use has gradually been on the rise (See Figure 4).

Figure 4

Use of the phrase Adult Learning and Education in publications in the English language up to 2019 on Google



Note. Created on Google Ngram Viewer on 29th September 2023 by the author.

An increasing number of LLL policies in the OECD-EU countries, the increasing focus on adult learning rather than AE, and the role of the OECD and the EU in promoting this has played a major role (Biesta, 2022; Ehlers, 2019; Singh, 2023; UIL, n.d.-a). Certain stakeholders fear that LLL is taking over AE, resulting in reduced resources and thereby less scope for professionalisation, research and thereby representation of marginalised learners (Archer, 2022; K. Popović, personal communication, 3rd July 2023). Even in countries like Denmark that rank high in terms of state welfare, learners are offered opportunities in alignment with their relevance for the labour market (Singh et al., 2022; Singh & Ehlers, 2024; Singh, Ehlers et al., 2023).

However, whether the AE sector promotes or impedes learning (Singh & Ehlers, 2024) is debatable and requires further evidence. While most researchers representing AE and adult learning tend to include all forms of adult learning across contexts and disciplines, disciplinary boundaries within education itself can be difficult to permeate (for instance, see Hill et al., 2023). In fact, this tendency of being all inclusive has been counterproductive for the disciplinary development of AE (Rubenson & Elfert, 2019).

Since the CONFINTEA Conferences are meant to highlight issues of AE, promoting the agenda of LLL (which they already did in the 1997 Hamburg Conference too) may channel resources away from AE (K. Popović, personal communication, 3rd July 2023). Organisations like the OECD have done so consciously in the past (Biesta, 2022) and UNESCO/UIL are following suit by various means (K. Popović, personal communication, 3rd July 2023; Singh, 2020; Singh & Ehlers, 2020).

Several stakeholders representing AE argued that during CONFINTEA VII, the participation of civil society actors (who lobbied for AE) was made challenging to ensure that LLL predominated the outcome document (K. Popović, personal communication, 3rd July 2023). The then UIL Director argued that last minute changes were not necessarily required in the outcome document, and all stakeholders had been provided ample opportunities to take part and shape the agenda for CONFINTEA VII beforehand (D. Atchorena, personal communication, 16th August 2023). Further, in UNESCO, an *intergovernmental* organisation, member states who provide resources have to be given preference over other stakeholders and they favoured the right to LLL rather than AE, since LLL already includes the learning and education of adults (D. Atchorena, personal communication, 16th August 2023; A. Carlsen, personal communication, 29th August 2023).

Even though several stakeholders perceive global conferences like CONFINTEA as a point where major commitments might happen, changes may not necessarily take place unless there is a need and practice embedded in the context, decision-makers in nation-states identify such commitments as relevant, and prioritise them in their policies by committing resources (Denholm et al., 2022; W. Mauch, personal communication, 13th September 2023). While several civil society actors argue that they may put pressure on the state to fulfil the commitments made on global platforms, for instance, at

CONFINTEA VII (Denholm et al., 2022), such non-binding agreements hardly lead to any direct change (W. Mauch, personal communication, 13th September 2023). The advocacy for the right to LLL on the CONFINTEA platform is merely a reflection of what is slowly happening all over the world, and if the declining status of AE is a concern, the efforts to revive it should precede the commitments of policy stakeholders (W. Mauch, personal communication, 13th September 2023).

What could have led to the strengthening of the AE sector around CONFINTEA III and its decline around CONFINTEA VII? Does the decline of AE imply that adult learners are going to get fewer opportunities to learn in the future?

Education specifically refers to the institutionalised delivery of knowledge, whereas institutionalisation is not necessarily relevant for learning (Jarvis, 2014). The move away from education and towards learning therefore implies that the institutionalisation of knowledge (process) is given less priority than learning (outcome). The same is reflected in the CONFINTEA III document where states are requested to support AE initiatives irrespective of the settings in which they take place since many states (low and middle-income countries) were unable to provide institutionalised provisions at that time (UNESCO, 1972). In fact, provisions regarding learning have increased with this increased focus on learning (Jarvis, 2014).

Despite being predominantly about employability, LLL extends to other aspects such as social inclusion and equality termed as humanistic (Jarvis, 2014). In fact, a confusion regarding the use of the terms adult learning and AE persists and the term *ALE* indicates that education implies learning (Conway et al., 2022; Jarvis, 2014). In the 2015 Recommendations, the term *ALE within the Framework of LLL* was used to ensure that no stakeholders working with AE were excluded while the positioning of ALE remained clear within the emerging LLL framework (A. Carlsen, personal communication, 29th August 2023; UIL, 2015). This policy change from a *teaching regime* to a *learning regime*, among other things, included a focus on the learner and learning across disciplines, settings (formal, non-formal and informal), education sectors (primary, secondary, higher, vocational, AE, etc.), policy areas beyond education (like transport, communication, health etc.), and a whole architecture supporting, facilitating and promoting learner-centric provisions (Ehlers, 2019; Singh, 2020b; Singh et al., 2022).

Are all learners equally benefitting in the learning regime? Measurements comprise a significant aspect of the learning regime with a focus on the most lucrative returns on investment in education – the working-age population and employability (Singh, 2020b). However, with the development of a sustainable approach in education, measuring the outcomes of learning only in terms of economic gains has been left far behind while a move towards broadening the way learning outcomes are evaluated and perceived, especially since the financial crisis of 2007–08, is evident (Singh, 2020a, 2020b). The CONFINTEA VII outcome document reflects the same by advocating the right to LLL irrespective of the relevance of such learning for the work-life (UIL, 2022).

Data about the participation of adult learners (for whatever contexts it is available) shows a general trend of increasing participation in adult learning activities (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

Adult participation in learning in EU countries (2019–22)

	Total			
	2019	2020	2021	2022
EU	10.8	9.1	10.8	11.9
Belgium	8.2	7.4	10.2	10.3
Bulgaria	2.0	1.6	1.8	1.7
Czechia	8.1	5.5	5.8	9.4
Denmark	25.3	20.0	22.3	27.9
Germany (*)	8.2	7.7	7.7	8.1
Estonia	19.6	16.6	18.4	21.1
Ireland	12.6	11.0	13.6	11.8
Greece	3.9	4.1	3.5	3.5
Spain	10.6	11.0	14.4	15.3
France	19.5	13.0	11.0	13.3
Croatia	3.5	3.2	5.1	4.4
Italy	8.1	7.2	9.9	9.6
Cyprus	5.9	4.7	9.7	10.5
Latvia	7.4	6.6	8.6	9.7
Lithuania	7.0	7.2	8.5	8.5
Luxembourg	19.1	16.3	17.9	18.1
Hungary	5.8	5.1	5.9	7.9
Malta	11.9	11.0	13.9	12.8
Netherlands	19.5	18.8	26.6	26.4
Austria	14.7	11.7	14.6	15.8
Poland	4.8	3.7	5.4	7.6
Portugal	10.5	10.0	12.9	13.8
Romania	1.3	1.0	4.9	5.4
Slovenia	11.2	8.4	18.9	21.6
Slovakia (*)	3.6	2.8	4.8	12.8
Finland	29.0	27.3	30.5	25.2
Sweden	34.3	28.6	34.7	36.2
Iceland (*)	22.2	20.3	23.9	27.1
Norway	19.3	16.4	19.5	21.1
Switzerland	32.3	27.6	22.8	22.0
Montenegro	2.5	2.7	:	:
North Macedonia	2.8	2.6	:	:
Serbia	4.3	3.7	4.8	5.2
Türkiye	5.7	5.8	:	:

Note. From Adult learning statistics, by Eurostat. (2023).

Similar trends are reflected globally due to the rising literacy figures and measurements of learning on various parameters in general (Grotlüşchen at al., 2023; World Bank, 2022). However, the discrepancies in participation cannot be denied as the adult learning opportunities have not been offset proportionately in participation, thereby indicating an increasing Matthew Effect (Karger et al., 2022; OECD, 2020; Singh & Ehlers, 2024; Singh et al., 2022, 2023).

Table 1 shows a comparison of the content in the CONFINTEA and Recommendation documents:

Table 1

Comparison of relevant policy documents (1972–2022)

Comparative category	CONFINTEA III	Recommendations in 1976	Recommendations in 2015	CONFINTEA VII
Stakeholders (who)	UNESCO (82 member states, 3 non-members, 4 UN organisations, 1 observer from an international organisation, 37 international NGOs)	UNESCO	UIL	UNESCO (1126 participants from 149 countries, representatives of 142 UNESCO member states, civil society organisations, social partners, international organisations, market actors)
Content (what)	1. Need for the development of AE sectors with specific political and legal structures; 2. Creating pathways for movement between education and work and vice-versa (integrated education); 3. Integrating AE with the formal education system; 4. Perceiving AE as a part of Lifelong Education; 5. Creating provisions for AE and recognising AE outcomes formally.	1. Declaring access to Life-Long Education as a fundamental aspect of the right to education; 2. Arguing to develop AE as needs-based, contributing to development and collective advancement and thereby included as part of development policies; 3. Recognising AE as compensatory, not replacing youth education.	1. Focusing on learning (especially skills including basic, literacy, vocational, liberal, popular and community education and skills) and still mentioning education to include all stakeholders; 2. Proposing guidelines for integrating ALE within the Framework of LLL and aligning it with the TVET guidelines to ensure that all aspects of education for adults is included in LLL; 3. Identifying the primary areas of action including Policy; Governance; Financing; Participation, Inclusion and Equity; and Quality.	1. Demand for the right to LLL, integrating all education and learning within the framework of LLL, including all stakeholders for generating resources and successful policy implementation; 2. Aiming at a sustainable future, not including the term development in the final statement; 3. Adopting an evidence-informed, rights-based and inclusive approach and thereby promoting learning beyond work yet focusing on youth (going to stay on the labour market for a long time) and adults as separate target groups.

Comparative category	CONFINTEA III	Recommendations in 1976	Recommendations in 2015	CONFINTEA VII
Time (when)	Second development decade, global North-South tensions gearing up. Migration, rising unemployment (structural change in economy) and skills mismatch, labour movements, and visible problems of industrialisation.	Characterised by Cold War period, Strategy, not for individual but societal peace, democracy, and work (industrialisation), inclusion of those who were marginalised during development.	Aligned with the SDGs.	Proposed to be a part of the Transformative Education Summit in 2022 (period focussing on digital literacy, AI and green transitions). Post-pandemic period with acceptance of on-line participation as the new normal for more (in numbers) participation with lower costs.
Location (where)	In a high-income country (Tokyo, Japan)	UNESCO General Assembly	UIL	In a lower middle-income country (Marrakech, Morocco)
Arguments as described in the policy document (why)	To reflect the trends and part of routine conferences.	Implementation guidelines for informing member states how to proceed with CONFINTEA III outcomes.	Superseding the Recommendations of 1976 in light of changes including integrating ALE within the framework of LLL.	Reference document for Transformative Education Summit, 2022: defining the role of ALE in promoting development and a sustainable future through a <i>new social contract</i> to include everyone in learning for promoting everyone's wellbeing and a sustainable future.

DISCUSSION

There are at least two transitions reflected in the above analysis. The first transition is from sector-based education (institutionalised, teaching-oriented) to learning *ecosystems*. These learning ecosystems can be defined as learning landscapes which are not necessarily institutionalised and structured as systems, are learning-oriented, and are flexible in terms of including and recognising as many stakeholders as possible, their inter-relationships, and the outcomes of their (in)actions, and place the learner at the centre of everything. These learning ecosystems are not idealistic utopian formulations because future societies are going to be knowledge societies and those who are unable to learn will be pushed to the edges. The second transition is from AE (institutionalised or struggling to be institutionalised forms of teaching regimes for adults organised as a sector) to ALE within the framework of LLL (not necessarily institutionalised forms of learning integrated into the larger framework of LLL). The transitions are global (see Table 1) as low and middle-income countries are showing interest to host CONFINTEAs. Further, the UIL is taking

over for UNESCO regarding the global policy on AE, ALE, and LLL since the latter two documents have been released by the UIL rather than by UNESCO. Both transitions reflect the policy priorities of the policy frameworks they are embedded in (see Figure 6).

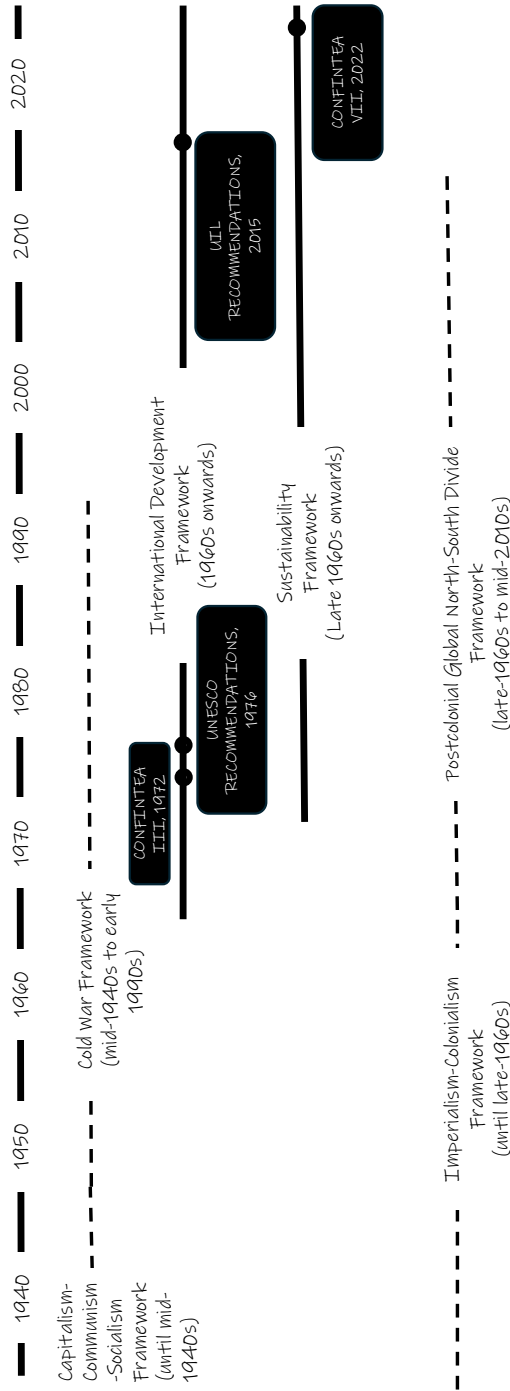
CONFINTEA III and the 1976 Recommendations reflect the juggling between tendencies for ceaseless economic growth, inclusion of the marginalised, Cold War politics, the rich–poor divide amid economies, post-colonial policy discourse, and the advantages of imperialism for former colonisers. All these factors were conducive for the development of a sector of AE, institutionalised and semi-institutionalised – as per the contextual needs and possibilities. It is notable that the idea of the social emancipatory state (where the state acts as a means for achieving social justice) was strong at that time and hence the demand for education (backed by state responsibility as a public good) was strong too. However, a close reading of the CONFINTEA III and the 1976 Recommendations documents shows that accepting semi-institutionalism and non-formal provisions where formal provisions were not possible also implied that learning or functionality (relevance of the offer for certain policy objectives, especially development) was given preference over formality (formal education).

The 2015 Recommendations and CONFINTEA VII documents reflect the widening approach towards envisioning human activity beyond the economy and beyond the present (i.e. in the future). Leaving out the term *development* from the CONFINTEA VII final statement indicates an increasing consciousness among stakeholders that development is not necessary for a sustainable future, and certain human activities termed as development like ceaseless economic growth have negative consequences (such as exclusion and environmental degradation) over sustainability. Thus, while materialistic abundance is questioned in the new understanding about sustainability, cost-cutting and thereby *institutionalisation* (which incurs heavy costs) might be scrutinised as well. Despite all the advantages that the institutionalisation of education offers, the vices of the existing forms of institutionalisation in education leading to the gratification of those who are a part of the institutions (for instance, private providers of formal education guided by profit only), systematic exclusion through education (for instance, education leading to learning poverty), and the need for cutting learning costs in order to make it accessible for everyone, everywhere, irrespective of institutionalisation, are relevant considerations for moving towards a new architecture that supports learning. Therefore, in several contexts where the state does not (is unable to) commit enough resources to make institutionalised learning possible, a transition towards the learning regime extends enormous possibilities to adult learners even with limited resources, complimented by tools like the recognition and validation of prior learning. Studies show that institutionalisation might act as a barrier against learning and in fact impact inclusion, social emancipation, and social justice negatively, for instance when profit making predominates (Singh & Ehlers, 2019). Thus, despite all attractiveness in theory, the dichotomy between the right to education and the duty to learn is not necessarily supported by facts globally. In fact, the advocacy for the *right to LLL* calls for the opposite – it represents a broader view beyond the boundaries of

Figure 6

Placing the four compared documents in the policy frameworks for understanding the policy context in which they are embedded

A Framework for Analysing Policies: Mapping Global Policies on Education and Lifelong Learning



Note. Adapted from "A framework for policy analysis and issues of internationalization," by S. Singh, in S. Singh, T. Fristup, L. Sonne, & S. Ehlers (Eds.), *Internationalisation @ Home*, forthcoming, Novus Publishing.

institutionalisation, i.e. *beyond education*, and tends to include learning across disciplines, in all forms, all contexts and all settings in *learning ecosystems*, which are flexible and inclusive, unlike learning systems, which can be formal, structured and thereby exclusive to those who fit into these structures.

The move beyond education and within the learning ecosystems holds the promise to free learners from the vices of institutionalisation in its perverted forms. The argument is not against institutionalisation which provides possibilities to ensure emancipation, social justice, and inclusion rather than leaving everything for a free and equal competition among unequals. The argument is in favour of new architectures that need to replace the existing institutionalisation meant for teaching (top-down approach) for specific years within disciplinary silos and in clearly defined formal, non-formal and informal settings, with institutions that suit the bottom-up, flexible learning approach across disciplines and settings, throughout life for the present as well as for the future. The existing institutions have been trying to accommodate learning by including non-formal offers, provisions like recognition of prior learning (RPL), equivalencies, qualification frameworks and the like, but the unintended consequences come in the form of a tussle between the stakeholders holding power in the old institutions but lacking the same in the new ones. A new form of *architecture* to facilitate adult learning integrated within the larger framework of LLL therefore needs to develop and is developing gradually, already evident from the CONFINTEA VII document. The other side of the coin is a declining AE sector. An increasing interest of stakeholders in investing in adult learning is further adding to the withdrawal of resources from the sector of AE.

How is this going to affect the adult learner? The adult learner appears to be gaining in terms of autonomy, low costs (also relevant for society) and more *choices* rather than top-down offers provided by authorities and providers in *supply-based models*. This transition has in fact created a dichotomy between the interests of adult educators and the free learner to some extent. A major challenge for the new architecture is to ensure that all learning in these flexible learning ecosystems is recognised and valued in some way to avoid the marginalisation of learners who tend to choose one learning opportunity over the other, as self-directed learners without the consent of representatives of the top-down, teaching-oriented, supply-based education sectors.

Has it increased access? The results are mixed because the need for mobilising and making the learner aware of choosing one path over the other plays a major role. The development of individuals as self-directed learners with the ability to navigate in learning environments (future societies are going to be learning societies) and choose the learning pathways to ensure their well-being in a sustainable manner, integration of education sectors with each other and with sectors under other policy areas (like economy, communication, infrastructure, etc.) is required (OECD, 2019). Without this integration, access might remain limited and unintended consequences like the Matthew Effect and the marginalisation of learners with limited or negligible resources might prevail (Singh, 2020b; Singh & Ehlers, 2019). The resultant flexibility in terms of modes, methods and settings, supplemented by provisions

like RPL, has increased the interest of various stakeholders to invest in learning for different reasons and thereby provided a lot more opportunities to the learner in several contexts, but is not reflected proportionately in participation (Singh, 2023; Singh & Ehlers, 2019).

The history of rights from the right to vote to the right to education shows that it takes time and critical inputs to make policies work in an equitable way because they are pre-dominated by a bargain among stakeholders to gain power and ensure their stakes. Despite the inclusion of *empty signifiers* in policy documents, it may be unrealistic to assume that policy stakeholders would buy *good ideas* and commit resources to them or interpret them in a certain way (as concepts rather than *floating signifiers* according to what suits their interests) because of their rationality and accountability towards the *interest groups* they represent. However, to ensure that they do not completely digress to a *zero-sum* (where one stakeholder benefits at the cost of others) or *negative-sum game* (where all stakeholders lose in one way or the other) keeping the future as a parameter, the presence of critical friends from the areas of science, profession and practice is indispensable. This highlights both the need and the responsibility of stakeholders who currently represent the sector of AE, that is, to ensure that the implementation of the right to LLL is moving in the direction which is best for the learner, the society, and the planet now as well as in the future. For a start, a focus on ensuring access to all, reducing the Matthew Effect, and ensuring that all learning is valued appropriately can be considered.

CONCLUSION

The above analysis shows that in the past half century, there have been at least two transitions in relation to the education of adults: first, from education to learning; and second, from AE to ALE within the framework of LLL. In general, the transitions highlight the move away from one form of institutionalisation (right to education and sectors of education) towards another form of institutionalisation (right to LLL and systems of LLL). This has increased the opportunities for learning and provided wider access to adult learners by mobilising more resources (by engaging stakeholders other than the state which see benefit in a growing LLL architecture) and providing choice to the learner. However, the new form of institutionalisation is unable to capture the essence of learning ecosystems and is focusing merely on systemic factors. Consequently, the increase in access to learning has not completely translated to participation, and quality learning in many contexts has led to the Matthew Effect and the marginalisation of specific learning target groups.

The rise and decline of a sector of AE due to the above mentioned transitions has brought several stakeholders representing AE to a crossroads where they can either hold on, fight back and in the long run perish without changing according to the changing needs and policy framework (which represents political priorities and bargains backed by resources and not necessarily the realities in general) or they can cooperate, facilitate and even lead the development of a new architecture which is already taking shape and become the voice of the unheard in the process.

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Shalini Singh, Søren Ehlers

CHALLENGING THE MATTHEW EFFECT THROUGH INDIVIDUAL LEARNING ACCOUNTS? CASE STUDIES FROM DENMARK AND FRANCE

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the role of Individual Learning Accounts (ILAs) as policy instruments in challenging the Matthew Effect and promoting self-directed learning among the non-participant but potential adult learners. The paper builds upon the Integrated Implementation Model of Winter (2012) explaining policy implementation and the typology for classifying systems of lifelong learning according to their governance by Green (2000). The paper banks upon data from Denmark, France and the EU, and proposes a learner-centric model for the implementation of education policies along with revisions in Green's typology.

Keywords: *low-qualified adults, non-participants, personal autonomy, personalised learning, social investments*

PREPREČEVANJE MATEJEVEGA UČINKA Z INDIVIDUALNIMI UČNIMI RAČUNI? ŠTUDIJE PRIMEROV IZ DANSKE IN FRANCIJE – POVZETEK

Članek obravnava individualne učne račune kot političen instrument za preprečevanje Matejevega učinka in promocijo samostojnega učenja med neudeleženci izobraževanj, ki pa so še vedno potencialno učeči se odrasli. Prispevek na podlagi Winterjevega (2012) modela integrirane implementacije razlaga izvajanje politik in uporabi Greenovo (2000) tipologijo za klasifikacijske sisteme vseživljenjskega učenja glede na sistem upravljanja. Na podlagi podatkov iz Danske, Francije in Evropske unije predlaga na učečega usmerjen model za implementacijo izobraževalnih politik in revidirano verzijo Greenove tipologije.

Ključne besede: *odrasli z nizko stopnjo izobrazbe, neudeleženci, osebna avtonomija, posamezniku prilagojeno učenje, socialne naložbe*

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INTRODUCTION

The EU has decided to establish a European Education Area by 2025 (European Commission [EC], 2020). In its agenda, Individual Learning Accounts (hereafter ILAs) have been prioritised since 2019 (EC, 2019c). The EU considers ILAs to be relevant policy instruments for achieving *lifelong learning for all* by ensuring that all adults participate in learning activities, irrespective of their socio-economic background. The EU suggests that its member states should ensure to provide diversified learning opportunities for addressing the individual learning needs of all adults because of the long-term gains involved (EC, 2022; Fernandes & Kerneis, 2020, 2021). To achieve this, the EU argues in favour of ILAs in the form of individual grants to finance learners rather than providers and is therefore demand-led rather than supply-led (Cedefop, 2023).

Even though ILAs are an evidence-informed, well-elaborated and tested policy instrument to increase participation in learning among adults (and thereby the indicator reflecting resilient education systems), their effective implementation is a major challenge, even for Nordic countries like Denmark which invest abundant resources in education (EC, 2019a; Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2019a). This highlights the wide gulf between policy formulation (which is rather generalised) and implementation (more concrete and adapted version which might take decades to fill up; Singh & Ehlers, 2019). Meanwhile, the ineffective or incomplete implementation of policies might lead to several unintended consequences, which in turn may intensify the challenges a particular policy is supposed to address. The Matthew Effect is one such challenge which might get aggravated if ILAs are not implemented effectively. The Matthew Effect refers to the situation where the rich become richer and the poor become poorer when social investments are made without equity considerations (Bonoli et al., 2017). Since the Nordic societies give high weightage to equity¹ at least in their policy considerations compared to the rest of the world, equity is a significant parameter for policy implementation in the Nordic context. In other words, the relevance of the EU policy recommendations for the Nordic countries largely lies in their ability to challenge *the Matthew Effect*, i.e. the social phenomenon wherein the advantageous keep gaining more advantages and the disadvantaged keep becoming more disadvantaged. For instance, the differences between children who are poor readers and children who are excellent readers keeps increasing during their lifetime (Heckman, 2008).

This article reflects on the possibility of implementing ILAs as a policy instrument to challenge the Matthew Effect in Danish society by analysing their implementation in France, the context where they have been most successfully implemented. Furthermore, the French case is well-researched with data in alignment with the EU norms and thus can be easily compared with the Danish data. It focusses on giving low-qualified adults new possibilities which are individual-centric (rather than employability- or job-centric), and thus relevant for reflecting upon the Danish context. The research question for the paper is:

1 See Tuijnman & Hellström (2001). Nordic countries rank among the highest in terms of equality (measured by the OECD using the *Gini Coefficient*).

Are Individual Learning Accounts (ILAs) a relevant policy instrument to challenge the Matthew Effect in the Danish context?

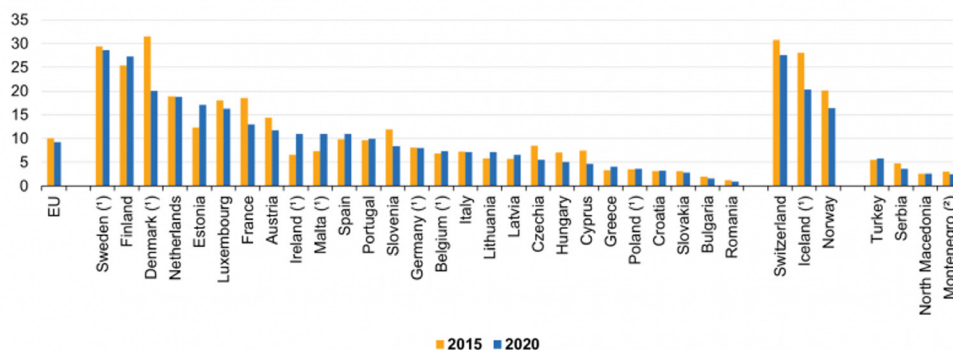
The sources of research include policy documents, especially evaluation reports from the OECD, the EU, France, and Denmark. The article is thereby using the methods of case study, policy analysis (to focus on policies in the two cases and analyse the content of the policy documents based on how they describe and evaluate ILAs), and the comparative approach, taking the French case as the reference case and comparing the Danish case with it. The study covers the period from the 1970s, when the education and training reforms were introduced in France and Denmark after the post-WWII reconstruction period ended and a specific sector for the education of adults started taking shape in European countries with a view to achieve growth, prosperity and thereby development (Singh et al., 2022; Singh, 2024), and up to the year 2022, when a report was published rejecting the idea to implement ILAs in Denmark (Reformkommissionen, 2022).

The point of departure for the paper is the European Commission's recommendation from 2022 to implement ILAs in all EU member states based on the French experience (EC, 2022). The recommendation is a major shift from the EU's previous standpoint. In its previous recommendations from 1995, the European Commission argued for investment in human capital to ensure competitiveness, but in 2022 the EU recommendations argue for investments in social capital (i.e. social inclusion and equity) to ensure overall development (EC, 1995, 2022). Apart from other socio-economic factors, this recommendation was made especially in response to the continuously decreasing participation rate in adult learning amongst most EU member states during 2015–20 (see Figure 1)

Figure 1

Adult participation in learning in Europe compared by country and over time

Adult participation in learning, by country, 2015 and 2020
(% of population aged 25 to 64)



(*) Break(s) in time series between the two years shown.

(*) 2019 data (instead of 2020).

Source: Eurostat (online data code: sdg_04_60)

eurostat

Note. From Adult participation in learning, by country, 2015 and 2020 (% of population aged 25 to 64), by Eurostat (2020).

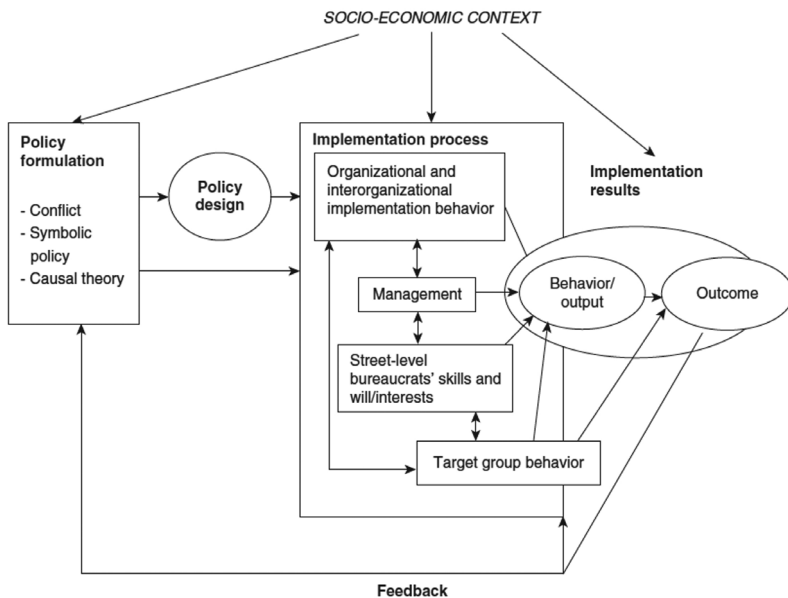
and the EU strategy for the European Education Area by 2025 which was overdue already (EC, 2020; Eurostat, 2020). The spatial context for the article is primarily Europe, even though the generalisations are relevant for comparison and reflection in other contexts.

In 2016, about 15% of the participants in adult learning in the EU were low-qualified (Fernandes & Kerneis, 2020). Even though the overall participation rate has been constantly increasing due to the competition among the providers of higher education, the numbers reflect the increasing participation of high-qualified adult learners while the participation of low-qualified learners remains almost the same. This implies that as the participation figures increase, the gap between the participation of the high- and the low-qualified increases. The same has been confirmed by statistics from Denmark highlighting a declining number of low-qualified participants from 25% in 2009 to 14% in 2023 (Arbejderbevaegelsens Erhvervsraad, 2023).

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework of the paper includes Winter's (2012) *Integrated Implementation Model* as it provides a comprehensive framework for understanding the implementation process in a given context. Winter (2012) argues that the implementation process comprises of several of such stakeholders and their behaviour in the Danish context regarding a Matthew Effect among adult learners.

Figure 2
Integrated Implementation Model by Winter



Note. From "Implementation," by S. Winter, in B. Peters & J. Pierre (Eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Public Administration* (p. 258), 2012, Sage.

Since the implementation guidelines are included in the policy formulation and design, at least two more conceptual formulations need to be considered: Green's (2000) typology about the governance of lifelong learning systems and Vedung's typology about types of policy instruments (Bemelmans-Videc et al., 1998). Green (2000) categorises lifelong learning systems into three ideal types based on how they are governed: *State-led*, where the State is the primary decision maker; *Partner-led*, where the Social Partners and the State engage in tripartite negotiations for decision-making and the Social Partners are the most influential voice in decision-making; and *Market-led*, where policy decisions are primarily guided by Market forces of demand and supply. It is notable that in reality, life-long learning systems are governed by mixed forms or hybrids of these ideal types (Singh et al., 2022). In these hybrids, the proportion of influence of each ideal type may change when policies are revised. Thus, an ideal type may gain or lose influence as compared to other ideal types when policy revisions take place (Singh et al., 2022). Vedung classifies policy instruments into three categories: *Carrots* (benefits), *Sticks* (punishments) and *Sermons* (information) (Bemelmans-Videc et al., 1998). Both generalisations are used in the paper to analyse policy revisions and their implementation in Denmark and France.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF INDIVIDUAL LEARNING ACCOUNTS (ILAS)

Because of the availability of several versions and descriptions of ILAs (Schuetze, 2007), the operational definition of ILAs for this article is:

ILAs are personal accounts of individual adult learners wherein paid hours of work or money is provided by relevant authorities to cover their learning costs.

The learning costs might be calculated in a narrow (including fee, travel costs, etc.) or broad (including Paid Education Leave, career guidance and validation, etc.) manner, depending upon how the decision makers are willing and able to determine the costs. While paid working hours² were generally used in the past (termed the *First Generation of ILAs* in this paper), the transfer of money is the contemporary preferred approach (termed the *Second Generation of the French ILAs* in this paper) because the money provides more personal autonomy to the learners for choosing what they consider as relevant. Furthermore, money includes the possibility of covering the broader learning costs and thus has more potential than paid working hours to increase participation in learning.

Implementing ILAs is a complicated process and if designed appropriately, ILAs promote inclusion, but the opposite might lead to exclusion as well (OECD, 2019c, 2019b). With a weak policy design, implementation might not give the desired results irrespective of low *implementation fidelity* (digressing from the planned implementation guidelines during the implementation process). This is so because the implementation process is guided by how policies are designed (Carroll et al., 2007; Winter, 2012). Special focus on

² The 1974 convention about paid educational leave formulated by the International Labour Organization (1974) focusses upon paid hours for learning.

adequately informing (using *Sermons*) potential learners about the relevance of ILAs as *Carrots* is a prerequisite in the policy design for implementing ILAs effectively (OECD, 2019b).

According to the OECD, ILAs are different from individual savings accounts and training accounts (similar provisions) and only France has implemented them effectively (OECD, 2019c). While the individual savings accounts and training accounts are like perks connected to a specific employment and not portable (cannot be taken along while moving from one job to another), the ILAs are individual rights, available to all adult citizens, irrespective of their employment (OECD, 2019c). Moreover, ILAs reduce the role of collective actors like social partners and promote the effect of the market forces (competition among providers of individual learning opportunities; Perez & Vourc'h, 2020). This makes ILAs liberating instruments for adult learners, at least in principle, because to avail themselves of learning opportunities, the learners are not bound by their employment status, restricted by the supply of offers and the conditionalities of social partners and providers and have the ability to choose what they want to learn like consumers, whom the providers try to entice. ILAs are therefore designed as *Carrots* (policy instruments) to ensure that working age learners have adequate resources and the freedom to *buy* the career guidance, validation, and education they consider to be relevant. Notably, career guidance and validation are included in the broader calculation of learning costs. The European Commission (2022) recommends enlisting all offers covered under ILAs in national registers for quality offers. Thus, while the learners are free in principle, they are restricted by national choices in the name of quality considerations in reality.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

A vast body of research is available (especially from the 1980s) about the difference between the learning behaviour of adults and children, and the way that the education of adults should therefore be designed. Since the 1970s, the literature reflects concepts like self-directedness (Knowles, 1980), self-determination (Deci et al., 2017), and personalised learning (Wozniak, 2021) to highlight the development of an individual from a dependent to a self-directed learner. The same resonated in Nordic research as well (Tøsse, 2011; Wahlgren, 2010). Furthermore, the idea to develop *education among equals* (Jarvis, 1985) through bottom-up approaches became wide-spread in the Nordic countries (Tøsse, 2011; Wahlgren, 2010). Research done by Tough in the 1970s showed that more than 90% of adults in the US have their own personalised (could be informal and thereby not officially measured) learning projects irrespective of their employment status (Tough, 1979, as cited in Merriam et al., 2007). This is pertinent for understanding why adults might abstain from participation in organised (formal or non-formal) learning. In fact, adults have their own learning projects that do not necessarily count or are not measured as organised and documented learning (Tough, 1971). The German adult education survey tries to capture these projects and map informal learning too, but it is not a widely accepted way of measuring learning activities yet (Singh et al., 2022).

Andragogical research emphasises that apart from employability and wage-related issues, adults (high- and low-qualified alike) may resist *education from above*, but they are interested in learning if they perceive it to be relevant. This means that if the offers provide autonomy, enhance competence, and have relatedness, adults are motivated for participation. Thus, the challenge of non-participation might be rooted in the provisions rather than in the learners (Crowther, 2000; Deci & Ryan, 2017, as cited in Kalenda & Kočvarová, 2022; Jarvis, 1985; Tough, 1971, as cited in Merriam et al., 2007). One such challenge could be the lack of *personalised learning* because of which the potential learners might consider the offers as irrelevant (Wozniak, 2021). Personalised learning is apparently increasing in France due to new approaches such as *Jobflix*. This digital tool is designed to enable users to explore different career options and access personalised recommendations based on their skills and interests (Mrvcic & O'Doherty, 2022).

A differential treatment of low-qualified and high-qualified adults as learners has characterised the EU policies (Brine, 2006). In the 1990s, the EU approach was influenced by the Vocational Training models applied in France and not the broader Adult Learning and Education models which included non-vocational provisions (Field, 1997). A Norwegian case study showed how low-skilled adults were made to participate using *Sermons* (advice) and *Sticks* (punishment) (Dæhlen & Ure, 2009). A Czech study analysed the differences among Czech *non-participants* and recommended individualised offers (Kalenda & Kočvarová, 2021). It argued that giving autonomy and self-determination, building up the competencies required by the learners, and relatedness between learning outcomes and real-life needs could attract all learners irrespective of their qualification levels (Deci & Ryan, 2017, as cited in Kalenda & Kočvarová, 2022). The EU's current approach recommends member states make *social investments*, that is, invest not only in human but also social capital (Hemerijck, 2018).

Unlike in most parts of the globe, considerations about equity and thereby the low-qualified and the marginalised have predominated the Nordic policy discourse regarding the education of adults (Kosyakova & Bills, 2021; Rubenson, 2006; Tuijnman & Hellström, 2001). Between the 1970s and the 1990s, the policies in Denmark promoted the development of differentiated vocational and general (non-vocational) provisions under the adult education sector but post-2000s, this trend declined (Singh et al., 2022). The differentiation between vocational and non-vocational diminished gradually along with the relevance of the settings (formal, non-formal and informal) in which learning occurred (Singh et al., 2022; Singh, forthcoming). After 2000, the Danish policies were re-oriented from a focus on equity to a focus on achieving high productivity due to a highly competitive global economy (Ehlers, 2013; Singh et al., 2022). Consequently, the public spending on Adult Learning and Education and the participation rates of adults in learning became limited (Ehlers et al., 2011). By 2011, all Nordic countries revised their strategies, giving more voice to social partners as compared to the state or the market in policy design as well as implementation (Ehlers et al., 2011).

Even though the Nordic countries report some of the highest participation rates for several reasons (Desjardins, 2017), there is lack of research about whether such a participation

nowadays reflects high participation among the high-qualified adults only or among all adults irrespective of their qualification levels. Mapping the current target group behaviour in relation to *non-participation* contributes towards filling this gap. Does the current status of participation indicate an increase or decrease in the Matthew Effect?

THE DANISH CASE

The Danish education system has been one of the high performing systems in relation to the participation of adults in learning (Andriescu et al., 2019; EC, 2019). It is flexible for adapting to changes and has been therefore restructured twice since 1960, in 2001 and 2018 (Singh et al., 2022). The Danish labour market is built upon consensus among the state and the social partners and about 68% of the labour force is organised (Munck, 2020). Since the mapping started, the participation rate in Denmark has remained above the EU average, but in recent years the participation rate has declined from 31.4% in 2009 to 25.3% in 2019 (EC, 2019a).

The educational offers for adults are characterised by two types: vocational and general³ (EC, 2019a). These two types of offers have been independent of each other and spread across a large number of public and semi-public providers at least until the 1990s (EC, 2019a; Singh et al., 2022).

The general education offers for adults existed since the mid-1800s mainly in the form of part-time evening classes (Ehlers, 2009). During the industrialisation period, most adults in the labour force only had 7 years of mandatory schooling, which was extended to 9 years in 1972 (Ehlers, 2009). The state, which funded all education, started introducing non-formal vocational offers for the labour force gradually, including different target groups step by step (Pedersen et al., 2012). Until such offers became available, most adults relied on non-formal and informal (self-directed) learning (Ehlers, 2009).

As a part of a labour reform in 1960, vocational training schools were established all over the country for unskilled workers of the private sector with a provision of paid education leave (paid working hours; Pedersen et al., 2012). The state provided the resources until the 1990s (V. H. Pedersen, personal communication over email, 10th August 2022). The commission that drafted the labour market reform of 1960 included social partner representatives (an equal number of representatives from trade unions and employers' associations) and provided influence to the social partners over the provisions and the content of offers (V. H. Pedersen, personal communication over email, 10th August 2022).

The close cooperation between the state and the social partners led, for instance, to an agreement between the Ministry of Defence and the trade union for professional soldiers in the Danish Army. Haerens Konstabel- og Korporal Forening (hereafter HKKF) and

³ General offers included non-formal education in leisure time called *folkeoplysning*. For details about the several revisions of the 1990 law on *Folkeoplysning*, see Bache (2021).

the Ministry decided to offer professional soldiers paid educational leave to make sure that they could get a civil job after serving in the army.⁴

After a general revision in 1971, reskilling came back to the policy agenda for vocational education and training and the implementation of the revised law was once again shared between the state and the social partners. Access to public vocational schools (still under the Ministry of Labour) was extended to the skilled employees of the private sector in 1986 and to the skilled employees in the public sector in 1994 respectively (Pedersen et al., 2012). Unskilled workers employed in the private sector no longer remained the primary target group.

The 10 Point Programme about the future education of adults, adopted by the Parliament in 1984, maintained the difference between vocational (under the Ministry of Labour) and the non-vocational (under the Ministry of Education) offers (Ehlers, 2009, 2013). However, the two types of offers began slowly to melt together due to reforms implemented in the 1990s (Ehlers, 2009, 2013). This process peaked in 2001 when the vocational offers were placed under the Ministry of Education (Ehlers, 2009, 2013). The Ministry of Labour was renamed as the Ministry of Employment (signifying precarious jobs) and the Ministry of Children and Education got the responsibility to *monitor* the initiatives for low-qualified adults (indicating that the education of low-qualified adults was to be treated in a manner similar to the education of children and youth Ehlers, 2009, 2013). The provisions regarding high-qualified adults were moved under the Ministry of Higher Education and Research (indicating that they were considered as the core of the knowledge economy; Ehlers, 2009, 2013). Since then, the provisions for the high-qualified have occupied a predominant position in the Danish policy on the education of adults (Ehlers, 2009, 2013).

A large number of reforms that followed the suit thereafter were based upon the recommendations of committees comprising civil servants and experts. This meant a deviation from the labour market reform of 1960 where the social partners had direct influence in higher education. The state gradually withdrew from governance and took up monitoring after 2001. The non-formal *folkeoplysning* experienced funding cuts and was moved to the Ministry of Culture in 2011 (Bache, 2021). This administrative change signified that non-formal education had limited learning value compared to formal education.

The policy choices after 2000 reduced the role of the state and gave influence to the social partners owing to cost-sharing. The funding from the social partners was increased after tripartite negotiations. Resources were mobilised through *collective competence funds* administered by the social partners, while the market became the primary provider of offers for the education of adults (Rasmussen et al., 2019). It was evident how the social

4 For every month spent in the army, the soldiers were offered one week of paid education after the age of 35, just like ILAs (P. Soerensen, personal communications over email, 20th and 21st August 2022). The agreement existed from 1971 to 2013 and is in the process of being renewed due to the war in Ukraine (Holst Bach & Godtberg, 2023).

partners showed limited interest in non-vocational offers, resulting in an imbalance in the availability of offers on the market due to the imbalanced regulation of market offers (Singh et al., 2022).

In 2016, a tripartite agreement was finalised between the state and the social partners to appoint an independent group of experts to review the existing provisions and mobilise resources for the education of adults. In 2017, apart from other recommendations, the expert group recommended introducing ILAs to increase participation (Ekspertgruppen for voksen-, efter og videreuddannelse, 2017). This was followed by a further tripartite agreement in 2018 that gave more influence to the social partners over all other stakeholders (Rasmussen et al., 2019).

Based on Green’s typology, the Danish scenario can be depicted as shown in Figure 3:

Figure 3
Hybrids of education of adults in Denmark

Components of ideal types	1960	2001	2018
Predominant	State-led	Market-led	Social Partner-led
Medium influence	Social Partner-led	Social Partner-led	State-led
Least influence	Market-led	State-led	Market-led

Note. Created based on Green (2000) and the references used in the paper.

After a change in government, a group of civil servants from the Ministry of Employment, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Higher Education and Research, and the Ministry of Finance further analysed the possibility of introducing ILAs and concluded that the proposal had more negative than positive consequences (Beskæftigelsesministeriet et al., 2021). The proposal to implement ILAs was declared irrelevant by a commission of senior economists the following year, arguing that about 70% of the low-qualified adults do not want to participate and that most of the offers are utilised by the high-qualified adults (Reformkommissionen, 2022).

The recommendations of the expert committee from 2017 were based on evidence from France and Singapore. The next section comprises of the pertinent aspects of the French case.

THE FRENCH CASE

An above-EU average (10.8%) and an increasing participation rate from 5.7% in 2009 to 19.5% in 2019 indicates that France has been successful according to the EU measurement standards (EC, 2019b). The system is characterised by Vocational Education & Training (and not Adult Learning & Education) provisions, influential social partners and very careful state *governance*. Since the labour market reform of 1971, the labour

force training in France has been mandatorily funded by the social partners and provided by the market. The implementation of the 1971 reform was both a success and a failure (Colardyn, 2004). The political aims were to correct, complement and compensate the human resources. The correction of the labour force worked 100%, the completion of the skills worked partly (mainly used by high-skilled adults), and the compensation (second chance education) did not work at all (Colardyn, 2004).

Since industrial production was of the highest priority during the 1980s and 1990s, the participation of low-qualified workers remained poor despite several policy initiatives (Staugaard, 1997). It is difficult to make fundamental changes in the French system because of the resistance from social partners (Munck, 2020). Only 8% of the French workforce is organised, strikes and other conflicts are frequent and the solutions are always *decided* by the state as the trade unions are funded either by the state or by the regions (Munck, 2020).

The ILAs in France can be categorised into two generations because of the fundamental differences in their consequences despite continuity in their legal frameworks. In 2013, a Socialist government introduced reforms (Munck, 2020) which can be termed as the *First Generation of ILAs*. These ILAs counted paid *hours* for education in working time (Perez & Vourc'h, 2020). The funding of these hours was provided through the *collective training funds* pooled and managed by the social partners (Perez & Vourc'h, 2020). The vocational offers were realised through the *middlemen* hired and paid by the social partners (Perez & Vourc'h, 2020).

In 2018, the Second Generation of ILAs, proposed by a Centrum government, replaced the hours with *money*. This revision faced much resistance from the social partners because it gave the learners freedom to *buy* the offers of their choice from the market without the interference of the social partners in the form of career guidance and validation (Perez & Vourc'h, 2020). This revision which could be termed as the *Second Generation of ILAs*, removed the *middlemen* and thereby the control of social partners, while giving *personal autonomy* to individual learners. Furthermore, the low-qualified adult learners got access to more funds compared to the high-qualified adult learners (Cedefop, 2023; Perez & Vourc'h, 2020). For instance, the entitlement for low-qualified learners ranged between 800€ to 8000€ per year, whereas the entitlement for high-qualified learners ranged between 500€ to 5000€ per year (Cedefop, 2023). Similarly an increase in vocational courses from 517,000 in 2019 to 984,000 was recorded in France in 2020 (Mrvcic & O'Doherty, 2022).

Based on Green's typology, the ILAs in France reflect the influence of stakeholders as shown in Figure 4:

Figure 4*The governance of ILAs in France*

Components of ideal types	First generation (2013)	Second generation (2018)
Predominant	State-led	State-led
Medium influence	Social Partner-led	Market-led
Least influence	Market-led	Social Partner-led

Note. Created based on Green (2000) and the references included in this article.

DISCUSSION

Since the 1960s, Denmark and France have applied different strategies. The Danish approach was bottom-up and involved social partners (including NGOs). In the beginning, the state bore all costs but later, after tripartite negotiations, the costs were shared among the state and the social partners. The French approach was top-down, characterised by careful state governance. The funding came from social partners only. Paid Education Leave was introduced as an individual right in 1971 for every French citizen but inadequately implemented (Staugaard, 1997).

The Danish strategies favoured the low-qualified workers before Denmark started building up a knowledge economy. Since the introduction of the Further Education System for Adults in 2001 owing to the needs of the knowledge economy, the policies changed in favour of the high-qualified.

While France followed the EU policy of investment in human capital (economically-oriented) in the beginning, recently followed by both human and social capital (social investments), Denmark has been doing the opposite. It continued to make social investments until 2000 but has switched to investments in human capital ever since.

The French experience with the First Generation of ILAs shows that the predominance of social partners is a barrier in relation to implementation (Perez & Vourc'h, 2020) because they may not prioritise the participation of low-qualified adults over the industrial production (economic growth and profit). Further, their cost and benefits analysis in relation to the society may be different as compared to that of the state which aims at equity and social welfare, at least in the Nordic countries including Denmark. Thus, for a successful implementation of ILAs strategies and challenging the Matthew Effect, state governance (rather than monitoring) appears to be an effective option.

The Second Generation of the French ILAs have been successful in two ways: 1) dealing with the current needs of the labour market and the economy for upskilling and reskilling the workforce, and 2) providing extra benefits to low-qualified adults, implying *affirmative action* or *social investment*. The policy change meant extra *Carrots* (in the form of money) provided to personal accounts owned by the low-qualified employees combined

with *Sermons* (career guidance and validation), chosen and paid for by the low-qualified employees themselves. The difference between the 2013 generation and the 2018 generation of ILAs is profound. The Second Generation of ILAs carries more potential for constructive change because it addresses the Matthew Effect by giving personal autonomy to individuals. Thus, the Second Generation of the French ILAs is more future-oriented, aimed at a fluid, flexible and suitable work force to address the needs of a labour market characterised by precarious jobs. The OECD and the EU have appreciated the French 2018 model reforms for the same reasons (EC, 2022; OECD, 2019). However, it shall be noted that the mentioned French model is not necessarily devoid of the Matthew Effect (Mrvic & O'Doherty, 2022).

In Denmark, the recommendations regarding whether ILAs should be implemented or not have changed according to the composition of authors. While the independent experts authoring the 2017 report have favoured ILAs, the civil servants authoring the 2021 report and the senior economists authoring the 2022 report have rejected them, arguing that low-qualified adults are not interested in new learning opportunities after the age of 40 and that ILAs have more negative than positive consequences. The two latter reports which reject the implementation of ILAs in Denmark have not only ignored the findings of andragogical research existing for several decades but also the empirical evidence from France. Further, the two reports do not take into account the gradual shift of focus in education all over Europe from teacher-centric (education from above) to learner-centric (bottom-up) modes. In fact, the reports appear to adhere to a top-down approach, discriminating between the high and low-qualified adults, in alignment with the Danish system which has kept the low-qualified adults at the receiving edge over the last two decades.

Despite the fact that low-qualified adults are the ones who lag behind in participation, the two latter reports label them as *uninterested* in learning anything and exclude this target group from further political debate. Thus, these reports do not address the core of the challenge for the decreasing participation in Denmark. The different organisation of provisions for the high- and the low-qualified might be justified for several reasons but it certainly increases the Matthew Effect, thus giving more *personalised* offers to the high-qualified and pushing the low-qualified to further disadvantage. The whole idea seems against the ideals of equity for which the Nordic countries are often lauded.

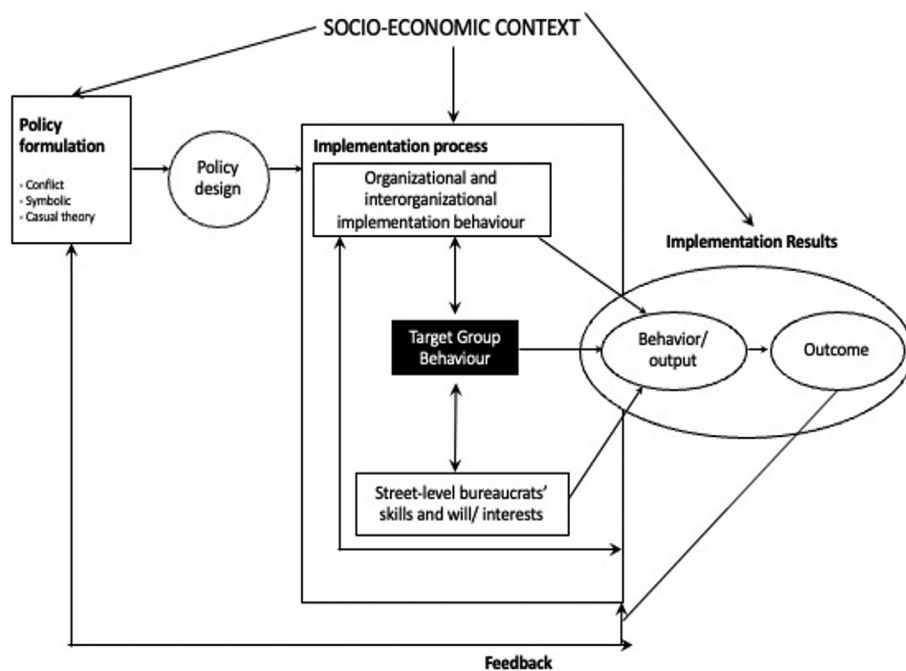
Even though the overall Danish participation rates are higher than the French, the Danish rates are decreasing while the French rates are increasing. The Danish offers are personalised for the high-qualified and may therefore be perceived as relevant for the high-qualified adults, but they are not necessarily personalised for the low-qualified adults and thereby not necessarily perceived as relevant for the low-qualified. This appears to be one of the reasons for the low participation rates among the low-qualified adults in Denmark. After the optimum engagement of the high-qualified, the participation rates among the high-qualified may not increase. Thus, personalised offers for the low-qualified seem to offer the possibility of positive change. ILAs have the potential to provide liberty to low-qualified individuals for choosing the career guidance, the validation, and

the kind of learning they perceive as relevant and thereby increase their participation. For low-qualified adults, the implementation of ILAs in Denmark would mean a shift from supply (collective offers) to demand (individual choices). It can be argued that the learning outcomes of such personalisation might be difficult to measure but adaptive tests (personalised testing based on the knowledge of the learner) offer a relevant solution.

A relevant model for the implementation of ILAs is therefore learner-centric. Building upon the model of Winter (2012), the following model (Figure 5) with learners as the core of the implementation process in education policies is proposed.

Figure 5

Learner-centric Integrated Implementation Model for the education of adults



Note. From "Challenging the Matthew Effect through Individual Learning Accounts. A comparative study from Denmark and France" by S. Singh and S. Ehlers, paper presented at the 9th Nordic Conference in Adult Education and Learning on 18th May 2022, Tønsberg, Norway; adapted (modified) from Winter (2012).

In Figure 5, the *target-group behaviour* is kept at the core of the implementation process to ensure that learning offers remain relevant for them.

Similarly, Green's typology needs to be adapted to include the *individual* as a relevant player when the education of adults is discussed. The French experience shows that the *state*, the *social partners*, and the *individuals* may share influence while the regulated *market* is available to fill in the gaps wherever possible. It must be noted that the market in EU member states is regulated in different ways.

CONCLUSION

Despite a high participation rate and the high performance delivered by the Danish Further Education System for Adults (according to the EU measurement standards), Denmark is unable to challenge the Matthew Effect. A major cause of this is the post-2000 policy choice to aim at production rather than equity, withdraw state control and extend more influence to the social partners who favour production (economic growth) over social investment. With the existing provisions, the participation of low-qualified adults is lagging in the process of overall development. This can have severe consequences in the future for equity in Danish society by increasing the Matthew Effect in the sense that despite access, participation levels are low. The decreasing participation rate indicates the need to revise the Danish approach. As indicated from the French experience, ILAs have the potential to challenge the Matthew Effect in Denmark and translate access into participation.

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Sophie Lacher

PROMOTING EQUAL ACCESS IN GERMAN ADULT EDUCATION: NAVIGATING RESOURCE MOBILISATION AND THE COMMITMENT TO “LEAVING NO ONE BEHIND”

ABSTRACT

This article examines how access to adult education (AE) in Germany meets the principle of “Leaving No One Behind” and explores the dynamics and challenges of the sector. It categorises AE into company-based AE, individual vocational AE, and non-vocational AE, and examines the complexities and challenges of mobilising resources for these sectors. Using Schuetze’s (2009) theoretical framework on the financing of lifelong learning, this study critically examines the allocation of resources within the German AE landscape. Drawing on current policy documents and recent research, the analysis highlights key policy adjustments needed to ensure equitable access to AE for all. While Germany has made progress in certain areas, the research points to partial compliance with the principle of “Leaving No One Behind” and highlights persistent inequalities that are inadequately addressed by existing policies. This article calls for more inclusive and comprehensive approaches and emphasises the need for a strategic mobilisation of resources.

Keywords: resource mobilisation, adult education, educational equity, Leaving No One Behind, Germany

SPodbujanje enakopravnosti dostopa v nemškem izobraževanju odraslih: vprašanje mobilizacije virov in zavezanost, da »nikogar ne pustimo ob strani« – povzetek

V članku proučujemo, do katere mere dostop do izobraževanja odraslih v Nemčiji izpolnjuje načelo »Nikogar ne pusti ob strani«, ter raziskujemo dinamiko in izzive v tem sektorju. Izobraževanje odraslih kategoriziramo kot izobraževanje odraslih v podjetju, individualno poklicno izobraževanje odraslih in nepoklicno izobraževanje odraslih ter ob tem raziskujemo kompleksnosti in izzive mobilizacije virov na tem področju. Na podlagi teoretičnega ogrodja financiranja vseživljenjskega učenja, ki ga je zastavil Schuetze (2009), naša raziskava kritično proučuje dodeljevanje virov v nemškem izobraževanju odraslih. Analiza na podlagi sodobnih političnih dokumentov in raziskav pokaže ključne prilagoditve, ki bi bile potrebne, da bi dosegli pravičen dostop do izobraževanja odraslih za vse. Nemčija je sicer na nekaterih področjih napredovala, vendar le delno sledi načelu,

naj »nikogar ne pusti ob strani«, obstoječe politike pa še vedno nezadostno naslavljajo trdovratne neenakosti. Zato pozivamo k bolj vključujočih in celovitih pristopih ter poudarjamo potrebo po strateški mobilizaciji virov.

Ključne besede: mobilizacija virov, izobraževanje odraslih, pravičnost v izobraževanju, Nikogar ne pusti ob strani, Nemčija

INTRODUCTION

Education is not only important for children, young people, and young adults, who generally go through the school and training system, but also for people of all ages. This underlines the importance of lifelong learning, which includes that “people should be enabled and encouraged to continue learning throughout their lives” (Schuetze, 2009, p. 376). In general, lifelong learning is seen as an “umbrella concept” based on different interpretations and (economic) interests (Schuetze, 2009, p. 376). This complexity often leads to market-oriented goals being prioritised over the holistic development of individuals and communities, potentially neglecting critical and emancipatory aspects of education (Lima & Guimarães, 2011). At the same time, lifelong learning is also described as a public good and a human right for all (Duke et al., 2021). However, adult education (AE) is often given the least attention in the context of lifelong learning, as several studies confirm (International Council for Adult Education [ICAE], 2020). As a result, AE is underfunded in many countries and has fewer resources than other areas of education (ICAE, 2020). Resources are understood as the various goods, services, and institutions that an individual or organisation can access, either directly or indirectly, and include psychological, physical, institutional, temporal, and material or monetary categories (Hummelsheim, 2010, p. 140). In order to promote AE in the context of lifelong learning, resources must be mobilised from politics, companies, and individuals (Schuetze, 2009). States and their policies also have an interest in promoting this learning, because only if they offer their population learning opportunities for competent action can the states become competitive on the global market. Furthermore, social participation and the promotion of social equality are important for social peace. Demographic changes in many industrialised countries, such as shrinking populations and shrinking workforce, also pose a challenge (Pack et al., 2000, p. 10). In addition, AE structures in many countries can disadvantage people with lower skills and limited resources, making access to learning challenging (Schuetze, 2009, p. 376). Furthermore, rapid technological change, environmental challenges, and global threats to peace, security, and democracy have increased the demand for AE, as noted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD, 2018).

Goal 4 of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) aims to “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (United Nations [UN], 2015, p. 17). It includes the principle of “leaving no one behind” (Duke et al., 2021, p. 13). To achieve this, every citizen must have access to learning opportunities, which includes aspects related to education, employment, and social protection policies

(Dunbar, 2019). Therefore, national governments and supranational organisations such as the European Union (EU) provide financial incentives to support AE. However, access, attainment and the structures of AE as part of lifelong learning vary widely from country to country (Palmer, 2020). Furthermore, the diversity of AE is a challenge as it is difficult to fit into an organisational structure (European Parliamentary Research Service, n.d.).

In order to understand how resources are mobilised for AE in the context of lifelong learning, a case study is appropriate due to the diverse structures mentioned earlier. This is also important because the political commitments of SDG4 are closely linked to existing national strategies, planning, and monitoring mechanisms (UN, 2017). The focus is on improving existing systems to achieve the global goals of SDG4 (UN, 2017). The following article therefore focuses on Germany as “a high-income, comparatively large EU Member State” (Singh et al., 2022, p. 104). The main question addressed by this article is: “What are the main challenges and potential strategies for mobilising resources to ensure equal access to AE in Germany, with a particular focus on the principle of ‘Leaving No One Behind’, especially in the context of different segments of AE?”¹

To investigate the research question and thus the access to and mobilisation of resources for AE in Germany, this paper uses policy documents and statistical data from policy sources (national and supranational, e.g. from the EU) and systematically examines selected policy measures in the three segments of AE in Germany (see Figure 1) with the help of research findings from AE research. The results are then analysed on the basis of Schuetze’s (2009) model for financing lifelong learning, which is presented in the following section as a conceptual framework. This is followed by an overview of the German AE system to better understand and contextualise the analysis. Following, the three segments of AE funding in Germany are presented. Subsequently, the current challenges and strategies proposed by policy makers and stakeholders related to the principle of “Leaving No One Behind” in Germany are explained and discussed on the basis of current policy papers and laws at national and EU level. In this way, the research question can be addressed, facilitating a discussion on the political adjustments required to ensure equal access to AE for all.

SCHUETZE'S MODEL FOR FINANCING LIFELONG LEARNING AS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Schuetze (2009) has identified three different models for the conceptualisation of lifelong learning, each reflecting different policy objectives. The first, the “emancipatory or social justice model”, focuses on using education to ensure equality of opportunity and fairness in society, and argues for a comprehensive and utopian concept of lifelong learning for

1 In the context of AE in Germany, the terms “Erwachsenenbildung” (adult education) and “Weiterbildung” (continuing education) are often used interchangeably in policy documents and legal texts, which can lead to confusion (Lattke & Ioannidou, 2021). While a detailed explanation of the distinction among these terms is beyond the scope of this article, the term AE will be used as a basic, common term.

all, with an emphasis on equity and inclusive education (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). In contrast, the second and third models are more limited in their scope. The second model, the “mixed state-market model”, views lifelong learning as appropriate for a modern economy and society, and “for all who wish, and are able, to participate” (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). This model focuses on facilitating different learning purposes and removing institutional barriers, particularly through technology enabled distance and online education (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). The third model, the “human capital model”, focuses on AE and skill development to meet the changing demands of the labour market (“Lifelong learning for finding or keeping jobs in a changing labour market”; Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). The third model views lifelong learning as a strategic tool for a knowledge-based economy and emphasises the central role of a highly skilled and adaptable workforce as a driver of industrial innovation and global competitiveness (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). This model shifts the responsibility for skills development to the individual worker and thus differs from prior views that emphasised industry-based AE (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). The divergent goals of these models require different resource allocation strategies and funding mechanisms tailored to the different actors involved.

The question of financing is about who should bear the costs: either the beneficiaries or those who have the capacity to pay (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). Funding models generally fall under individual, organisational, collective, or government funding (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). Most lifelong learning financing systems are mixed models that recognise that benefits are shared between multiple parties (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). These models cover a wide range of learning activities, even if they do not cover every aspect, such as early education (Schuetze, 2009, p. 377). There are various funding mechanisms, often under country-specific names, with the different prototypes categorised according to the primary cost-bearer, whether individual learners, employers, or the state.

In the current German context, the model for financing lifelong learning may reach its limitations. While the state remains an important actor in the monitoring and promotion of educational provision, it is adapting due to factors such as internationalisation, global competition, and diminishing public resources (Lima & Guimarães, 2011). This adaptation has led to a greater emphasis on individual responsibility for education, viewing learning as an investment akin to financial capital (Lima & Guimarães, 2011). Furthermore, the model may not fully account for the impact of digitalisation and changes in the German labour market, which requires constant updating of skills due to technological advances and the transition to a knowledge-based economy. In addition, the changing role of the public and private sectors in Germany, in particular the increasing involvement of private companies in employee training and changes in government education funding policies in response to economic changes and crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic, may not be adequately reflected. To answer the research question, it is also necessary to examine how the different types of resources, including financial, technological and political support, are specifically allocated and utilised in the context of Schuetze’s models in the German AE context. Despite these limitations, the use of Schuetze’s framework for

financing lifelong learning, with a focus on the AE sector, provides a well-established theoretical framework for the analysis. This approach improves comparability with existing research and provides a structured way of understanding the complexities of AE funding as part of lifelong learning funding. The following section provides an overview of the AE system in Germany as the basis for the analysis.

OVERVIEW OF THE SYSTEM OF AE IN GERMANY

Germany is a federal country with smaller units called *Laender* (states or provinces) and *Kommunen* (local authorities) under the responsibility of the states. This federal structure gives states a certain degree of autonomy, with responsibilities that also include education and infrastructure. Matters of national importance, such as foreign policy and defence, fall under federal jurisdiction, creating a separation of powers between different government levels (Bulmer, 2017, p. 3). Article 20, paragraph 1 of the *Grundgesetz* (Basic Law for the Federal Republic of Germany) sets out the responsibilities of the federal government and each of the 16 states (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2022). Educational responsibilities and the financing of education systems are determined by political and administrative processes. Public spending on education is divided between the federal government, the *Laender* and *Kommunen* based on educational policy objectives and specific requirements (European Commission [EC], 2023). The *Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung* (BMBF; Federal Ministry for Education and Research) is responsible for education policy at the federal level, while the *Laender* have their own education ministries. Despite the autonomy of the *Laender* in education matters, there are nationally applicable laws and regulations on AE. The federal government oversees vocational AE outside schools, sets principles for academic AE, conducts research into the effectiveness of AE, and initiates new projects through experimental programs (Nuissl & Pehl 2000, p. 17). Collaboration between the federal government and states exists, with financial assistance provided by the federal government for significant municipal educational investments (BMBF, n.d.). Legislative responsibility is also shared, with proposals for extracurricular education and training drafted by the federal government requiring the approval of the *Bundesrat* (Federal Council), which is composed of representatives of the *Laender*, as laid down in the German constitution (Federal Ministry of Justice and Consumer Protection, 2022).

The German Education Council's definition of AE as "the continuation or resumption of organised learning after the completion of an initial phase of education of varying length, typically following the start of employment or family responsibilities" (Kultusministerkonferenz, 2001, p. 4, translated) guides this concept, with a focus on formal education. However, AE also includes non-formal and informal activities known as *Allgemeine Weiterbildung* (general continuing education) or *Allgemeine Erwachsenenbildung* (general adult education). These cover a wide range of courses, from literacy programs and secondary education for school qualifications to language, Information and Communication Technology (ICT), soft skills, family education, and leisure-oriented courses (Lattke & Ioannidou, 2021). Participation in AE is typically voluntary, although there are always

exceptions (e.g. integration measures or training measures for the unemployed with compulsory participation).

CURRENT CHALLENGES AND POLITICAL STRATEGIES IN GERMANY

In order to subsequently examine the research question and thus the access to and mobilisation of resources for AE in Germany, the paper uses policy documents and statistical data from policy sources (national and supranational, e.g. from the EU) and, with their help and research findings from AE research, analyses selected measures in the three segments of AE in Germany (see Figure 1). This segmentation is carried out by the Adult Education Survey (AES; BMBF, 2022), which is conducted in Germany every two to three years as part of the EU statistics, but also independently at even shorter intervals than desired by the EU due to national interests. The AES provides valuable insights into the population's participation in AE (BMBF, 2022). It classifies participation in AE into three segments as shown in Figure 1. The funding structures for AE in Germany vary depending on the type of education and come from various sources, including the state (the Federation and the Länder), local authorities, the private sector, providers of AE institutions, private households, and the Federal Labour Office (Nuissl & Pehl, 2000, p. 26). When considering the three segments, in addition to funding, it should be noted that other resources such as support systems, guidance services and motivational initiatives (psychological resources), the physical infrastructure such as classrooms, libraries and the technical equipment necessary for AE (physical resources), the administrative and organisational structures that support AE (institutional resources) and the provision of time for both learners and teachers (time resources) must be expended in order to realise participation in AE.

Figure 1
AE segments in Germany based on the AES

<i>company-based adult education (AE)</i>	<i>individual vocational adult education (AE)</i>	<i>non-vocational adult education (AE)</i>
• participation takes place entirely or predominantly during paid working hours or paid leave for education purposes (as part of employment) • the resources for this adult education activity are provided by the employers by financing the adult education and releasing their employees from work	• adult education activities are primarily carried out for professional reasons • the individuals and their families or the state (in funding programs for defined target groups) bear or subsidise the costs	• adult education activities are attended more for private reasons • the individuals and their families bear the costs • in some cases, there are indirect support measures by the state (e.g. through tax refunds)

Note. Adapted from BMBF (2022).

Public spending on education in Germany amounted to 4.1% of GDP in 2018, which was below the EU average of 4.6% (EC, 2019b, p. 3) and just at the lower end of the 4–6% recommended by the UN (2017). While real investment in education has shown some growth, the EC reports an investment gap in education and infrastructure in Germany (EC, 2019a, p. 6). Although Germany has achieved a relatively high participation rate in AE of 60%, which has increased over the years (BMBF, 2022), the participation rate is below the EU average (EC, 2023, p. 15; Eurostat, 2023). In addition, the EU recommends reducing inequalities in access to AE, which are often influenced by socio-economic background (EC, 2023, p. 19). The most recent Adult Education Survey (AES) in Germany shows that of people aged 18 to 64, 71% of those with a high school diploma have participated in at least one AE activity (BMBF, 2022, p. 35). This percentage drops significantly to 60% for individuals with an intermediate school-leaving certificate and further to 44% for people with a low school-leaving certificate (BMBF, 2022, p. 35). This underlines the fact that the higher the level of education, the higher the participation in AE and illustrates the unequal access to AE at the individual level. This pattern, unchanged since 1991 (BMBF, 2022, p. 35), is often referred to as the “Matthew Effect”, in which those with more educational resources tend to acquire even more (Walberg & Tsai, 1983). The federal government’s efforts to counteract this trend are primarily aimed at low-skilled workers and people with low literacy skills, but are often geared towards the needs of the labour market.

The AES shows that of the 60% of respondents who stated that they had taken part in AE, 48% had participated in company-based AE (BMBF, 2022, p. 25). The model of company-based AE segment (see Fig. 1), often referred to as “single employer funding” (Schuetze, 2009, p. 383), makes employers responsible for the AE of their employees, a necessity arising from the need to adapt to the changing demands of the labour market. While employers have to release their employees from work and are primarily responsible for company-based AE, or at least for supporting their employees in doing so, they are encouraged to take advantage of measures offered by the *Bundesagentur für Arbeit* (Federal Employment Agency) affiliated with the *Bundesministerium für Arbeit und Soziales* (BMAS; Federal Ministry for Labor and Social Affairs), such as *Bildungsgutscheine* (education vouchers), which are mainly aimed at people without usable vocational qualifications who are at increased risk of unemployment (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, n.d.-a). This system allows employees, those at risk of unemployment and the unemployed to apply for and use education vouchers issued by the Federal Employment Agency for accredited education providers. As a result, AE activities are subsidised by the state on the basis of individual entitlements (vouchers) (Schuetze, 2009). In particular, state support for company-based AE in Germany places a strong emphasis on ensuring employability and preventing unemployment, with a particular focus on low-skilled workers. This focus is evident in laws such as the *Qualifizierungschancengesetz* (Qualification Opportunity Act) of 2018 (Bundesgesetzblatt, 2018) and the *Arbeit von morgen-Gesetz* (Work of Tomorrow law) of 2020 (Bundesgesetzblatt, 2020). The focus of these laws is on the promotion of AE in the context of structural change, which means that digitalisation and automation are given considerable priority.

In Germany, many employees (excluding e.g. civil servants, freelancers), regardless of their level of education, have a legal right to *Bildungsurlaub* (educational leave) in 14 out of 16 states. This means that employers must grant their employees paid leave for AE (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund [DGB], 2022). The content of the AE measure does not necessarily have to be related to the employee's job (DGB, 2022). The right to educational leave is five days per year, or ten consecutive days within two years (DGB, 2022). Germany is a signatory to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) Convention 140 on educational leave, which aims to promote vocational training, general and political education, and trade union education (Düwell, 2001). However, because of Germany's federal structure, it has been and remains the responsibility of the *Laender* to enact their own legislation on educational leave. From a financial perspective, employers continue to pay wages during educational leave, similar to regular leave (DGB, 2022). However, employers are not responsible for covering course fees, teaching materials, or travel and accommodation costs, which employees have to bear themselves, although they can later claim these expenses on their tax returns. This system is referred to as "parafiscal (collective) funding" (Schuetze, 2009, p. 383). Interestingly, although almost 77 per cent of employees express an interest in continuing training, only one to two per cent actually use their legal entitlement to educational leave (DGB, 2022). There may be several reasons for this, which cannot be analysed in detail in this article. However, possible challenges in the perception of educational leave are highlighted as part of the discussion.

The costs of participation in AE outside of employment, both individual vocational and non-vocational AE (see Figure 1), need to be recognised by individuals at first sight. Simultaneously, the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic are likely to exacerbate existing inequalities and social divisions (Hüther & Klös, 2022; Käpplinger & Lichte, 2020). There are various providers of individual vocational AE and non-vocational AE offers. However, the state indirectly supports AE through financial support to *Volkshochschulen* (adult education centres), which can then offer reduced course fees, and through the possibility of tax rebates for certain AE measures. *Volkshochschulen* mainly offer general AE. This recognition of AE as a public good has historical roots dating back to the Weimar Constitution of 1919 (Lattke & Ioannidou, 2021). Even today, the Continuing Education Act is still in force in 14 out of 16 German states. *Volkshochschulen* continue to operate under the mandate of "education for all" (Süssmuth & Eisfeld, 2018, p. 763, translated). Their core mission is to ensure that AE is accessible to everyone within the framework of public responsibility (Rossmann, 2018). They aim to meet a wide range of interests and educational needs through a comprehensive and diverse educational program (Rossmann, 2018). Therefore, the comprehensive supply of adult education centres in various forms of public sponsorship in Germany is of great importance (Rossmann, 2018). According to the understanding of adult education centres, education "includes more than the ability to learn throughout life, the willingness to learn and the acquisition of knowledge. Education encompasses the individual acquisition of world-related attitudes (mindsets) and behaviours (ethical positions)" (Süssmuth & Eisfeld, 2018, p. 764, translated). The implementation of this comprehensive claim to participation correlates

with multilayered structural principles, including the principle of voluntary participation, the diversity of methods and media and integration into a multi-level political structure (Seitter, 2018). In addition, the guiding principle of “comprehensive openness” (Süssmuth & Eisfeld, 2018, p. 764, translated) includes the self-image and commitment of adult education centres to reach the educationally disadvantaged and to provide a broad, participant-oriented educational offer (Süssmuth & Eisfeld, 2018). Despite the policy emphasis on these aspects and the increasing importance of AE, the challenge of structural underfunding of public AE in Germany remains (Meisel, 2019). Although adult education centres receive public funding and share responsibility for “education for all”, they do not receive full funding (Meisel & Sgodda, 2018). Instead, the funding structure of the institution mainly consists of three main sources (Huntemann et al., 2021, p. 14):

1. Basic institutional funding by states and municipalities: approximately 35% of revenue.
2. Contributions from participants: on average around 33%.
3. Public funds raised from the federal government, states, municipalities, and the EU (including projects): make up around 28% of total financing.

Consequently, the work of adult education centres is characterised by demand- and supply-orientation (Meisel & Sgodda, 2018, p. 229). Funding for public AE is provided by the federal states or their municipalities, but the institutions must position themselves on the market or the various quasi-markets such as employer-funded or individually-funded or mixed-funded/co-funded AE by offering appropriate courses and securing funds through national or EU funding.

The diversity of institutional size, technical resources, and course offerings of adult education centres reflects the different resources provided by local authorities and the dependencies on state and local authorities through different organisational structures. Despite these differences, the adult education centres offer a wide range of courses with reduced participation fees for everyone with the help of state subsidies and their mission statement. In addition, (political) foundations, religious groups, and associations often offer additional educational programs with reduced or no participation fees, either self-financed or through funding partnerships with government agencies at various levels (Horn et al., 2023). Consequently, political decisions play a role in the selection of topics and priorities in this context. In contrast, private providers generally operate on commercial principles and may set participation fees, which can lead to the exclusion of certain groups. In addition, certain communities, such as environmental initiatives or certain professional groups, may organise training initiatives that are eligible for project funding. Funding announcements at state, federal and EU level can strategically emphasise specific issues that often align with the key challenges described by the OECD (2018, p. 3). These challenges include environmental issues related to climate change and resource scarcity, economic changes driven by rapid advances in research and digitalisation, and uncertainties arising from globalisation that can lead to economic risks and potential crises.

In addition, the federal ministries address important social needs by providing financial support for both full-time and part-time integration courses. Mastering the language of

the host country is considered a crucial skill for the successful integration and active participation of migrants in society (Homrighausen & Saif, 2021). Integration courses serve as a nationwide language support program for adults with insufficient German language skills. These courses are a central measure of the federal government's integration efforts and are primarily funded by the state, specifically by the *Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge* (BAMF; Federal Office for Migration and Refugees; Homrighausen & Saif, 2021). The BMBF also regulates and monitors the content, organisation and implementation of these measures. In addition to the general integration courses, the Federal Government offers other special integration courses, including literacy courses, courses for learning the Latin script as a second script, and vocational language courses (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, n.d.-b). In order to take part in such a course, individuals need a certificate of eligibility issued by the BAMF (n.d.-b). The integration courses comprise a total of 700 teaching units and consist of a basic language course, an advanced language course, and an orientation course (Homrighausen & Saif, 2021). While the primary goal of integration courses is to promote social integration, their importance for completing training and securing employment is also emphasised (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, n.d.-b). Vocational language courses are clearly geared towards employability and are aimed at integration into the labour market (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, n.d.-b). The costs of integration courses and vocational language courses must be at least partially covered by the learners themselves (BAMF, n.d.). However, depending on factors such as citizenship, residence status, economic situation, and personal circumstances, individuals can often apply for substantial co-financing or full funding of these courses by the BAMF or their employer (BAMF, n.d.). The courses take place at accredited training providers (BAMF, n.d.).

There are also initiatives in which Germany cooperates with the EU. One example of this strengthening of European cooperation and promotion of AE is the ERASMUS+ program (EC, n.d.-a). This program provides funding for various AE activities, including teacher training, curriculum development, and the creation of new learning materials. It also supports the development of new AE learning models, such as online and flexible learning pathways, while promoting the exchange of good practice and innovations across the EU (EC, n.d.-a). In addition, the EU has introduced several policy measures to support AE in Germany and other member states. These include "Europe 2020 – A Strategy for Smart, Sustainable and Inclusive Growth" (EC, 2010), which sets targets for improving education and training across the EU, and the "New Skills Agenda for Europe" (EC, n.d.-b), which aims to ensure that Europeans have the skills needed to succeed in the 21st century. This focus on the demands of the 21st century, including digitalisation, automation, globalisation, rapid change, and transformation, is also reflected in Germany's policy programs. However, the EU acknowledges that Germany faces both an investment gap in education and infrastructure (EC, 2019a, p. 6) and lags behind the EU average in terms of individuals and their basic digital skills, which affects the readiness of the workforce (EC, 2023, p. 64). While Germany has initiated some measures, such as the Work for Tomorrow Act and a German Recovery and Resilience Plan (GRRP) to address climate change and digital transformation (Federal Ministry of Finance, 2022, p. 34), it is clear that more

sustained public investment, greater emphasis on upskilling and retraining programs, and increased investment in education and research are essential to provide equitable training opportunities for all adults (EC, 2019b, 2020b, n.d.-b).

INTEGRATING SCHUETZE'S LIFELONG LEARNING PARADIGMS WITH THE PRINCIPLE OF "LEAVING NO ONE BEHIND"

In answering the research question about the challenges and potential strategies for mobilising resources to ensure equitable access to AE for all in Germany, with a focus on the principle of "Leaving No One Behind", the analysis reveals a complex interplay of policies, paradigms, and practices. Schuetze's (2009) conceptual framework, which divides AE into different paradigms, provides a valuable basis for critically examining the challenges and strategies of resource mobilisation in Germany.

The preceding analysis highlights that Germany can be classified as a "mixed state-market model" (Schuetze, 2009, p. 384), characterised by:

uneven access to, and uneven participation in, learning, based primarily on socio-economic background. Although the state pays for public education as well as some special programs for those under-served by the public system, state intervention is patchy and normally starts too late [...]. The market has nothing to offer that would help the poor learners or drop-outs since they are normally too poor to pay or to borrow money from the capital market. Moreover, some forms of state financing discriminate against the economically disadvantaged, especially tax credits or reductions that are available only for those families that do have a taxable income. (p. 384)

For example, although the German state pays for public education through the adult education centres and some special programs for the low-skilled, the state measures only consider specific target groups with a focus on the labour market. This is characteristic of conservative welfare states like Germany, which have high social spending with distribution based on family and work status, and moderate wage differentials influenced by the statutory minimum wage but different wage structures across sectors, while social democratic welfare states (e.g. in Northern Europe) typically have generous social spending and low wage differentials due to high minimum wages (Markowitsch et al., 2013). According to the "human capital notion" (Schuetze, 2009, p. 378), individual workers are responsible for acquiring and updating their skills or acquiring new skills in order to improve their employability and career opportunities (Schuetze, 2009). In the segment of company-based AE (see Figure 1), employees are supported at least in part by employers, who in turn may apply or partially request support from the state, thus indirectly supporting individual employees in line with the principle of the human capital concept. Outside the labour market or without the background of maintaining or promoting employability, participation in AE is mostly self-financed and receives little state support. An exception

is the adult education centre described above, which is supported by the state but still has to charge course fees due to the financing model. This also illustrates the characteristics of the human capital model, which is clearly at odds with the principle of “Leaving No One Behind”.

Schuetze’s (2009) third model, the Social Emancipatory Model, with the principle “Life-long learning for all who wish, and are able, to participate” (p. 377), is found in Germany’s intention to use European funding for various initiatives, including a digital education campaign, strengthening social participation and building a pandemic-resistant health system (Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Climate Action, 2023). There are also efforts to promote inclusion, with Germany allocating a significant share of European Social Fund Plus (ESF+) funding to social inclusion programs (EC, 2023). These efforts are aimed at addressing educational inequalities, especially among those not born in the EU, which are influenced by socio-economic background (EC, 2023, p. 64), and are disadvantaged by the Matthew Effect explained above. Furthermore, as a member of the UN, Germany has committed itself to the 2030 Agenda. However, these efforts still seem to be political concepts rather than an actual guiding principle of continuing education policy.

To further explain the integration of Schuetze’s (2009) paradigms and strategies highlighted above, it becomes clear that these strategies are deeply rooted in the overarching ideals embodied by these paradigms. The social justice paradigm (Schuetze, 2009) encompasses Germany’s intention to address historical inequalities by targeting policies at marginalised and vulnerable groups. This is manifested in initiatives targeting low-skilled workers, migrants, and disadvantaged groups. Subsidised integration courses, vocational training programs, and support mechanisms for the unemployed are examples of this paradigm. However, the inclusion of labour market aspects in the policy agenda can be traced back to the goal of maintaining prosperity and competitiveness, which is also dominant in the strategies of the EU and the OECD (e.g., EC, 2020a; OECD, 2018).

In addition, Germany is committed to improving education globally through the 2030 Agenda (UN, 2015), which in turn promotes peace and thus also improves trade opportunities for Germany. The mixed state-market paradigm (Schuetze, 2009) provides skills to adapt to a dynamic labour market. Company-based AE, state-supported adult education centres, and integration courses reflect the commitment to diverse learning opportunities. Despite these provisions, inequalities in access are evident in that, for example, only employees can participate in company-based AE, and even in the case of government-subsidised educational measures, the costs have to be (partially) borne or laid out by the individual. Even if there are mechanisms to get these costs reimbursed through tax returns, this system can exclude people with few financial reserves from AE. The human capital paradigm (Schuetze, 2009) recognises individual responsibility and is consistent with the German approach of involving stakeholders in resource mobilisation through multiple sources of funding, allowing participants to invest in their own learning journeys.

When Schuetze's (2009) model is combined with the central principle of the research question, "Leaving No One Behind", a comprehensive narrative emerges that is consistent with the essence of the principle. Lifelong learning paradigms provide a lens through which we can understand how resource allocation strategies aim to bridge educational inequalities in AE. The social justice paradigm embodies the ethos of inclusivity and ensures that marginalised individuals are not excluded because of financial or social constraints. The mixed state and market paradigm seeks to create pathways that enable everyone to participate in learning, regardless of background, and is therefore consistent with the spirit of inclusivity. The human capital paradigm, while emphasising individual responsibility, seeks to enable all members of society to actively engage in lifelong learning, in line with the mission of the principle. However, the complexity of implementing such strategies should not be underestimated. As exemplified by the German approach, a mix of funding mechanisms is emerging to bridge the gaps, yet inequalities in access persist.

Schuetze's model also highlights the complexity of estimating and allocating resources, which is critical to realising the ambition of "Leaving No One Behind". This applies not only to financial resources, but to all types of resources (see Hummelsheim, 2010, p. 140). Germany's complex landscape, characterised by diverse funding mechanisms, demonstrates the multifaceted nature of resource allocation under different paradigms. Challenges emerge in accurately quantifying the resources needed to achieve inclusive AE while balancing economic gains and societal transformation.

By synthesizing Schuetze's model with the "Leaving No One Behind" principle, the discussion goes beyond theoretical foundations to offer a comprehensive perspective on how resource mobilisation strategies interact with lifelong learning paradigms. This synthesis not only enriches the discourse, but also provides a nuanced analysis of the complicated interplay between resource allocation and the overarching goal of ensuring equal access to lifelong learning for all in Germany. At the same time, other aspects that influence policy, such as demographic and technological change, should also be considered. As the model was developed back in 2009, it has some limitations, as explained in the introduction.

DISCUSSION: MOBILISATION OF RESOURCES FOR AN "AE FOR ALL IN GERMANY"

Germany faces structural challenges in light of trends towards de-globalisation, supply chain restrictions and protectionism (Hüther & Klös, 2022). Addressing these challenges and increasing resilience to the impact of the pandemic will require harnessing new technologies, evolving business models, and promoting increased private and public investment (Hüther & Klös, 2022). Furthermore, low-skilled workers face various barriers to further education, including demotivation, negative learning experiences, fear of failure, time pressure, financial challenges and organisational hurdles (Pfeiffer, 2019; Seyda, 2019). Empirical studies also show that low-skilled workers are less likely to participate in AE programs that use digital media and also have less experience with digital media in general (BMBF, 2020, p. 36). This inequality, coupled with an underestimation of the

importance of (digital) AE, poses a challenge for the implementation of the political program and the principle of “Leaving No One Behind”.

In addition, all individuals have to finance at least part of their individual vocational and non-vocational AE. Although the state provides support structures for all, supporting adult education centres as a basic learning infrastructure and counselling services, the structures are often complex. This also poses a challenge in terms of the Matthew Effect described above. Educational disadvantage in childhood and adolescence is difficult to compensate by mobilising resources in adult education. Due to the lack of funding and the promotional organisation of AE, resulting in different regulations, there is unequal access both financially and in terms of the quality and scope of AE opportunities, which can vary regionally. Moreover, the consequences of the COVID-19 pandemic are likely to exacerbate existing inequalities and social divisions (Käpplinger & Lichte, 2020). This does not correspond to the ideas and principles of AE as part of lifelong learning and the “Leaving No One Behind” principle of supranational organisations such as the EU, OECD, or United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), although their reforms can certainly promote adjustments in Germany.

With regard to the strongest AE segment, company-based AE, there are measures to support it, but the individuals are dependent on the willingness of their employers to promote AE or have to bear some of the costs themselves (e.g. educational leave). Moreover, policy strategies to promote AE are often labour market oriented. There are also financial burdens for employees in relation to educational leave: the described low take-up of educational leave despite high interest may be partly due to the complex process of researching, selecting and applying for suitable educational opportunities and to a lack of knowledge about the individual entitlements. However, the guidance structure in Germany is characterised by a multiplicity of services and providers addressing different target groups at different phases of life (Käpplinger, 2020). This diversity allows for low-threshold and target-group appropriate access, but at the same time leads to a lack of transparency about the further education market and the offers (Käpplinger, 2020). This can make it difficult for some people to navigate and can lead to them being left behind in terms of educational opportunities for all. In addition, guidance often takes place in AE institutions, making it unclear whether guidance is independent and impartial (Käpplinger, 2020). Furthermore, employees have other responsibilities, such as family responsibilities, which make it difficult to take advantage of opportunities such as educational leave, since, for example, the cost of childcare may be associated with opportunities that require more travel time than to the workplace or a trip. Representative bodies such as trade unions mainly advocate AE but do not cover the costs. As a result, not all employees have equal access to educational leave.

In addition, there are measures for the integration of refugees and migrants, but their funding also depends on certain government regulations and they are labour market oriented. Thus, it is clear that the federal government actively supports AE as a response to societal challenges such as integration. This support is not limited to funding programs

but also includes monitoring and regulating participation through certificates and accreditation mechanisms. Measures are not always fully funded. This also applies to general AE, as explained in the context of adult education centres. These centres, due to their historical background and basic principles, uphold the principle of “Leaving No One Behind”. However, despite the educational policy demands of these aspects and the growing importance of AE, there is, as already mentioned, the problem of structural underfunding of public AE in Germany (Meisel, 2019). As a result, people have different access to AE depending on their socio-economic status, the region they live in, etc. This also highlights a point of criticism from a lifelong learning perspective: on the one hand, it is generally accepted that basic education and professional development are financially supported (Jost & Kvatchadze, 2021), while on the other hand, the promotion of general AE is often discussed critically (Jost & Kvatchadze, 2021). Lifelong learning encompasses the concepts of formal learning, non-formal learning and informal learning (Tissot, 2004). However, as explained above, Germany also primarily promotes AE opportunities in formal and non-formal learning contexts, which may constitute barriers to participation in AE for certain groups of people.

CONCLUSION

On the one hand, the explanations show that Schuetze’s (2009) model seems to be a suitable approach for analysing German policies in the context of the principle of “Leaving No One Behind”. On the other hand, it becomes clear that different actors are responsible for mobilising resources for AE in Germany. AE providers always participate in different markets and quasi-markets to attract participants and secure funding, and there are also state programs to support participation in AE. These are often regulated through accreditation of providers and certificates of eligibility. State funding for AE is often closely linked to the labour market. Adult education centres play a special role in individual vocational and non-vocational AE and have a clear social mandate with their principle of “education for all”. Nevertheless, there are significant differences in participation in AE, which are due to educational attainment, but also to life circumstances, socio-economic, and migration backgrounds. Policies appear to be partially effective in tackling exclusion. Policies that benefit all people, regardless of age, employment and educational attainment, would be useful. However, this would likely require Germany to invest more resources, as called for by the EU (EC, 2023). It must also be noted that the costs of AE measures often have to be borne in part or in full by the participants themselves. Financial support programs that are accessible to all people would be helpful here. In the long term, Germany as an export nation will benefit from a generally highly educated population. In this context, integration courses should also be made accessible with a minimum of bureaucracy in order to make Germany attractive as a country of immigration and to counteract the shortage of skilled workers. In some cases, the influence of the EU and its political agenda is also evident, for example, through corresponding funding programs. In general, the topic of human capital is at the top of the agenda in almost all political programs. Generally,

however, based on the funding programs and legal provisions analysed, the focus is more on labour market-oriented AE rather than on AE in the sense of lifelong learning and the principle of “Leaving No One Behind”. In order to realise the idea of AE in the context of lifelong learning for all people, more resources are needed, which necessitates new forms of AE in the sense of a “learner-based model of lifelong learning” (Schuetze, 2009, p. 387). Corresponding political policy would also be advisable for Germany.

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Rosanna Barros

“LEAVING NO ONE BEHIND” AS A NEW MOTTO FOR THE UN SYSTEM: ITS IMPACT ON PORTUGUESE ADULT EDUCATION POLICY

ABSTRACT

Educational governance has become increasingly complex due to the emergence of the post-welfare state together with specialised networks acting across nations, such as the recently formed United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Group. In this context, the global circulation of policies, priorities and lifelong learning narratives impacts national agendas through frameworks and diverse multilevel policy instruments. Adopting elements of global governance theory, this article examines the 2017 Shared Framework on Leaving No One Behind and argues that it has served as a milestone in supporting the implementation of the 2030 Agenda on the national level, while contributing to mainstreaming communication and written discourses in all sectors of the educational arena since its publication. The article reflects on aspects of Portugal's alignment to “Leaving No One Behind” (LNOB) through critical discourse analysis (CDA) of textual evidence in two interrelated national policy documents. The findings show the impact of this global policy-speak on recent Portuguese official documents.

Keywords: educational global governance, the United Nations System, Leaving No One Behind, Portuguese adult education, critical policy analysis

»NIKOGAR NE PUSTI OB STRANI« KOT NOV SLOGAN SISTEMA ZDRUŽENIH NARODOV: VPLIV NA POLITIKO IZOBRAŽEVANJA ODRASLIH NA PORTUGALSKEM – POVZETEK

Zaradi pojava postsocialne države in specializiranih mednarodno delujočih mrež, kot je nedavno ustanovljena Skupina OZN za trajnostni razvoj, postaja upravljanje na področju izobraževanja vedno bolj kompleksno. V tem kontekstu globalno širjenje politik, prednostnih nalog in diskurza o vseživljenjskem učenju vpliva na nacionalne agende prek različnih političnih okvirov in instrumentov. V članku na podlagi elementov teorije globalnega upravljanja preučujemo OZN-ov skupni okvir za delovanje iz leta 2017, naslovljen Leaving No One Behind (Nikogar ne pusti ob strani), in zagovarjamo tezo, da je ta dokument služil kot mejnik pri implementaciji Agende 2030 na nacionalni ravni, saj se od objave naprej kaže njegovo splošno upoštevanje v komunikaciji in pisnem diskurzu vseh sektorjev na področju izobraževanja. Ukvarjamo se z vidiki prilagajanja

politiki »Nikogar ne pusti zadaj« na Portugalskem, in sicer prek kritične analize diskurza dveh dokumentov portugalske nacionalne politike. Ugotovitve potrjujejo vpliv tega globalnega političnega žargona na nedavne uradne dokumente na Portugalskem.

Ključne besede: *globalno upravljanje v izobraževanju, sistem Združenih narodov, Nikogar ne pusti ob strani, izobraževanje odraslih na Portugalskem, kritična analiza politike*

INTRODUCTION

The reform of the welfare state, particularly in Europe, in the last quarter of the 20th century, was decisive for the emergence of the neoliberal state and the adoption of human capital theory, market-oriented principles and values (Barros, 2012). Since this time, several changes can be observed in Western societies, including (i) devaluation of average wages and the corresponding increase in structural unemployment and insecure work, which has led to phenomena such as the working poor and homelessness; (ii) high inequality in income distribution and the resulting trend towards the (re)polarisation of the social class structure through the political protection of privileged groups on the one hand (Agamben, 2005), and middle class downward social mobility on the other (Leventoglu, 2014), combined with the devaluation of degrees and traditional qualifications (Satoshi & Takehiko, 2022); and (iii) the selective removal of workers' rights to boost the economy, resulting in a loss of dignity in the workplace and the growing normalisation of multiple forms of exploitation and exclusion (King, 2010). These are but a few of the structural factors that have threatened the respect of universal human rights and reshaped the socioeconomic landscape of human societies worldwide since the consolidation of the so-called Washington Consensus.

As a consequence, the current framework of post-welfare states and International Organisation systems (IO systems) has complex and fragmented connections with (i) the architecture of global socioeconomic governance, which has promoted a silent displacement of labour and social rights, and (ii) the process of public policy production, in a general sense.

In this article, I am particularly interested in the impacts of this overall framework on the fields of educational governance and adult education. However, tackling this new landscape of global educational governance presents challenges for policy researchers, both in terms of identifying the key-actors in the global flux of influence and power, and in terms of gathering all of the interconnected documents and mechanisms that influence the process of making and implementing decisions, as the mass of interrelated political publications in each area of public policy can reach avalanche proportions in both volume and diversity and rapidly become obsolete.

Therefore, on the one hand, the critical policy analysis (Popović, 2018) underpinning this article focuses on a universal subject matter under construction: a recent political pledge to leave no one behind. Through this prism, the implicit subject of study is the unifying power of the United Nations (UN) System, which has fluid characteristics despite the

statement of commitment disseminated through a set of policy texts. On the other hand, the explicit object of study is a corpus composed of key UN System written publications, particularly the 2017 Shared Framework on *Leaving No One Behind: Equality and Non-Discrimination at the Heart of Sustainable Development* (UN 2017 Shared Framework), and key Portuguese national policy documents, particularly the national *2019 Recommendations on Adult Education and Training* (2019 R-AET), and the *2023 Portuguese Voluntary National Review* (2023 VNR).

The research problem concerns the different meanings, influences and implications of adult education policy in Portugal in recent years. It is necessary to examine how this country has declared an interest in implementing specific measures in response to the new UN system motto in its policy texts. Consequently, this article aims to answer the following research question: what are the main drivers of change in Portuguese written discourse on adult education today?

To underline the research problem findings and answer the research question, we carried out a triangulation of two different qualitative and interpretive methods in order to analyse the documentary sources selected: (a) qualitative content analysis (QCA), as proposed by Gläser-Zikuda et al. (2020), was used to determine the presence of terms related to the "Leaving No One Behind" (LNOB) pillars, e.g., equality and non-discrimination; and (b) critical discourse analysis (CDA), as proposed by Fairclough and Fairclough (2015), was used to interpret both the details of the texts themselves and their contextual relations to the humanist political agenda of LNOB. This methodological approach was inspired by Jørgensen and Phillips (2002), who highlight the potential for combining different discourse analytical and non-discourse analytical approaches in empirical study. However, it was not our intention to mobilise post-structuralist discourse theory, but simply to search for partial connections between the LNOB categories and the discursive priorities of proposals and decisions in the field of public adult education provision by policy actors that related to the principles of "Leaving No One Behind". With this in mind, the research aims to highlight the ways in which IO systems, particularly this UN agenda, influence and enhance national policy making rationales, identifying elements of policy transfer (Stone, 1999) between UN goals and national policy documents.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL REFLECTIONS ON THE REVIVAL OF AN OLD POLITICAL PROMISE

The LNOB pledge is the renewal of a humanistic societal project in response to issues resulting from the mainstream economic development choices of the modern era. To some extent it constitutes a revival of utopistic landmarks from critical social theory and, as such, it calls on us to identify existing "unjust, avoidable or extreme inequalities in outcome and opportunities, and patterns of discrimination in law, policies and practices. This will also entail addressing patterns of exclusion, structural constraints and unequal power relations that produce and reproduce inequalities" (UN Sustainable Development Group

[UN-SDG], 2022, p. 7). The most recent UN (2017) vision is therefore (re)presented as “strongly grounded in international human rights law” (p. vii). As a critical utopianism for the contemporary world, it suggests that a new social contract is required if UN global political action seriously intends to “reverse the trend of rising inequalities” globally (UN, 2017, p. 31).

These are not new ideas or even innovative statements (Alexander, 1994). Nevertheless, they could represent a groundbreaking call for a shift in current mainstream global governance agendas. However, this will only be effective if it creates powerful synergies capable of countering the neoliberal trends of the recent past. Indeed, the late 20th century emergence of neoliberal states, particularly in Europe, reshaped public policy mandates in a way that has generally neglected the universal social wellbeing of individuals, families and the community in favour of the wellbeing of the market and financial agents, shifting political action-plans towards the promise of welfare capitalism (Benassi & Mingione, 2019). In the field of education, this also induced a shift away from the idea of learning to be and to live in greater harmony with other living beings, or “living well” (Hessel & Morin, 2011) – though not in the strictly material sense of luxury, wealth and possessions – towards the individualistic 21st century focus on learning to adapt, largely in response to the fourth industrial revolution, or perish in the coming digital tsunami. Despite the burgeoning lifelong learning paradigm, notably disseminated by European Union and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development political documents in the field of education, several researchers have offered critiques, asking, for example, if we should learn to live or live to learn (Bajner, 2019), or whether the simple collection of (competitive) skills (throughout life) will solve the lack of (decent) employment opportunities facing young adults today (Lima, 2018). However, such criticisms have had little resonance within mainstream global educational governance bodies, mainly because, while relevant, they remain academic publications that are (usually) read by academics in academic settings (despite the potential for open access). We believe one way to change this could be the (re)construction of transnational contra-hegemonic alliances of critical educators embedded in social movements beyond academic walls, with the knowledge to think globally and the ability to act locally in strategic and meaningful ways.

In this context, we argue that the UN 2017 Shared Framework has been successful in re-focusing attention on the need to “set up programmes to support redistributive fiscal policy and progressive taxation, reverse extreme concentrations of wealth, and progressively achieve greater equality” (p. 6). While it serves as a milestone in supporting the national implementation of the 2030 Agenda (see UN, 2015), it also has the potential to contribute to the (re)emergence of contra-hegemonic humanistic values in “global policy-speak” (Solesin, 2020, p. 3), based on the LNOB concept, to achieve sustainable development. This is significant because it suggests an (unusual) change to the UN System’s favoured approach. In recent UN policy, the rhetoric appears to have shifted away from utilitarian concerns about learning and economic development in favour of a more humanistic perspective. The extent to which this has embedded a humanistic space of action into official

education policy-making channels and impacted agendas is one of the main questions this article aims to tackle through a case study of changes to Portugal's Qualify Program, and its impact in terms of embedding (or failing to embed) a commitment to "Leaving No One Behind" into the field of adult education.

By tracking the flux of recent international political publications since the UN 2017 Shared Framework, it is possible to observe a sort of mainstreaming effect in these interconnected public written discourses, which appears to support this renewed humanistic vision through the adoption of the Sustainable Development Goals. Indeed, as a minimum, Goal 4 now appears in publications in all areas of the education sector. The most interesting example of the potential reach of the UN System's power to convene is the recent self-repositioning of UNESCO (2021) in the global arena as a "global leader in education", which has provided a valuable opportunity to reassert education as "a basic human right and the foundation for peace and sustainable development" (p. 2).

In this context, the global challenge for humanist politics concerns the ability to create political channels to (i) slow down the high-speed pace that has been reached with regard to the customisation of tertiary education, and (ii) disassemble the efficient market production of a lifelong lack of skills targeting active age working adults. The opposite trend will be to embrace a transformative and emancipatory vision of the potential of education and critical learning. The invitation, then, is to "reimagine how knowledge and learning can shape the future of humanity and the planet" (UNESCO, 2021, p. 2), and how this may impact the notion of sustainability.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF GLOBAL GOVERNANCE THEORY TO UNPACKING GLOBAL POLICY-SPEAK IN NATIONAL WRITTEN DISCOURSES

In order to address this subject, the research underpinning this article draws on elements of global governance theory, not because it offers a complete and stable model, but precisely because it offers a broad set of conceptual tools that provide a basis and a lens through which to consider a research subject seemingly just as fluid and globalised as modernity itself (Bauman, 2000). We use Zürn's (2018) definition of global governance as "the exercise of authority across national borders as well as consented norms and rules beyond the nation state" (p. 4) to consider the interaction between states and IO systems. In this context, we agree with Solesin (2020) when he states that,

Taking stock of the variety of approaches, a governance-centred approach might be particularly helpful in order to make sense of recent changes in the global education landscape. Despite the lack of definition around the term, it remains a powerful theoretical approach. The notion of global governance of education is thus useful in that it captures and makes sense of the multiple actors, arenas, processes and structures involved in the steering and influence of education – as well as of all the levels through which power and authority in education are now distributed and exercised. (p. 6)

In line with this broad theoretical background, this article mainly considers the processes and factors that allow the transfer of UN LNOB goals into national policy documents. More precisely, this article aims to shed light on the written political discourses surrounding the shared UN System Framework for Action, which claims to oppose “the concentration of wealth and power in fewer and fewer hands” and to seek to “combat these trends” (UN, 2017, p. v).

These purposes affect and impact post-welfare state priorities for public policy production in complex ways, particularly as the traditional policy cycle has given rise to an interconnected set of global networks, frequently based on inter-agency task forces composed mainly of appointed members and nominated sectors experts, raising questions about expertise and democracy (Christensen et al., 2023). These networked teams operate according to stages (usually each stage of any policy process is governed by a specific network), and are capable of establishing cross-border interdependencies and enabling the emergence of clusters with the power and funds to take effective actions and decisions that operate across nations. They include the recently formed UN Sustainable Development Group (see UN-SDG, n.d.), which plays an important role in global governance today.

In this context, the global circulation of policies, priorities and narratives of sustainable lifelong learning impacts national educational agendas through frameworks and diverse multilevel policy instruments, as demonstrated by a myriad of interrelated international open access publications, documents and reports¹ produced by these designated task forces and various website landing pages. Indeed, Vladimirova and Le Blanc (2016) highlight the fact that a significant proportion of contemporary global public policy expresses a broad interest in, concern for, and references to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and their predecessor, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

Furthermore, when analysing global policy publications that directly impact adult education policy and practice on the national and regional levels, we see narratives connecting SDG 4 and other SDGs to some extent. This is expressed, for instance, in the UNESCO (2016) Unpacking Guide, relevant to the Portuguese scenario, which states that “Education in the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development is not restricted to SDG4. Education is specifically mentioned in targets of the five goals² listed below [SDG3, SDG5, SDG8, SDG 12 and SDG 13], but also linked to almost all the other SDGs in one way or another” (pp. 7–8).

Critical policy analysis of key UN System publications (Jones & Coleman, 2005) enables us to observe the ongoing contemporary significance of building and monitoring “common agendas”, as well as the increasing centrality of big data in the global governance process.³ More specifically, on the one hand, statistical monitoring networking groups

1 For example, flagship reports, annual SDG progress reports (since 2016), resolutions and decisions, official records, conference documentation.

2 For more information on all SDGs and their history, see UN (n.d.-a).

3 A recent example is the launch of the UN Data Commons for the SDGs (see UN, 2023b).

have proliferated in the world of global policy⁴ and, on the other, policy capacity building emerges as a central element in the creation of national policy roadmaps, capable of translating and transferring the decisions of intergovernmental bodies into actual national policies and actions.

One such influential policy tool in the global governance sphere is the UN-SDG 2022 guide, *Operationalizing Leaving No One Behind*, which serves as a "good practice note" to support the work of UN Country Teams (UNCT) to mainstream and implement the 2030 Agenda on the national level, ensuring the delivery of tangible results by each government. The guide is intended to provide "advocacy and policy support to the national development planning process" (UN-SDG, 2022, p. 8), and should be mobilised alongside a cohesive series of policy tools specially created for the Resident Coordinators and UN Country Teams, such as those addressing the human rights, values and principles enshrined in the UN Charter (see UN, n.d.-b).

In this respect, it is worth noting that each UNCT is led by the Resident UN Coordinator, who is the designated representative of the UN Secretary-General in a given country and acts as the key liaison person between supranational bodies, in particular the Division for Sustainable Development Goals (DSDG) of the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), and global governance structures on the national level, such as permanent delegations within ministries of foreign affairs, i.e. the permanent national delegations to UNESCO.

This entire constellation of key policy actors (policymakers, planners, decision-makers) is linked, among other factors, by the UN-SDG (2022) country guidance document, which sets out a detailed step-by-step methodology, involving "a set of five steps for LNOB: analysis, action, monitoring, accountability and meaningful participation" (p. 11). Throughout the process, member states are encouraged to adopt an evidence-based approach supported by disaggregated data and grounded in causal analysis.

STRIVING FOR EQUALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION ON THE GLOBAL LEVEL

The reference to causal analysis in the UN documentation on achieving the SDG principle of LNOB is particularly interesting given that the grounding notion of this research methodology, widely used in social pedagogy and critical andragogy, is that any transformative action aiming to empower and emancipate must necessarily begin with a detailed multilevel diagnosis (Morgan, 2013), followed by the application of critical social theory (Crossley, 2004; Zeus, 2004) to highlight the root causes of exclusion and oppression (Baycan & Öner, 2023; Daly & Silver, 2008; Freire, 2000), as well as any obstacles to the implementation of a human rights-based approach in the policy and lawmaking process (Klinkner & Howard, 2020). This could indicate that global policy is beginning to be shaped by a rights and values-based process, potentially replacing the neoliberal,

4 An example is the High-level Group for Partnership, Coordination and Capacity-Building for Statistics for the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (see UN, 2023a).

conservative trends of the past with a more humanistic future trend, through the creation of a new social contract. In the field of education, UNESCO (2021) has clearly backed such a position, arguing:

This new social contract must be grounded in human rights and based on principles of non-discrimination, social justice, respect for life, human dignity and cultural diversity. It must encompass an ethic of care, reciprocity, and solidarity. It must strengthen education as a public endeavour and a common good [...] [;] we need to take urgent action to change course, because the future of people depends on the future of the planet, and both are at risk. The report proposes a new social contract for education – one that aims to rebuild our relationships with each other, with the planet, and with technology. (p. iii, v)

In the context of the abovementioned operationalisation guide, subtitled a *Good Practice Note for UN Country Teams*, causal analysis is considered “a critical part of the LNOB and should be carried out through a participatory process involving all members of the UN country team, and with community engagement as relevant” (UN-SDG, 2022, p. 29). This is intended as a basis on which to construct more inclusive national dialogue, as well as a way “to ensure feedback on people’s priorities and challenges” (UN-SDG, 2022, p. 90), allowing the voices of local actors to “enter the advisory mechanisms – that get heard by decision makers” (p. 91).

In this sense, the UN 2022 operationalisation guide coherently echoes the previous UN 2017 Shared Framework vision and promise, which stated that,

The transformative 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, including its Sustainable Development Goals, offers fresh hope, setting out a new paradigm for more inclusive and sustainable development to ensure freedom from fear and want for all people, without discrimination. If that hope is to be realized, all stakeholders must act urgently in a whole-of-society effort to implement the new Agenda, working in partnership to *address the root causes* of conflict and deprivation – including discrimination, marginalization, exclusion and other human rights abuses – and *to halt and reverse the deepening divisions* in our societies. (UN, 2017, pp. v–vi, our italics)

When analysing the “Leaving No One Behind” concept at the heart of the SDGs alongside UN key-policy texts, its discursive function as a political motto for a renewed mandate becomes clear (Martens et al., 2021). Indeed, if we consider the history of the UN as an international organisation, we see that its role on the international stage has expanded from maintaining peace and security in the 20th century post-war period to encompass a wide range of global issues. A new organisational approach emerged in response to this expansion and the UN became part of the current UN System. This structural transformation is more compatible with the pathways and characteristics of contemporary global

governance, as the UN System works "in addition to the UN itself, comprises many funds, programmes and specialised agencies, each of which have their own area of work, leadership and budget" (UN, n.d.-c).

On the one hand, the organisation has continued to grow over the years (initially comprising 53 countries, it now has 193 members states; see *history.com* editors, 2018). On the other, its inherent power has been used, regulated and managed in different ways (Mahmood et al., 2022; UN, 2018), giving rise to favourable outcomes, as well as several criticisms (e.g., Escobar, 2004; Ilcan, 2006). Through this prism, we could question whether the adoption of LNOB represents a tentative turning point in its role and mission – a move away from global neoliberal political trends towards a more humanistic approach – or if it is simply a case of mainstream rhetorical sloganeering, deflecting attention to leave the path clear for "politics and business as usual", as Pogge (2010) has argued.

However, more research and policy analysis will be needed in the coming years in order to understand the current direction of change and its sociopolitical effects. With this in mind, certain questions could provide a useful lens through which to observe the tensions and conflicts between the perspectives interacting in the global arena. For instance, are members of the (cosmopolitan and technocratic) elite not the main appointed participants in the multitude of specialised networking groups that characterise policy production and scrutiny today? And how can we interpret the partnerships between the UN System and gigantic corporations, particularly the IT sector, these being both a result and an integral part of the neoliberal economic globalisation that has spread since the Washington Consensus?

Even if the real fluxes of transnational power effectively obstruct the UN 2017 Shared Framework's vision and renewed mandate for more emancipatory and humanistic policy building, it is unquestionably an unusual document, as demonstrated by its assertion, though only in an endnote, that "rising inequalities, particularly when they reach extreme levels, can further skew power relations since elites have more to lose, and the poor and marginalized have little access to decision-makers and public services" (p. 66). Indeed, demands to "redistribute fiscal policy and progressive taxation", advocacy of the need to "insulate democratic institutions and processes from elite political capture" and calls to "reinforce labour rights, including decent work", to quote just some of the strategic foundations viewed as "elements of a comprehensive and coherent package of policy and programme support areas to combat discrimination and inequalities within and among countries at the country, regional and global levels" (UN, 2017, pp. 5–6), mirror several of the criticisms circulating away from the public spotlight, in literature that criticises neoliberal policy agendas (Carrier, 2018; Giroux, 2008), and oppose the claims and socio-economic choices of the global elite, which influence global political behaviour (Peffley & Rohrschneider, 2009).

When the LNOB motto is viewed as a renewal of an old political promise, namely that of the Welfare State, extended to the contemporary global governance arena, neutrality

can hardly be expected. Indeed, UN system key policy texts since its introduction do not shy away from combative political rhetoric, positioning themselves in opposition to mainstream neoliberal agendas. To quote the most recent UN Global Sustainable Development Report, “Business-as-usual will not deliver the Sustainable Development Goals by 2030 or even 2050, yet the Goals are the survival kit behind the transformation process that the planet needs” (UNDESA, 2023, p. 39).

However, if we analyse UN’s (2019a, 2023c) latest and previous Global Sustainable Development Reports, written by an independent group of scientists appointed by the Secretary-General, one of their implicit findings is that there are obstacles preventing the effective implementation of LNOB within the framework of the SDGs, as the data presented on global progress toward the targets outlined in the 17 Goals of the 2030 Agenda shows that these objectives are far from being achieved.

In this context, the 2023 UN Progress Chart states that “a midpoint evaluation of SDG progress on the journey to 2030 reveals significant challenges. Insight derived from the latest global-level data and custodian agencies analysis paints a concerning picture” (UN, 2023, p. 2). Indeed, the 2023 UN Global Sustainable Development Report asserts:

Progress has been halted in many areas, partly as a consequence of a confluence of crises – the ongoing pandemic, rising inflation and the cost-of-living crisis, and planetary, environmental and economic distress, along with regional and national unrest, conflicts, and natural disasters. As a result, overall progress towards the 2030 Agenda and the Goals has been severely disrupted in the last three years, yet every inch of progress matters and counts. (UN, 2023, p. xvii)

Nevertheless, the chosen title of this policy document, “Times of Crisis, Times of Change”, can be interpreted as a resilient (re)call for social transformation,⁵ because, as stated by the Secretary-General, it “helps to shine new light on transformative processes and practices that can help move the world from commitment to action, and from declaration to delivery” (p. xiii). In this sense, if we consider the LNOB promise to be a reflection of ideology, as suggested by Althusser (2014), rather than a mere rhetorical phenomenon, we can reflect on how it impacts written discourses, institutions, and practices. Indeed, based on (i) the definition of discourse as a communicational device used for mediating social structures, as suggested by Walsh (2014), it is possible to understand that through written political discourses “certain things are made relevant while others are minimized, shared understandings of common problems are constructed or contested” (p. 6); and (ii) the definition of ideology provided by James and Steger (2014), as “patterned clusters of normatively imbued ideas and concepts, including

⁵ In this regard, the UN 2023 Report provides “a stylized model to help unpack and understand the transformation process through a systematic and structured approach, suggesting that a successful transformation can be considered in three phases – emergence, acceleration and stabilization” (UN, 2023d, p. xxiv).

particular representations of power relations" (p. 423), it is possible to question whether the adoption of the LNOB pledge could be seen as a turning point in global governance and an inversion of recent neoliberal trends that threaten the values that define our common heritage, as Giroux (2008) argues.

ANALYSING PORTUGAL'S ALIGNMENT WITH GLOBAL GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS PROPOSED BY LNOB

This section of the article analyses the way in which the UN agenda influences Portuguese adult education policy. I will initially focus on the frontstage, looking at Portuguese written discourse on lifelong learning policy and the way the UN system's LNOB motto has, or has not, been integrated into the public sociopolitical normative space in which socioeducational life is experienced, both by political actors, and by the people at whom their performances are aimed.

According to Permanent Mission of Portugal to the United Nations (2023),

Portugal remains committed to the implementation of the 2030 Agenda and the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) and dedicated to eradicating poverty, fighting inequalities, promoting fair, inclusive, and equitable global sustainable development based on human rights and dignity and the 'build back better' and 'leave no one behind' (LNOB) principles.

After the 2016 general election, which represented a shift from centre right to centre left at the national level and the consolidation of the framework in which adult education is considered a human right (Barros, 2023), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assumed responsibility for the overall coordination of "Strategy Portugal 2030" (Council of Ministers, 2020), in coordination with the Ministry of Planning and Infrastructure. This is fully aligned with the international 2030 Agenda, including responsibility for monitoring and reporting on progress towards the SDGs. Within this Framework, "networks of focal points" and several "specialised working groups" were created, for example, the National Institute for Statistics representatives at the UN "Working Group on Interlinkages of SDG Statistics" (see UNDESA, n.d.-b). Simultaneously, the government departments responsible for the implementation of the SDGs at the sectoral level were also defined. More recently, a high-level committee (Monitoring Committee) was created to supervise and evaluate the implementation of the SDGs and comment on planned activities (see Council of Ministers, 2023).

At times when global governance also operates through monitoring mechanisms and soft policy tools, Voluntary National Reviews (VNRs) act as roadmaps at the national level, within the context of UN System global governance. These reports are available online and are presented as being intended to "facilitate the sharing of experiences, including successes, challenges and lessons learned, with a view to accelerating the implementation of the 2030 Agenda", and to "strengthen policies and institutions of governments and to mobilize

multi-stakeholder support and partnerships for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals” (High-level Political Forum on Sustainable Development, n.d.). It is worth noting that these VNRs work closely with other policy tools and mechanisms, such as the “2030 Agenda Partnership Accelerator”,⁶ and the cooperation funding framework based on the UN’s (2019b) Sustainable Development Cooperation Framework.

Portuguese Voluntary National Reviews

In terms of contemporary global governance, Portugal has presented two VNRs at the High-Level Political Forum (HLPF) on Sustainable Development, which is the main platform established by the UN for the follow-up and review of the 2030 Agenda at the global level and can be considered the apex of the governance structure for SDG implementation. The first HLPF meeting was held in 2013, when it replaced the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), created in the context of the Millenium Goals, predecessor to the SDGs. Today, the HLPF meets annually under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council. In 2017, Portugal presented its first VNR (Portugal, 2017), in which it underlined “the active role in drafting the document adopted at the Summit, including in the establishment of the common position to be taken by the European Union” (p. 6). It also underscored the country’s involvement in other ongoing multilateral processes that aim to align policies and instruments with the SDGs. This included the creation of an “SDG contact network” for the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries, and the adoption of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development SDG “Action Plan”. At the UN System level, the first VNR emphasised the need for “structured co-operation and complementarity between the different actors at the global, regional and national levels” (Portugal, 2017, p. 6).

The commitment to international mechanisms that aim to consolidate the human rights-based approach to public policy making was primarily presented through references to measures for achieving SDG4, underscoring that:

Portugal is a party to most of the core treaties that address the universal right to education, with a view to the full development of the human personality. These are: the Charter of the United Nations (1945) and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948); the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1988); the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (1979); the World Declaration on Education for All (1990); the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2006); and the Incheon Declaration (2015). (Portugal, 2017, pp. 26–27).

⁶ The “2030 Agenda Partnership Accelerator” is a collaborative initiative of the UNDESA and The Partnering Initiative (TPI), in collaboration with the UN Office for Partnerships, UN Global Compact, and the UN Development Coordination Office. It published a Practical Guide to building high impact multi-stakeholder partnerships for the Sustainable Development Goals in 2020 (see Stibbe et al., 2020).

In terms of decisions on adult education and policies promoting action, the Portuguese Government relaunched the sector in 2017, following a period of political austerity, during which adult education was neglected. The VNR states:

By recognizing the need for continued learning throughout life and the low qualification of the Portuguese adult population, education and training for adults has also been a priority field of improvement, namely with the creation of the Programa Qualifica (2016), that aims to guide, train and certify about 1 million adults with low qualification, until 2020, through a network of 300 centres distributed around the country, in close collaboration with the education sector and the labour market. (Portugal, 2017, p. 28)

This political will has been maintained ever since, and the most recent Report on the State of Education, published in 2022 by the National Board of Education (CNE, 2022), presents a generally positive panorama of the state of adult education in Portugal. For instance, it shows the continuous investment in the Qualify Program and the resulting expansion of the network of Qualify Centres, which numbered 319 in 2021 (CNE, 2022, p. 151), distributed throughout the country (including the archipelagos). The report also highlights the increased diversity of public provision⁷ (basic and secondary) for adults and the positive level of participation, particularly when compared to the other 27 EU countries,⁸ where young adults, aged 25 to 34, show higher levels of participation in organised training activities than older adults, aged 55 to 64 (CNE, 2022, p. 148).

Six years later, Portugal presented its second VNR (Portugal, 2023) at the 2023 HLPF held in New York under the auspices of the Economic and Social Council, on the theme of "Accelerating the recovery from the coronavirus disease (COVID-19) and the full implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development at all levels". According to the Summary published by the President of the 2023 HLPF, "a total of 38 countries presented voluntary national reviews, of which 1 was presenting for the first time, 36 for the second time, and 1 for the third time. The European Union also presented its first voluntary review" (UN Economic and Social Council, 2023, p. 1). One key takeaway from the general discussions was the recognition that "the commitment to leave no one behind must be reaffirmed" (UN Economic and Social Council, 2023, p. 2).

The 2023 Portuguese VNR publicly restated the commitment to implementing the SDGs:

Portugal is completely engaged with the 2030 Agenda, remaining fully committed to eradicating poverty, fighting inequalities, and promoting a global,

7 Current certified training provision includes Adult Education and Training courses (EFA), Recurrent Education (ER), Recognition, Validation and Certification of Competencies (RVCC), Certified Modular Training (FMC), Basic Skills Training (FCB), and Portuguese Host Language (PLA) which replaced Portuguese for Speakers of Other Languages (PFOL) in 2020. Current stratified data on each can also be found in this publication (CNE, 2022, pp. 147–179).

8 For more information on the interrelatedness of UN and EU SDGs, see European Commission (2019).

fair, equitable and inclusive sustainable development, based on the respect for human rights and the principle of human dignity [...] This journey has reinforced our belief that a holistic and comprehensive approach is fundamental. (Portugal, 2023, p. iii)

When analysing progress on SDG4 in the field of adult education, the 2023 Portuguese VNR states:

The objectives of modernising vocational education are to be achieved by setting up specialised technology centres which seek to adapt supply to the needs of the business world; expanding the Qualifica Programme which promotes the qualification of the adult population and lifelong learning; and by promoting the fight against dropping out of higher education, by reducing course fees, increasing social support for students and increasing investment in higher education for adults through the diversification and adaptation of the educational offer. (Portugal, 2023, pp. 62–63)

Indeed, the Qualify Program has been expanded by a recent law (Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security, 2023) establishing the “Qualify Industry Programme”, aimed at micro, small and medium-sized enterprises in the industrial sector and “intended to support the qualification processes and retraining of workers, preventing future unemployment”. This indicates a reassessment of market demands in terms of adult education in the context of the digital economy. This reprioritisation can also be seen in the “Agenda 2030 Indicators for Portugal 2015/2021” published by the National Institute for Statistics (INE, 2022), which contained no statistics on adult education, with the sole exception of digital skills. It states that:

according to the results of the Survey on Information and Communication Technology (ICT) usage in private households carried out in 2021, 55% of the resident population aged 16 to 74 years old had digital skills at basic or above basic level, 7.6 pp higher than in 2015. (INE, 2022, p. 83)

Meanwhile, in the Country Profiles available through the online Statistics Division of the UNDESA, Portugal is only mentioned in a statistical note, also concerning digital skills, which states that in 2021, “the gender parity index (female per 100 male) for youth/adults who were able to write a computer program using a specialized programming language was 0.4” (UNDESA, n.d.-a).

This panorama had previously been highlighted in the context of the key national conference held in 2018 under the auspices of the National Board of Education on the topic of “LNOB as a departure moment”, which led to the drafting of the most recent National Recommendations on Adult Education and Training.

Integration of the LNOB motto into national public sociopolitical normative space

Indeed, a member of the Board of Directors of the National Agency for Qualification and Vocational Education stated at the 2018 key national conference that,

In the top 10 areas of education and training with the highest number of certifications we find sectors that are levers for economic development, given our business and demographic reality and the current situation, such as support services for children and young people, commerce, hotels and restaurants, metallurgy and metalworking, electricity and energy and the construction and repair of motor vehicles. (Valente, 2020, p. 82)

Despite the emphasis on vocational reskilling of the Portuguese adult population in these discussions, the resulting 2019 Recommendations on Adult Education and Training, as a strategic policy document, clearly acknowledge that in order to be sustainable and accomplish the LNOB pledge, adult education must question both the neoliberal belief in learning solely for economic purposes, where individualistic competitive skills take precedence over the ability to cooperate, and the tendency to disregard older adults' right to education beyond retirement age. As such, this national policy document recommends a regionalist strategy for the adult education sector, prioritising (i) policy production on the municipal level and (ii) a bottom-up approach that seeks to enhance the role of educators and researchers in policy-making, which slows the transformation processes, but compensates for this with deeper and more sustainable long-term results (CNE, 2020, p. 219).

Finally, it is interesting to note that the spirit of these recommendations is only partially reflected in the model adopted in Portugal for the coordination and monitoring of SDG implementation, in terms of regionalism, e.g., for the composition of the Portuguese Monitoring Committee.⁹ Indeed, the model perpetuates the political tendency to restrict access to effective participation in the decision-making processes, which remain firmly in the hands of the usual policy actors moving between networks of global governance. Looking, for example, at planned initiatives to accelerate the transition to sustainable development in Portugal, experts appointed by the Competence Centre for Planning, Policy and Foresight in Public Administration (PlanAPP, n.d.) will be largely responsible for developing a National Roadmap for Sustainable Development 2030, identifying, mapping and monitoring national public policy and other instruments that contribute to the implementation of the SDGs, and leading the impact assessment of its accelerated short-term implementation, in conjunction with other public and private entities.

⁹ According to Resolution n. ° 5/2023 of the Council of Ministers, of 23rd January, the members are: a) a representative of the ministry of the presidency, who presides; b) a representative of the ministry of foreign affairs; c) one representative from each of the Regional Governments; d) a representative of the Economic and Social Council; e) a representative of the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities; f) a representative of the National Association of Parishes; g) three personalities of recognised merit selected by the other members.

In this regard, one of the remaining challenges¹⁰ for education policy researchers and educators in the global governance era is how to gain access to the policymaking process and play an active role in the design of initiatives and practices and the monitoring and reporting of the implementation of SDG4, which is inherently linked to the other SDGs and the wholesale transformation of the way we, as humans, inhabit planet Earth.

CONCLUSION: “IMAGINE ALL THE PEOPLE SHARING ALL THE WORLD...” AND LNOB

The Prime Minister of Portugal stated in the last VNR:

In 2023, we are halfway to 2030. The challenges to full implementation of the 2030 Agenda and the 17 SDGs are many and demanding. Nonetheless, Portugal remains, as in 2015, ready to actively engage with all national and international stakeholders in order to succeed in achieving the ambitious goals we have set and which today, in view of recent crises, are more crucial than ever. These remain everyone's goals, our universal goals, leaving no one behind. Together we can change the world! (Portugal, 2023, p. iii)

This article has focused mainly on the symbolic power of the LNOB motto, disseminated by the UN 2017 Shared Framework on *Leaving No One Behind: Equality and Non-Discrimination at the Heart of Sustainable Development* and its impact on national education policy agendas. In the Portuguese scenario studied, this motto has proven to be an efficient pivot towards a renewed humanistic approach in written policy discourse, acting as “global policy-speak”.

Portugal's alignment with the global governance approach proposed by LNOB, and its recent adoption by the EU, could indicate a shift in policy production, with less focus placed on neoliberal priorities. However, the intensity, effectiveness, and environmental impact of the promised sustainable measures to leave no one behind requires further research, above all because scientific data on progress towards the SDGs does not yet allow us to “imagine all the people sharing all the world” in a way that is sustainable, ethical and just.

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¹⁰ Theoretical considerations as to why researchers and educators of teachers/educators should be included in educational global governance can be found, among other contributions, in the conceptual model composed of four specific dimensions discussed by Milana and Tarozi (2021).

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Marko Radovan

PRILAGODLJIVA DELOVNA OKOLJA IN NJIHOVA VLOGA V IZOBRAŽEVANJU ODRASLIH

POVZETEK

Na podlagi podatkov iz ankete o aktivnem in neaktivnem prebivalstvu za leto 2021 smo analizirali, kako vrsta zaposlitve, velikost podjetja in delovni pogoji vplivajo na udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih, in ugotovili, da se posamezniki, ki so zaposleni za polni delovni čas, in tisti, ki so zaposleni za določen delovni čas, pogosteje vključujejo v izobraževanje kot tisti s pogodbami za nedoločen čas ali zaposlitvami za krajši delovni čas. Tudi prilagodljiv delovni čas in možnost dela na daljavo pomembno povečujeta udeležbo v izobraževanju, medtem ko rezultati kažejo, da ima lahko izmensko delo negativen vpliv. Vendar je treba opozoriti, da imajo prožne oblike dela lahko tudi negativne posledice, kot so povečan občutek osamljenosti, pojav neravnovesja med delom in zasebnim življenjem ter izzivi pri ohranjanju stalne angažiranosti pri delu. S tega vidika priporočamo izvajanje ciljnih politik in ukrepov za spodbujanje udeležbe v izobraževanju v različnih delovnih okoljih in gospodarskih sektorjih. Pomembno je, da pri uvajanju prožnih delovnih ureditev upoštevamo tudi morebitne negativne posledice, da ne bi slučajno škodovali zdravju in dobremu počutju zaposlenih.

Ključne besede: *značilnosti delovnega mesta, udeležba odraslih v izobraževanju, fleksibilni načini dela, delo na daljavo*

ADAPTIVE WORK ENVIRONMENTS AND THEIR ROLE IN ADULT EDUCATION – ABSTRACT

Using data from the 2021 Active and Inactive Population Survey, we examined how the type of employment, company size and working conditions influence participation in adult education. We found that people who are employed full-time or on fixed-term contracts are more likely to participate in adult education than those on permanent or part-time contracts. Flexible working hours and the possibility of remote work significantly increase participation, while shift work has a negative impact. We conclude that employment characteristics and flexibility significantly influence participation in adult education. However, it is important to point out that flexible working arrangements can also have negative consequences, such as increased feelings of loneliness, a possible work-life imbalance and difficulties in maintaining constant engagement at work. With this in mind, we recommend the implementation of targeted policies and measures to promote participation in adult education in various work environments and economic sectors. It is important to consider the potential disadvantages when introducing flexible working arrangements so as not to compromise the health and well-being of employees.

Keywords: *workplace characteristics, participation in adult education, flexible working, teleworking*

UVOD

Na sodobnem, izjemno dinamičnem in konkurenčnem trgu dela je izobraževanje odraslih ključen dejavnik pri pridobitvi in krepitvi zaposlitvenih možnosti posameznikov. V zadnjih letih so se delovna mesta pod vplivom hitrega tehnološkega napredka in demografskih sprememb preoblikovala v dinamična in nenehno razvijajoča se okolja (Bessen, 2018). Posledično delodajalci vse bolj cenijo posameznike, ki so ne le strokovno podkovani, temveč se tudi hitro prilagajajo spremembam. Pandemija COVID-19 je še dodatno pospešila te trende, saj je povzročila pomanjkanje nekaterih kadrov, kar je vodilo v obsežne gospodarske spremembe (Ando idr., 2022) in povečalo povpraševanje po izobraževanju odraslih.

V tem kontekstu je izobraževanje odraslih postalo glavno orodje za prekvalifikacijo in dvig usposobljenosti posameznikov vseh socialno-ekonomskih razredov. Namen in vloga izobraževanja odraslih pa ni zgolj slediti spreminjajočemu se svetu, temveč posameznikom omogočiti, da v njem ne le obstajajo, temveč so tudi uspešni. To stališče so potrdile tudi številne raziskave (Boeren idr., 2020; Košmerl, 2021; Popescu, 2012).

Spodbujanje udeležbe v izobraževanju odraslih ima izjemno pozitivne in daljnosežne družbene posledice, ki daleč presegajo ekonomsko sfero. Kot kažejo številne raziskave, izobraževanje odraslih ni zgolj sredstvo za pridobivanje novih znanj in veščin, temveč tudi ključni katalizator osebnega razvoja, opolnomočenja posameznikov in krepitve socialne kohezije (Johnson in Majewska, 2022; Mishra in Mishra, 2022; Norqvist in Leffler, 2017). Izobraževanje odraslih ima torej pomembno vlogo pri osebnem razvoju posameznikov. Raziskave kažejo, da izobraževanje krepi samozavest, samospoštovanje in občutek lastne vrednosti (Hammond, 2004; Low idr., 2024; Waller idr., 2018). Pridobivanje novih znanj in spretnosti omogoča posameznikom boljše razumevanje sebe in okolice, kar vodi k večji samostojnosti, proaktivnosti in sposobnosti reševanja problemov. Poleg tega izobraževanje odraslih spodbuja kritično mišljenje, kreativnost in inovativnost (Gouthro, 2022; Santos-Meneses idr., 2023; Tsai, 2012). Izobraževanje odraslih ima pomembno vlogo pri krepitvi socialne kohezije in spodbujanju aktivnega državljanstva. Programi izobraževanja odraslih pogosto združujejo posameznike iz različnih okolij in socialnih skupin, kar spodbuja medsebojno razumevanje, strpnost in spoštovanje različnosti (Organizacija Združenih narodov za izobraževanje, znanost in kulturo [UNESCO], 2015). Udeleženci izobraževanja se naučijo bolje sodelovati, komunicirati in graditi odnose z drugimi. Izobraževanje odraslih prav tako spodbuja aktivno vključevanje posameznikov v družbo.

Poleg tega pa ima seveda izobraževanje odraslih pomemben vpliv tudi na gospodarsko rast in inovacije. Bolje usposobljena delovna sila je ključna za konkurenčnost podjetij in gospodarski razvoj države (Organizacija za gospodarsko sodelovanje in razvoj [OECD], 2019), saj omogoča hitrejšo prilagajanje na tehnološke spremembe in zahteve trga. Izobraževanje in usposabljanje odraslih je pri tem ključnega pomena, saj jim omogoča pridobivanje novih znanj, spretnosti in kompetenc, ki so potrebni za uspeh na vse bolj zahtevnem in dinamičnem trgu dela.

ZNAČILNOSTI DELA IN IZOBRAŽEVANJE ODRASLIH

Razumevanje dejavnikov, ki vplivajo na udeležbo odraslih v izobraževanju, je bistvenega pomena zaradi večplastnega učinka vseživljenjskega učenja na posameznika, družbo in gospodarstvo. Številne raziskave nedvoumno potrjujejo povezanost med vseživljenjskim učenjem in gospodarsko rastjo, hkrati pa poudarjajo njegovo vlogo pri krepitvi socialne kohezije, zaposljivosti, poklicnem napredovanju ter osebnostnem razvoju (Evropski center za razvoj poklicnega usposabljanja [Cedefop], 2018; Goldin in Katz, 2008; Katz idr., 2021; OECD, 2019).

Kljub nespornim koristim pa raziskave razkrivajo neenakomerno porazdelitev udeležbe v izobraževanju med različnimi poklicnimi skupinami. Ključno vlogo pri tem imajo značilnosti dela, kot so zahtevnost dela, avtonomija zaposlenega in zahtevana znanja, ki pomembno vplivajo na učne priložnosti posameznika. Poleg tega sta bistvena dejavnika pri odločitvi za udeležbo v izobraževanju dohodek in zaposlitveni status posameznika. Višji dohodek olajša kritje stroškov izobraževanja, medtem ko stabilna zaposlitev pogosto pomeni večjo podporo delodajalca, bodisi v obliki financiranja bodisi prožnosti delovnega časa (Rubenson in Desjardins, 2009).

Številne raziskave potrjujejo, da zahtevnost dela, avtonomija zaposlenega in zahtevana znanja neposredno vplivajo tako na proces kot tudi na rezultate izobraževanja (Boxall idr., 2019; Kyndt idr., 2011; Wielenga-Meijer idr., 2010). Avtonomija pri delu in finančne spodbude so prepoznane kot glavni dejavniki za krepitev pripravljenosti zaposlenih za izobraževanje. Ovesni (2020) poudarja ključno vlogo organizacijske klime pri rasti, razvoju in prilagoditveni sposobnosti organizacije na spremembe, tako notranje kot zunanje. Poleg tega klima pomembno vpliva na to, ali se bodo zaposleni vključevali v izobraževanje ali ne. Poročilo OECD (2019) dodaja, da klima, ki spodbuja avtonomijo zaposlenih, vodi k boljši uporabi njihovih znanj in spretnosti, kar prispeva h kompetentnejši in konkurenčnejši delovni sili.

PREHOD NA PROŽNE OBLIKE DELA

Pandemija COVID-19 je nedvomno pospešila prehod na delo na daljavo, zlasti delo od doma. Ta sprememba je imela pomemben vpliv tudi na izobraževanje odraslih, saj je odprla nove možnosti za učenje na daljavo in prilagodljive oblike izobraževanja, hkrati pa prinesla tudi izzive, kot so zagotavljanje ustrezne tehnične opreme in ohranjanje motivacije za učenje v domačem okolju. Delo na daljavo, čeprav prinaša tako izzive kot priložnosti za posameznika in delodajalca, bistveno spreminja ustaljene vzorce dela in izobraževanja, kar omogoča večjo prožnost in ruši tradicionalne pristope (Davidavičiene idr., 2023). Delo na daljavo, ki je v zadnjem času postalo najvidnejša oblika prožnega dela, je sprožilo številne razprave o spremembah v načinu dela, zlasti pri pisarniških delavcih, delavcih z znanjem in strokovnjakih za informacijsko tehnologijo (Evropska komisija, 2021; Hackney idr., 2022; Henke idr., 2022; Holgersen idr., 2021). Prožni delovni režimi zaposlenim omogočajo večjo avtonomijo pri razporejanju časa med delom in izobraževanjem, kar lahko vodi do učinkovitejše izrabe časa, namenjenega izobraževanju (Hill idr., 1998).

Povečana udeležba v izobraževanju odraslih v Evropi, zlasti pa v Sloveniji, je deloma posledica teh sprememb. Poročilo o rezultatih *Ankete o aktivnem in neaktivnem prebivalstvu* kaže na presenetljivo veliko rast udeležbe v izobraževanju odraslih – z 8,4 % leta 2020 na 18,9 % leta 2021 (Sotošek, 2022), kar bi lahko bilo povezano s pandemijo in posledičnim uvajanjem različnih oblik e-izobraževanja kot enega od sodobnih načinov usposabljanja zaposlenih (Kustec Perenič, 2001).

Kljub številnim prednostim prožnih oblik dela pa ta oblika zaposlitve prinaša tudi nekatere izzive. Eden največjih je zameglitev meja med poklicnim in zasebnim življenjem, kar lahko negativno vpliva na psihološko dobro počutje posameznika, poveča stres in zmanjša motivacijo (Ashforth idr., 2000; Williams idr., 2016). Zato je razmerje med prožnimi oblikami dela in udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih kompleksno in odvisno od različnih dejavnikov, kot so osebne preference, značilnosti delovnega mesta in kakovost virtualnih učnih platform. Gre za dinamično razmerje, ki ga oblikujejo številni medsebojno povezani dejavniki.

NAMEN ANALIZE IN RAZISKOVALNA VPRAŠANJA

Pregled literature kaže na kompleksno razmerje med prožnimi oblikami dela in udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih (Derrick idr., 2022; Thakur idr., 2023; Zagirniak idr., 2023). Po eni strani prožne oblike dela omogočajo večjo avtonomijo in prilagodljivost, kar lahko olajša udeležbo posameznika v izobraževanju. Po drugi strani pa lahko prožne oblike dela zameglijo meje med delom in prostim časom, kar otežuje usklajevanje dela in izobraževanja. Poleg tega so raziskave pokazale, da so se prožne oblike dela med pandemijo COVID-19 močno razširile, kar je zagotovo vplivalo tudi na udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih (Gašić in Berber, 2021; Ghali-Zinoubi idr., 2021). Ugotavljamo pa tudi, da je bilo v Sloveniji opravljeno malo raziskav, ki bi podrobno proučile te povezave (prim. Radovan, 2023).

S to analizo želimo zapolniti obstoječo vrzel v razumevanju razmerja med prožnimi oblikami dela in izobraževanjem odraslih. Ugotovitve analize bi lahko bile dragocena podlaga za oblikovanje politik in programov, ki bi spodbujali vseživljenjsko učenje in izobraževanje odraslih v dinamičnem in spreminjajočem se svetu dela.

Raziskovalna vprašanja:

1. Kakšna je povezanost med različnimi vrstami zaposlitve (npr. polni delovni čas, skrajšani delovni čas, samozaposlitev) in udeležbo odraslih v izobraževanju?
2. Ali obstaja povezanost med specifičnimi oblikami dela (npr. prožen delovni čas, delo ob vikendih, delo od doma) in udeležbo odraslih v izobraževanju?
3. Kako so stopnja izobrazbe, vrsta zaposlitve in gospodarska dejavnost podjetja povezane z možnostjo dela od doma?

METODOLOGIJA

V analizi, predstavljeni v tem članku, smo se oprli na kvantitativno metodologijo, s katero smo sistematično obdelali podatke iz *Ankete o aktivnem in neaktivnem prebivalstvu*. Osrednji poudarek je bil na deskriptivni in bivariatni statistični analizi, ki nam je dala vpogled v značilnosti proučevanega pojava ter morebitne povezave med različnimi spremenljivkami.

Anketa o aktivnem in neaktivnem prebivalstvu

Podatki za našo analizo izhajajo iz *Ankete o aktivnem in neaktivnem prebivalstvu* (AANP), ki jo koordinira Eurostat (2023), izvajajo pa nacionalni statistični uradi. AANP je anketa o trgu dela, ki se opravlja v vseh državah EU, štirih državah kandidatkah in treh državah Evropskega združenja za prosto trgovino (EFTA). Je najbolj izčrpna nacionalna anketa v gospodinjstvih, ki se izvaja v Sloveniji. Njen glavni cilj je zbrati informacije o stanju na slovenskem trgu dela. Tako se v njej zbirajo podatki o obsegu, sestavi in lastnostih aktivne delovne sile in neaktivnega prebivalstva v Sloveniji. Enota analize v AANP je posameznik s stalnim prebivališčem v Sloveniji, natančneje član zasebnega gospodinjstva (Osvald Zaletelj in Vratanar, 2023). Ta analiza je stratificirana glede na ekonomsko aktivnost, spol, starostne kategorije, pogoje zaposlitve, poklicne klasifikacije in delovna področja v regionalnih kontekstih kohezije.

Izbrani vzorec v naši raziskavi

Vzorec za AANP je pridobljen po metodi stratificiranega enostavnega naključnega vzorčenja. AANP deluje kot neprekinjeno panelno raziskovanje, ki poteka vse leto, gospodinjstva pa so anketirana četrtletno. Vsako četrtletje je v vzorčenje vključenih približno 8.000 gospodinjstev.

Za našo analizo smo izbrali vzorec odraslih Slovencev, starih od 25 do 64 let, in posebej proučili njihovo udeležbo v formalnem in neformalnem izobraževanju v zadnjih 12 mesecih. Ta analiza temelji na podatkovni zbirki iz leta 2021, ki je bila takrat na voljo, z reprezentativnim vzorcem 18.591 odraslih Slovencev.

Statistična analiza

Statistične analize so bile opravljene junija 2023 v varovani sobi na Statističnem uradu Republike Slovenije, saj je baza podatkov AANP zaščitena. Udeležba v izobraževanju v kontekstu te analize se nanaša na aktivno participacijo odraslih posameznikov v strukturiranih učnih aktivnostih, bodisi formalnega (npr. pridobivanje diplome ali certifikata) bodisi neformalnega značaja (npr. delavnice, tečaji), v časovnem obdobju zadnjih 12 mesecev.

REZULTATI

Dejavniki zaposlitve in izobraževanje odraslih

V nadaljevanju predstavljamo rezultate analize povezanosti med udeležbo odraslih v izobraževanju (formalnem in neformalnem) in značilnostmi zaposlitve. V rezultatih so

predstavljene le statistično pomembne korelacije ($p < 0,001$), vrednosti Kramerjevega koeficienta (V) pa so v tabeli prikazane v oklepajih. Pomembno je opozoriti, da rezultati v tej in drugih preglednicah odražajo korelacijo in ne pomenijo vzročnosti. Vzrokov za te korelacije je lahko več, nanje pa lahko vplivajo tudi dejavniki, ki v tej študiji niso bili upoštevani. V analizah, ki sledijo, se pri interpretaciji jakosti povezav sklicujemo na Akoglujevo klasifikacijo vrednosti Kramerjevega koeficienta (V), ki korelacije, večje od 0,25, opredeljuje kot zelo močne, tiste med 0,15 in 0,25 kot močne, tiste med 0,11 in 0,15 kot zmernе, tiste med 0,06 in 0,10 kot šibke ter tiste med 0,01 in 0,05 kot nepomembne (Akoglu, 2018).

Preglednica 1

Udeležba odraslih v izobraževanju glede na značilnosti zaposlitve

Značilnosti zaposlitve	%
Delovno razmerje ($V = 0,03$)	
Nedoločen čas	39,1
Določen čas	44,4
Vrsta zaposlitve ($V = 0,02$)	
S polnim delovnim časom	38,9
S skrajšanim delovnim časom od polnega	35,3
Velikost podjetja ($V = 0,13$)	
1–9 oseb	24,9
10–19 oseb	32,7
20–49 oseb	31,5
50–249 oseb	37,4
250 ali več oseb	43,4

*Opomba. Pridobljeno iz AANP (2021); V = Kramerjev V ;
 $p < 0,001$ za vse primerjave.*

Podrobnejša analiza vrst zaposlitvenih pogodb razkriva zanimiv trend: zaposleni za določen čas se pogosteje izobražujejo kot tisti z zaposlitvijo za nedoločen čas (44,4 % v primerjavi z 39,1 %). Razpoložljivi podatki razkrivajo tudi razliko v udeležbi v izobraževanju odraslih glede na vrsto pogodbe o zaposlitvi (za polni ali krajši delovni čas).

Stopnja udeležbe 38,9 % kaže, da se zaposleni s polnim delovnim časom nekoliko pogosteje udeležujejo izobraževalnih dejavnosti v primerjavi z zaposlenimi s krajšim delovnim časom (35,3 %). Korelacija je statistično značilna ($p < 0,001$), vendar šibka ($V = 0,02$).

Poleg tega se jasen trend razkriva pri analizi razmerja med velikostjo podjetja in udeležbo zaposlenih v izobraževanju. Opaziti je mogoče, da zaposleni v večjih organizacijah pogosteje sodelujejo v učnih dejavnostih kot zaposleni v organizacijah, ki imajo manj kot 10 zaposlenih. Razlika med stopnjo udeležbe zaposlenih v tako imenovanih mikro podjetjih

z 1–9 zaposlenimi (24,9 %) in tistih v večjih podjetjih z 250 ali več zaposlenimi (43,4 %) je očitna. Kramerjev koeficient ($V = 0,13$) v tem primeru kaže na srednje močno povezanost med velikostjo organizacije in verjetnostjo udeležbe odraslih v izobraževanju. Ta korelacija je najmočnejša od vseh korelacij, prikazanih v zgornji preglednici, in bi jo po Akoglujevi (2018) klasifikaciji šteli za zmerno korelacijo.

Prožnost zaposlitve in udeležba v izobraževanju odraslih

V naši analizi smo proučili tudi vpliv različnih specifičnih oblik dela na udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih. Kot smo omenili v uvodnem poglavju, raziskave kažejo, da lahko tako ureditev delovnega časa kot tudi prožna ureditev dela vplivata na pripravljenost odraslih za udeležbo v izobraževalnih dejavnostih. To se potrjuje tudi v naši raziskavi.

Preglednica 2 prikazuje, da je udeležba v izobraževanju odraslih večja med tistimi, ki imajo gibljiv delovni čas (58,5 %), v primerjavi s tistimi, ki imajo statičen delovni čas (33,3 %). Vrednost Kramerjevega koeficienta ($V = 0,22$) nakazuje obstoj močne povezanosti med gibljivostjo delovnega časa in udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih.

Preglednica 2

Udeležba v izobraževanju odraslih glede na prožnost zaposlitve

Gibljiv delovnik ($V = 0,22$)	%
Gibljiv delovni čas	58,5
Statičen delovni čas	33,3

Opomba. Pridobljeno iz AANP (2021); V = Kramerjev V ;
 $p < 0,001$ za vse primerjave.

Podatki, predstavljeni v Preglednici 3, prikazujejo delež odraslih, ki so udeleženi v izobraževanju, glede na oblike njihovega dela.

Preglednica 3

Udeležba v izobraževanju odraslih glede na specifične oblike dela

Oblike dela	Pogosto/Včasih	Nikoli
Izmensko delo ($V = 0,10$)	31,4	42,8
Delo zvečer ($V = 0,03$)	37,7	36,0
Delo ponoči ($V = 0,03$)	35,9	39,1
Delo ob sobotah ($V = 0,10$)	33,1	43,2
Delo ob nedeljah ($V = 0,10$)	38,5	38,2
Delo od doma ($V = 0,22$)	58,8	32,9

Opomba. Pridobljeno iz AANP (2021); V = Kramerjev V ;
 $p < 0,001$ za vse primerjave.

Pri oblikah dela, kot so izmensko delo, večerno in nočno delo ter delo ob koncih tedna, so bile ugotovljene zelo šibke oziroma šibke povezave z udeležbo v izobraževanju, kar kažejo tudi nizke vrednosti Kramerjevega koeficienta (od 0,03 do 0,10). Kljub temu pa je opazen trend, da se odrasli, ki ne delajo po standardnem delovnem urniku, pogostejše udeležujejo izobraževanja. Še posebej je zanimivo, da se delo od doma povezuje z višjo udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih, kar morda kaže na to, da fleksibilnejše oblike dela omogočajo več priložnosti za izobraževanje.

Največje razlike v udeležbi v izobraževanju so bile namreč opažene glede na pogostost dela od doma. Med odraslimi, ki pogosto ali včasih delajo od doma, se kaže izjemno visoka stopnja udeležbe v izobraževanju (58,8 %) v primerjavi s tistimi, ki te možnosti nimajo (32,9 %). Povezanost med pogostostjo dela od doma in udeležbo v izobraževanju je močna ($V = 0,22$), kar nakazuje, da delo od doma pomembno olajšuje vključitev v izobraževanje odraslih.

Delo od doma glede na izobrazbo, vrsto dela in panogo

Dosedanja analiza je pokazala, da je možnost dela od doma pomemben dejavnik za povečanje udeležbe odraslih v izobraževanju. Za bolj poglobljeno razumevanje tega pojava smo izvedli dodatno analizo, katere rezultati so predstavljeni v Preglednici 4. V njej primerjamo pogostost dela od doma glede na stopnjo izobrazbe, vrsto zaposlitve in gospodarsko dejavnost. Ta analiza nam bo omogočila bolj celosten vpogled v dejavnike, ki vplivajo na možnost dela od doma in posledično na udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih.

Preglednica 4 prikazuje rezultate te analize, pri čemer so vse ugotovljene povezave statistično značilne ($p < 0,001$). Moč teh povezav je velika, saj vrednosti Kramerjevega koeficienta presegajo ali so enake 0,17, kar kaže na pomemben vpliv analiziranih dejavnikov na možnost dela od doma.

Rezultati analize jasno kažejo, da stopnja izobrazbe in oblika zaposlitve pomembno vplivata na možnost dela od doma. Ugotovljeno je bilo, da je stopnja izobrazbe statistično značilno povezana z možnostjo dela od doma ($V = 0,21$). Posamezniki z višjimi stopnjami izobrazbe bistveno pogostejše delajo od doma v primerjavi s tistimi z nižjimi stopnjami izobrazbe. Kar 13,6 % posameznikov z višjo izobrazbo redno dela od doma, 22,3 % pa občasno, medtem ko 91,6 % posameznikov z najnižjo stopnjo izobrazbe nikoli ne dela od doma. Ta razlika je lahko posledica več dejavnikov, kot so narava dela, ki ga opravljajo visoko izobraženi posamezniki (npr. bolj intelektualno in manj fizično zahtevno delo), večja avtonomija in zaupanje, ki ga delodajalci izkazujejo visoko izobraženim zaposlenim, ter boljša tehnološka opremljenost in digitalne spretnosti, ki omogočajo učinkovito delo na daljavo.

Poleg izobrazbe imata pri pogostosti dela od doma pomembno vlogo tudi oblika zaposlitve in vrsta dejavnosti. Statistična analiza je pokazala, da je oblika zaposlitve zmerno povezana z možnostjo dela od doma ($V = 0,17$), medtem ko je povezanost med dejavnostjo podjetja in možnostjo dela od doma močnejša ($V = 0,24$).

Preglednica 4*Pogostost dela od doma glede na izobrazbo, obliko zaposlitve in gospodarsko dejavnost delodajalca*

Pogostost dela od doma	Pogosto	Včasih	Nikoli
Stopnja izobrazbe ($V = 0,21$)			
Nižja poklicna šola ali manj	5,7	2,7	91,6
Srednja šola	4,8	6,8	88,4
Visoka šola ali več	13,6	22,3	64,0
Oblika zaposlitve ($V = 0,17$)			
Zaposlen	6,5	12,4	81,1
Podjetje, s. p.	18,9	22,6	58,5
Kmet, svobodni poklic	32,5	13,0	54,6
Druge oblike zaposlitve	15,2	8,0	76,8
Dejavnost ($V = 0,24$)			
Kmetijstvo, lov, gozdarstvo, ribištvo	26,5	10,2	63,3
Predelovalne dejavnosti	3,5	8,5	88,0
Gradbeništvo	3,8	8,7	87,5
Trgovina, vzdrževanje in popravila motornih vozil	6,2	12,0	81,8
Promet in skladiščenje	3,4	7,9	88,7
Gostinstvo	1,9	5,6	92,5
Informacijske in komunikacijske dejavnosti	24,4	28,2	47,4
Finančne in zavarovalniške dejavnosti	17,3	24,8	57,9
Poslovanje z nepremičninami	16,7	26,4	56,9
Strokovne, znanstvene in tehnične dejavnosti	16,1	23,1	60,8
Druge poslovne dejavnosti	2,9	11,2	85,9
Javna uprava in obramba, obvezna socialna varnost	9,6	19,2	71,2
Izobraževanje	17,8	24,4	57,8
Zdravstvo in socialno varstvo	3,2	5,6	91,2
Kulturne, razvedrilne in rekreacijske dejavnosti	14,3	17,3	68,4

Opomba. Pridobljeno iz AANP (2021); V = Kramerjev V ; *$p < 0,001$ za vse primerjave.*

Od doma najpogosteje delajo posamezniki v svobodnih poklicih (vključno s kmeti), kar je verjetno posledica narave njihovega dela, ki je pogosto lokacijsko neodvisno, ter visoke stopnje izobrazbe v tej skupini. Podobno velja za lastnike podjetij in samozaposlene, medtem ko od doma najmanj pogosto delajo zaposleni pri delodajalcih.

Po gospodarskih dejavnostih največ zaposlenih, ki lahko delajo od doma, prihaja iz sektorja informacijskih in komunikacijskih dejavnosti, sledijo zaposleni v sektorjih, kot so poslovanje z nepremičninami, finance in zavarovalništvo, strokovne in znanstvene dejavnosti ter kmetijstvo. Te razlike so pričakovane glede na naravo dela v posameznih sektorjih, kjer nekateri sektorji bolj dopuščajo delo na daljavo kot drugi.

DISKUSIJA

Namen študije je bil raziskati izobraževalne možnosti zaposlenih glede na značilnosti njihovega dela in delovnega mesta. Rezultati analize pojasnjujejo tudi vpliv izobrazbe, vrste zaposlitve in gospodarske dejavnosti na možnost za delo od doma. Omenjena možnost namreč pomembno povečuje verjetnost udeležbe odraslih v izobraževanju. Razumevanje teh dejavnikov je ključno za oblikovanje politik in praks, ki spodbujajo prožnost dela in omogočajo enakopravnejši dostop do dela od doma za vse zaposlene.

Čeprav so bili podatki delno zbrani med pandemijo COVID-19, so rezultati pomembni tudi danes, saj je veliko podjetij do neke mere ohranilo možnosti dela od doma tudi po koncu pandemije. Ugotovitve naše analize so na splošno skladne s prejšnjimi raziskavami.

Naša analiza kaže, da se odrasli z zaposlitvijo za določen čas pogosteje udeležujejo izobraževalnih dejavnosti kot tisti, ki so zaposleni za nedoločen čas. Ta rezultat je nekoliko presenetljiv glede na to, da nekatere prejšnje raziskave kažejo nasprotno trende (Eurofound, 2017; Goudswaard in Andries, 2002). Za večjo udeležbo v izobraževanju zaposlenih za določen čas bi lahko ponudili več razlag. Ena od verjetnih hipotez je, da skušajo ti delavci s pridobivanjem dodatnih spretnosti ali znanja izboljšati svojo zaposljivost. Podatki iz poročila OECD (2004) *Employment Outlook* potrjujejo to hipotezo, saj kažejo, da udeležba v izobraževanju znatno poveča verjetnost, da bo delavec dobil zaposlitev za nedoločen čas.

Poleg tega udeležba v izobraževanju pogosto spodbuja razvoj pozitivnega delovnega okolja (kjer prevladujejo spoštljiv odnos, medsebojna podpora in občutek pripadnosti) in večjo pripadnost (zvestobo) zaposlenih podjetju. Lang (2021) na primer trdi, da lahko organizacije, ki vlagajo v izpopolnjevanje svojih zaposlenih, učinkovito zapolnijo vrzeli v znanju in spretnostih ter hkrati pokažejo svojo zavezanost njihovem strokovnemu razvoju. To ne vodi le k boljše usposobljeni delovni sili, temveč – po mnenju Langa (2021) – tudi k večji pripadnosti zaposlenih.

Naša analiza je potrdila povezavo med velikostjo podjetja in stopnjo udeležbe zaposlenih v izobraževanju, kar se sklada s predhodnimi raziskavami (Cedefop, 2018; OECD, 2020). Cedefop v svojem poročilu iz leta 2018 poudarja, da zaposleni v večjih podjetjih pogosteje sodelujejo v izobraževanjih kot tisti v manjših. To potrjujejo tudi novejši podatki OECD iz leta 2020, ki kažejo, da večja podjetja ponujajo več možnosti za izobraževanje. Konkretno, v podjetjih z manj kot 10 zaposlenimi je bilo v izobraževanje vključenih 30 % zaposlenih, medtem ko se je v podjetjih z več kot 249 zaposlenimi ta delež povzpел na 60 % (OECD, 2020). Poleg tega rezultati študije OECD (2020) kažejo, da večja podjetja namenjajo večji delež svojega proračuna za usposabljanje zaposlenih. V podjetjih z več kot

249 zaposlenimi so stroški usposabljanja pomenili 2,1 % vseh stroškov dela v primerjavi z 1,5 % v podjetjih s 50–249 zaposlenimi in 1,3 % v podjetjih z 10–49 zaposlenimi (OECD, 2020). Nekateri raziskovalci poudarjajo, da manjša podjetja pogosto nimajo dovolj sredstev in strokovnega znanja za zagotavljanje stalnega poklicnega razvoja in možnosti za izobraževanje odraslih, medtem ko so večja podjetja bolj pripravljena vlagati v možnosti izobraževanja (Bassanini idr., 2005). To je deloma posledica strukturnih razlik med velikimi in malimi podjetji. Večja podjetja imajo pogosto kadrovske službe, ki skrbijo za načrtovanje in izvedbo izobraževalnih programov, včasih pa celo vzpostavijo lastna izobraževalna središča. Poleg tega jim večje število zaposlenih olajša nadomeščanje odsotnosti posameznikov, ki se udeležujejo izobraževanj, kar zmanjšuje motnje v delovnem procesu. V manjših podjetjih pa lahko odsotnost enega samega zaposlenega pomeni veliko oviro, kar dodatno otežuje udeležbo na izobraževanjih.

Po drugi strani pa nekatere raziskave kažejo, da manjša podjetja običajno ponujajo bolj prilagojene in neformalne pristope k razvoju in usposabljanju zaposlenih. Takšne metode lahko prispevajo k večji pripravljenosti zaposlenih za izobraževanje (Bishop, 2008).

Ključna ugotovitev naše analize je močna povezanost med prožnostjo zaposlitve in udeležbo v izobraževanju odraslih, pri čemer se je izkazalo, da je možnost dela od doma še posebej spodbudna, medtem ko so druge oblike prožnega dela, kot je izmenski delovni čas ali delo ob koncih tedna, v nekaterih primerih povezane celo z manjšo udeležbo. Raziskava Browna idr. (2010) podpira naše ugotovitve in poudarja pomembno vlogo prožnih delovnih ureditev pri spodbujanju izobraževanja odraslih. Avtorji ugotavljajo, da prožni delovni čas pomembno prispeva k večji predanosti zaposlenih vseživljenjskemu učenju. To nagnjenost k stalnemu izobraževanju pripisujejo večjemu občutku osebne avtonomije in dajanju prednosti »zaposljivosti« pred tradicionalnimi pojmi »varnosti zaposlitve«. Ob tem je seveda treba opozoriti, da razmerje med prožnim delovnim časom in udeležbo v izobraževanju ni splošno ugodno. Netradicionalni delovni čas, kot so izmene ob koncu tedna ter večerno ali nočno delo, lahko tudi ovira udeležbo pri izobraževalnih dejavnostih. To potrjujejo tudi ugotovitve Morrisa idr. (2022), ki kažejo, da se zaposleni, preobremenjeni z delom in družinskimi obveznostmi, težje udeležujejo izobraževanja. Zato je lahko nenamerna posledica nekaterih prožnih oblik dela, zlasti tistih, uvedenih med vsesplošnim zapiranjem v času pandemije, prav preobremenjenost z delom. Ta koncept se sklada z izrazom »asocialne oblike dela«, kot jih je leta 2022 opredelil Eurofound. Te vključujejo tako imenovano svobodno delo (angl. *freelancing*), nočno delo, podaljšani delovni čas in pogodbe za določen čas. Eurofoundova (2022) študija poudarja, da delavci, izpostavljeni tem »asocialnim oblikam dela«, poročajo o manjšem zadovoljstvu s svojim delovnim življenjem, večjih zdravstvenih tveganjih in izčrpanosti.

Med različnimi oblikami dela ima najpomembnejši ugodni vpliv na udeležbo odraslih v izobraževanju delo na daljavo. Analiza je ob tem pokazala, da imajo visoko izobraženi zaposleni več možnosti za delo na daljavo. Tovrstna oblika dela je še posebej pogosta med samostojnimi podjetniki, kmeti in samozaposlenimi. Poleg tega je delo na daljavo bolj verjetno v sektorjih, kot so informacijsko-komunikacijski, nepremičninski, izobraževalni

ter bančni in zavarovalniški. Nasprotno pa so sektorji, kot so prehranski, prometni in proizvodni, manj naklonjeni delu na daljavo. Te ugotovitve so skladne s poročilom OECD (2018) *Employment Outlook 2018*, ki ugotavlja, da imajo visokokvalificirani delavci, samozaposleni ter delavci v informacijski in komunikacijski tehnologiji (IKT) večje možnosti prožnega delovnega časa. Delo na daljavo je najpogostejše med visokokvalificiranimi delavci v panogah ali na delovnih mestih, kjer fizična navzočnost ni nujna za opravljanje nalog. Nedavna študija iz Norveške je pokazala, da v tej državi do 38 % delovnih mest izpolnjuje zgornja merila (Holgersen idr., 2021).

Delo na daljavo je nedvomno odprlo vrata številnim priložnostim za izobraževanje odraslih, saj omogoča fleksibilnost in dostopnost, ki sta ključnega pomena za tiste, ki želijo usklajevati svoje poklicne in izobraževalne ambicije. Vendar pa je treba opozoriti, da ta trend lahko tudi poglobi neenakosti v družbi. Raziskava Hansena idr. (2023) je razkrila skrb zbujač trend, da so spletne objave delovnih mest za delo na daljavo vse bolj prilagojene dobro plačanim in visoko izobraženim posameznikom. To pomeni, da so možnosti za napredovanje in razvoj kariere prek povezave z delom na daljavo nesorazmerno skoncentrirane v rokah privilegiranih posameznikov, medtem ko so tisti z nižjimi dohodki in nižjo stopnjo izobrazbe pogosto izključeni iz teh priložnosti. Hkrati pa je treba priznati, da je možnost dela na daljavo tudi odsev specifičnih zahtev določenih delovnih mest, ki omogočajo opravljanje dela od doma. V takšnih primerih to ni nujno kazalnik neenakosti, temveč tudi posledica dejanskih potreb delovnega mesta.

ZAKLJUČEK

Čeprav se je naša študija osredotočila na delovno aktivno prebivalstvo, bi bilo na podlagi naših ugotovitev priporočljivo razviti izobraževalne programe, prilagojene specifičnim potrebam različnih skupin odraslih, vključno z brezposelnimi in neaktivnimi posamezniki, za katere bi lahko bile podobne strategije spodbujanja udeležbe v izobraževanju prav tako koristne. Kljub temu, da je to že splošno znano, velja vseeno poudariti, da bi morala podjetja čim bolj spodbujati usposabljanje zaposlenih, saj to ne le izboljšuje znanje in spretnosti zaposlenih, temveč tudi krepi njihovo identifikacijo s podjetjem in delovno motivacijo. Mala in srednja podjetja potrebujejo podporo pri ponudbi programov usposabljanja, kar lahko vključuje finančne spodbude, davčne olajšave ali partnerstva z večjimi podjetji ali izobraževalnimi ustanovami. Poleg tega je ključno spodbujati prožnost pri delu, kar vključuje zmanjšanje obsega dela zunaj rednega delovnega časa (npr. večernega ali vikend dela) ter omogočanje dela na daljavo, s čimer bi zaposlenim olajšali usklajevanje poklicnih obveznosti z izobraževanjem. Vendar se je treba zavedati, da si vsa podjetja ne morejo privoščiti takšnih prilagoditev, zlasti ne tista v sektorjih, kjer je fizična navzočnost nujna, kot so zdravstvo, farmacija in storitve čiščenja.

V našem prispevku smo želeli poudariti potrebo po prilagojenih izobraževalnih programih in podpori podjetjem za spodbujanje vseživljenjskega učenja, obenem pa opozoriti, da univerzalne rešitve niso vedno izvedljive. Ključno je najti prilagodljive rešitve, ki bodo

ustrezale raznolikim zaposlenim, njihovim delovnim mestom ter potrebam, da bi zagotovili vključujočo in uspešno prepletanje izobraževanja in dela.

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INTERVJU Z GLAVNIMI IN ODGOVORNIMI UREDNIKI REVIJE ANDRAGOŠKA SPOZNANJA OB 30-LETNICI IZHAJANJA

**Intervju z dr. Ano Krajnc, dr. Danielo Brečko, Tanjo Šulak,
dr. Nives Ličen in dr. Markom Radovanom**

V letošnjem letu revija *Andragoška spoznanja* obeležuje pomemben jubilej – 30. obletnico začetka izhajanja. Prva glavna urednica je bila dr. *Ana Krajnc*, ki je reviji urednikovala v letih 1995–2011, odgovorna urednica pa *Daniela Brečko*, ki je to funkcijo opravljala v letih 1995–2007. Revija je od ustanovitve izhajala štirikrat letno. Ustanovitelj revije je bilo sprva Andragoško društvo Slovenije, kot soustanoviteljica pa se je leta 1999 pridružila Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani. Publikacijo je v obdobju 1995–1997 izdajal Gospodarski vestnik, od leta 1998 dalje pa jo je začela izdajati Filozofska fakulteta. Leta 2008 je odgovorno urednico zamenjala *Katarina Majerhold*, ki je to funkcijo opravljala v letih 2008–2010, leta 2011 pa je njene naloge prevzela *Tanja Šulak*, ki je bila odgovorna urednica v letih 2011–2019. Sredi leta 2013 sta glavna urednika postala dr. *Nives Ličen* in dr. *Marko Radovan*. Skupaj sta revijo urejala v obdobju 2013–2017. V drugi polovici leta 2017 sta glavna urednika postala dr. *Sabina Jelenc Krašovec* in dr. *Borut Mikulec*, ki sta revijo skupaj urejala do leta 2020. *Andragoška spoznanja* so v letih 2019–2020 izhajala trikrat letno, od leta 2021 dalje pa izhajajo dvakrat letno. Od leta 2021 dalje kot glavni in odgovorni urednik revijo ureja dr. *Borut Mikulec*, funkcijo tehničnega urednika pa od leta 2020 dalje opravlja dr. *Tadej Košmerl*.

Od začetka izhajanja je imela revija uredniški odbor, ki so ga dopolnjevali mednarodni sodelavci. Prvi uredniški odbor so sestavljali *Milena Ažman*, mag. *Jordan Berginc*, mag. *Melita Cimerman*, mag. *Nada Češnovar*, mag. *Jožko Čuk*, *Jasna Dominko-Baloh*, dr. *Zoran Jelenc*, dr. *Janez Jereb*, *Božo Kočevan*, mag. *Jože Miklavc*, mag. *Vida Mohorčič-Špolar*, *Sašo Niklanovič*, dr. *Danica Purg*, dr. *Dimitrij Rupel*, dr. *Ivan Svetlik* in dr. *Pavle Zgaga*, prvi mednarodni sodelavci revije pa so bili dr. *Pavel Hartel*, dr. *Lian Carey*, dr. *Paolo Federighi*, dr. *Peter Jarvis* in dr. *Jost Reischmann*. Tovrstna struktura je bila ohranjena v obdobju 1995–2006. V letih 2007–2008 je revija vzpostavila skupni uredniški odbor, v letih 2009–2013 je bil vzpostavljen ločen uredniški odbor, nacionalni in mednarodni, skupni mednarodni uredniški odbor pa je revija spet vzpostavila leta 2014 in ga ohranila do današnjih dni.

Trenutni mednarodni uredniški odbor sestavljajo: dr. *Jim Crowther* (University of Edinburgh), dr. *Regina Egetenmeyer* (Julius-Maximilian-University Würzburg), dr. *Rob Evans*

(University of Magdeburg), dr. *Dušana Findeisen* (Slovenska univerza za tretje življenjsko obdobje), dr. *Annette Foley* (Federation University Australia), dr. *Marvin Formosa* (University of Malta), dr. *Monika Govekar Okoliš* (Univerza v Ljubljani), dr. *Maria N. Gravani* (Open University of Cyprus), dr. Paula Guimarães (University of Lisbon), dr. *Milena Ivanuš Grmek* (Univerza v Mariboru), dr. *Tina Kogovšek* (Univerza v Ljubljani), dr. *Martin Kopecky* (Charles University), dr. *Ewa Kurantowicz* (University of Lower Silesia), dr. *Danijela Makovec Radovan* (Univerza v Ljubljani), dr. *Malgosia Malec Rawinsky* (Stockholm University), dr. *Mirjana Mavrak* (University of Sarajevo), dr. *Maja Mezgec* (Univerza na Primorskem), dr. *Marcella Milana* (University of Verona), dr. *Tanja Možina* (Andragoški center Slovenije), dr. *Balázs Németh* (University of Pécs), dr. *Violeta Orlović Lovren* (University of Belgrade), dr. *Henning Salling Olesen* (Roskilde University), dr. *Barbara Samaluk* (Univerza v Ljubljani), dr. *Simona Sava* (University of Timișoara), dr. *Bernhard Schmidt-Hertha* (Ludwig-Maximilians University München), dr. *Maria Slowey* (University of Dublin), dr. *Matej Urbančič* (Univerza v Ljubljani), dr. *Danny Wildemeersch* (University of Leuven), dr. *George K. Zarifis* (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki), dr. *Anita Zovko* (University of Rijeka) in dr. *Tihomir Žiljak* (University of Zagreb).

Revija je vsa ta leta odpirala prostor za širjenje stroke, krepila dialog in izmenjavo spoznanj med raziskovalci in praktiki, omogočala polemiko in kritiko ter imela pomembno vlogo pri razvoju in uvajanju novosti v izobraževanje odraslih v praksi (kot smo pojasnili v Predgovoru pričujoče številke). Za časa mojega urednikovanja (od leta 2017 dalje) smo si v uredništvu prizadevali predvsem za odpiranje revije širši mednarodni skupnosti, kar je vključevalo: privabljanje tujih avtorjev, objavljanje člankov v angleškem jeziku, razširitev mednarodnega uredniškega odbora, indeksiranje revije v različnih mednarodnih bibliografskih bazah, pravo pozivov za tematske številke, vključevanje tujih avtorjev v mrežo recenzentov, dvig citiranosti revije v revijah, ki so že vključene v bazo Scopus, in drugo. Pri tem smo bili relativno uspešni, »zataknilo« pa se je pri indeksiranju revije v bazo Scopus, saj smo bili pri tem dvakrat žal neuspešni (razloge za to smo pojasnili v Predgovoru). Posledično to pomeni, da je revija manj zanimiva za tuje (in domače) avtorje in njihove kakovostne prispevke, saj so tudi ti pod pritiskom svojih univerz, da objavljajo dela v revijah, ki so indeksirane v bazi Scopus (in WoS) in imajo visok faktor vpliva. Ko pa je Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARRS) pridobitev točk na razpisu za sofinanciranje izdajanja domačih periodičnih znanstvenih publikacij povezala tudi s tem, ali je revija vključena v bazo Scopus/WoS, smo se vse publikacije, ki nismo bile vključene v tovrstno bazo, znašle na robu preživetja, saj smo za naslednji dve leti dobile le 10 % sredstev, ki smo jih v preteklih letih od ARRS prejeli za izhajanje revije. Navidezno pehanje za mednarodni ugled in dvig prepoznavnosti revije z njenim indeksiranjem v mednarodni bibliografski bazi Scopus je tako čez noč postal temeljni pogoj za (finančno) preživetje revije.

S kakšnimi izzivi pa so se pri urejanju revije soočali moji predhodniki? O tem sem se v vlogi aktualnega glavnega in odgovornega urednika pogovarjal z glavnimi in odgovornimi uredniki revije *Andragoška spoznanja*: dr. *Ano Krajnc*, dr. *Danielo Brečko*, *Tanjo Šulak*, dr. *Nives Ličen* in dr. *Marko Radovanom*.

Začnimo s preprostim vprašanjem. Kako, zakaj in za katero ciljno publiko je nastala revija *Andragoška spoznanja*?

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Jaz vam čestitam, da ste pripeljali revijo do 30-letnice. Vem, da ni lahko, zlasti finančno. Pravijo, vsaj v Nemčiji velja neko pravilo, da če podjetje ali biro ali kakšna revija obstajajo 20 let, potem bodo obstajali še naprej. To je optimizem za tiste, ki bodo delali, če preživi prvih 20 let. Zdaj jaz sem se same obrti izdajanja revije učila v Zagrebu pri Andragogiji, pri Acu Kovačiču, ki je izdajal revijo Andragogija. Prej se je smatralo, da so *Andragoška spoznanja* jugoslovanska revija. Potem pa so se začele diskusije ob nastanku samostojne Slovenije. Inštitut za mednarodno sodelovanje pri nemški federaciji ljudskih univerz je trdil, da smo mi srednje razvita država in po njihovih kriterijih ne spadamo v skupino, kjer so Češka, Poljska, Madžarska in vse nove baltiške dežele. Seveda sem jaz temu oponirala in sem rekla, da bi tudi mi potrebovali sredstva, da nekako oživimo izobraževanje odraslih. No, takrat je v vseh novonastalih baltiških državah ta inštitut naredil kampanjo, po kateri naj bi izhajale nacionalne revije za izobraževanje odraslih. Nekako mi je uspelo prek Jakoba Horna, ki je bil direktor tega inštituta, in s prepričevanjem tudi Slovenijo spraviti zraven, čeprav nas niso hoteli. Imeli smo skupen sestanek, dobili smo osnovna sredstva, takrat je bilo 15.000 nemških mark, kar je bila kar neka vsota za začetek, za zagonska sredstva. Razni interesi so se pojavljali, ko so slišali, da imamo ta denar. So vsi želeli *Andragoška spoznanja*, je bilo kar precej povpraševanja po Sloveniji in so me klicali, da bi pri njih izdajala. No, jaz sem bolj zaupala Danieli, svoji študentki, in smo revijo imeli pri *Gospodarskem vestniku*. S temi sredstvi smo začeli, potem pa smo zamenjali glavnega urednika, pred tem pa revijo prenesli na Filozofsko fakulteto. Če skrajšam, smo odkrili in dobili zelo izdatnega sponzorja, in sicer Mobitel, ki je tudi skrbel za to, da opravlja svojo družbeno funkcijo; financiral je tudi našo revijo. Tako je bila relativno lahka pot, samo občasne stike smo vzdrževali z Mobitelom, pa tudi kakšno predavanje sem kdaj tam imela kot obliko zahvale za to, da smo financirani.

V Helsinkih na konferenci smo dobili prvo mesto za grafično ureditev – tako, kot je bila revija takrat – format, stolpci in tako dalje. Se je tudi drugače tiskala. Po zaslugi Daniele smo dobili takega oblikovalca in sem bila prav vesela, da smo bili izbrani v Helsinkih. Jaz bi rekla, da nam je tehnični vidik veliko pomenil, ker sem včasih od ljudi, ko sem imela na terenu do 45 javnih predavanj na leto, ugotovila, da imajo krasne primere, ki bi jih lahko opisali v reviji kot zgledne primere. Oni so to tudi obljubili in bili navdušeni, potem pa članka ni bilo. Zelo težko je bilo pridobiti avtorje, relativno stalne avtorje ...

Revija je izhajala, ampak mi smo že v začetku apelirali tudi na DVV, nemški inštitut za visoke ljudske šole, da naj bo za praktike, za razvoj prakse, in za nacionalni razvoj teorije; tega, kar mi raziskujemo, da vemo, kaj spreminjamo, kaj razvijamo. Revija je zato že od začetka imela dva dela in smo s tem dobili tudi več naročnikov, večjo klientelo. Bil je prvi del posebno praksa, kot veste, in teorija, kar je bilo raziskav in tako dalje. S prakso smo pa dobivali konkretne primere in to je bila relativno dobra kombinacija in nam je dala precej naročnikov. Zdaj so potrebe drugačne ... Morate mi priznati, glavni uredniki, da se jaz namenoma ne vtikam v vaše delo, ker sem tudi nadaljnji razvoj andragogike, ko sem

odšla, prepustila tistim, ki so ga prevzeli. Vsak ima svoje ideje, svoje limite, svoje meje in svoj koncept. Najboljše je »*Your way is the best way*« in tako sem pustila po tem angleškem pregovoru. Mislim, da je to prednost. Zdaj vi, vidim, ste šli pa bolj na to – ker zahtevajo, da je vse angleško – da bi skoraj morala v angleščini izhajati in biti konkurent neštetim angleškim revijam, ki se izdajajo od Glasgowa do Amerike. Ste precej angleščine uvedli, razlogi so družbeni, družbeno stanje je drugačno. Ko je revija nastajala, smo imeli pač ene svoje ideje, zdaj imate druge, ki so verjetno odraz družbenih potreb. Mislim, da se je bolj orientirala na znanost, na raziskave, ker potrebujete točke in tako naprej, in je to edino mesto, kjer lahko publicirate.

Dr. Daniela Brečko: Hvala, Ana. To so taki lepi spomini na začetke revije. Verjetno sva se z Ano našli tudi zato, ker sem jaz takrat delala v družbi, ki se je tako ali drugače ukvarjala z založništvom in je bilo kar nekaj izkušenj že nabranih. Seveda bolj za gospodarski segment, revijo *Gospodarski vestnik* ste verjetno poznali kot neke vrste osrednjo poslovno revijo takrat v Sloveniji. K temu smo potem dodali v bistvu revijo *Andragoška spoznanja*. Jaz sem zelo uživala v teh začetkih, ko smo iskali še oblikovalce. Vse je bilo treba postaviti na novo, revijo smo zelo resno zastavili, da bi lahko preživela s svojimi sredstvi. To je bila v bistvu projektna naloga, ki sem jo delala v programu MBA pri Danici Purg in nosi naslov *A problem of market opportunities for the magazine Andragoška spoznanja*, tako da smo resno analizo naredili, kakšne so v bistvu takrat bile tudi tržne priložnosti za to revijo. Hoteli smo jo postaviti, kot rečeno, da bi sama preživela. Nismo pričakovali profita, ampak da ne bi bilo treba dodatno potem vlagati vanjo. Mogoče bi bilo zanimivo tudi pogledati, kdo so bili naročniki. V bistvu so med naročniki prevladovala podjetja. To so bili takrat večinoma neki skrbniki izobraževanja, ki so ponavadi znotraj kadrovskih služb skrbeli tudi za izobraževanje. Tudi že prve izobraževalne centre smo imeli takrat v Sloveniji vzpostavljene. Zlasti recimo Krka, Lek in podobni in tudi ti so bili seveda naročniki revije. No, druga večja skupina so bile pa raznorazne izobraževalne organizacije. Ljudske univerze in druge organizacije, ki so se potem po osamosvojitvi kar množično osamosvajale pa hkrati tudi pojavljale v neki drugi obliki. No, nezanemarljiva skupina so bili tudi študentje in pa seveda nekaj posameznikov. Mi smo imeli leta 1996 452 naročnikov, s čimer se je dalo preživeti. To so bili naročniki, ki so plačevali naročnino. Naj omenim še to, da smo takrat naredili tudi prvo raziskavo med bralstvom – kaj si želijo, kaj si želijo od te revije, kaj pričakujejo od te revije. Na prvem mestu z največ odgovori so se pojavile nove raziskave in projekti s področja izobraževanja odraslih v Sloveniji. Zelo zanimivo, da jih je najmanj zanimalo, kaj se dogaja v tujih deželah, kakšne pristope uporabljajo drugje. Na drugem mestu se je pojavilo, da bi radi več vedeli o raznih izobraževalnih metodah za odrasle ter na tretjem in tudi četrtem mestu je bilo izobraževanje zaposlenih. To je tudi obdobje, ko se je začelo izobraževanje zaposlenih zelo vzpenjati oziroma je bila velika pozornost namenjena temu. In pa v tem prvem obdobju tudi izobraževanje za demokracijo. To je bil tudi Anin prvi uvodnik, če se spomnite. Takrat je bilo tudi logično pričakovati, da nimamo nekega znanja s tega področja, in so se v bistvu ljudje kar množično zanimali za teme, ki bi nekako obeležile to svobodno Slovenijo. Revija je bila tako v prvem vidiku namenjena seveda bralstvu, ki ga kakorkoli zanima izobraževanje odraslih,

ne samo akademikom. Takrat, v tisti prvi fazi, smo nekako bolj ciljali na izobraževalne centre, torej na podjetja, ki bi s tem seveda lahko oplemenitila svoje znanje na področju izobraževanja odraslih. Pa še eno področje bi omenila, ki je tudi takrat vzkliklo, pa je danes vsak dan bolj pomembno, to je področje akumulacije organizacijskega znanja. Mogoče je bil tudi zaradi tega Mobitel sponzor, ker oni so bili tudi prvi, ki so se zavedali, da je pomembna akumulacija znanja tudi znotraj organizacije, da ne govorimo samo o metodah in tako naprej, ampak da dejansko najdemo tudi neke pristope, metode, prijeme, strategije, če želite, da se ta učna krivulja organizacije dviguje. Ta začetni zagon je bil obetaven, vendarle pa potem nekako to ni bila ravno revija, kjer bi lahko tudi oglaševali, da bi lahko preživela zgolj s sponzorstvom in pa seveda z naročninami. Nekako smo se odločili, da to prestavimo na Filozofsko fakulteto, kar mislim, da je tudi prav, da revija spada tja, da revija spada na Oddelek za andragogiko.

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Jaz bi dodala, če smem. Jaz sem dvakrat poskusila s financiranjem revije, da bi nekaj od revije imeli, in sicer z republiškim zavodom za zaposlovanje, da bi vsi zavodi za zaposlovanje to revijo naročili in tudi pisali; da bi imeli vsaj nekaj ljudi, ki bi stalno pisali o njihovi problematiki v izobraževanju. S tem sem hotela, da se malo ozaveš, kako pomembno je znanje, kako pomembno je, kam brezposelne pošlješ, na katero izpopolnjevanje in tako dalje, vendar so ta predlog zavrnil. Drug poskus je bil, ko sem šla tudi osebno k predsedniku gospodarske zbornice, smo danes prijatelji, h gospodu Čuku, da bi gospodarstvo oživili in odprli pot tudi za avtorje, da pišejo iz gospodarstva kaj več o tem, kako jim je znanje potrebno, ampak takrat mi je negativno odgovoril, je rekel, da tega gospodarstvo ne rabi. Tako je pač bilo, tako stanje, da znanja nisi rabil ... Je pa res, da moraš biti v pravi stranki. Vidim zdaj tudi pri Slovenski univerzi za tretje življenjsko obdobje, najhujše je nestrankarsko. Še vedno je ena logika, enopartijski sistem v glavi ljudi. In stroka ne more biti, ne dobi družbenega pomena; se vidi, da brez družbene moči ne moreš nič.

Tanja Šulak: Pri reviji nisem sodelovala ob njenih začetkih. Ko sem se s prenosom sedeža revije na Filozofsko fakulteto kot tajnica vključila v delo pri reviji, je bila njena vloga prek objavljanja prispevkov večinoma domačih avtorjev podpirati razvoj andragoške teorije in prakse v Sloveniji. Naročniki so bili tako izobraževalne institucije, študentje, tudi podjetja, inštituti, izobraževalni centri, raziskovalni centri ... Naročnikov je bilo blizu 500.

Dr. Nives Ličen: Z Markom sva bila urednika med letoma 2013 in 2017, ko se je začela digitalizacija, spremenili smo obliko revije in vzpostavili omrežje novih recenzentov. Ker je v Sloveniji malo strokovnjakov za področje izobraževanja odraslih, se je vzpostavila mreža, ki je bila interdisciplinarna. Ohranjali smo dva sklopa člankov: znanstvene in strokovne. Zgledovali smo se po drugih revijah, ki so objavljale znanstvene in strokovne članke. Taka je bila italijanska revija *Adultita*. Polovica revije je zajemala razmišljanja praktikov, polovica pa akademske razprave. Druga revija, ki je bila vsaj zame tudi zgled, je bila revija *Glasnik* Slovenskega etnološkega društva, ker so se trudili ohranjati slovenski jezik, razvijati strokovni jezik ter iskati povezave med znanstvenim in strokovnim delom.

Med 2013 in 2017 je bilo prehodno obdobje med revijo, ki je bila namenjena objavljanju novosti o raziskovanju in razvoju prakse, in revijo, ki prinaša raziskovalne članke v veliki meri v angleškem jeziku.

Dr. Marko Radovan: To, ko je Nives omenjala pot revije, je bilo dejansko vprašanje, komu je revija namenjena. Midva sva, mislim, bila še v tem prehodnem obdobju, kjer sva se trudila in smo se zavedali tega, kar je tudi že Nives omenila in je tudi Ana poudarila, da pač naj revija služi hkrati raziskovalcem in praktikom. Tudi Daniela je govorila o tem, kako so imeli interes v podjetjih in tudi drugi praktiki na ljudskih univerzah. S spremenen načinom financiranja se je seveda začelo tudi težišče, komu je ta revija namenjena, spreminjati. Ko smo enkrat prišli do tega, da revije ne financirajo več neki sponzorji, podjetja in tako dalje, ampak na primer – mislim, da se je to tudi že v najinem obdobju začelo – ARRS [Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost Republike Slovenije] oziroma založba, so bili tukaj kar naenkrat postavljeni neki drugi kriteriji kakovosti revije, ki smo jih morali upoštevati. Ti kriteriji so bili število znanstvenih člankov, število citatov in tako dalje. Seveda sva se midva soočala ne samo s problemom z recenzenti, je bil problem tudi z avtorji, na obeh straneh. Po eni strani je bilo vedno manj strokovnih člankov. En del tega je tudi pač digitalizacija, ki jo je omenila Nives. Mnoga društva, zavodi in tako dalje so začeli sami izdajati novičnike, bolj ali manj obsežne revije in na primer *Andragoških spoznanj* kot takih niti niso več toliko potrebovali, ker so to, kar delajo, kar se dogaja pri njih, distribuirali na drug način. To v bistvu je zdaj še bolj intenzivno. Po drugi strani smo imeli pa seveda tudi težave z avtorji oziroma znanstvenimi članki. Slovenija je majhen prostor, začeli smo vabiti tudi tuje avtorje. Smo pa v bistvu takrat še vseeno nekako tako gledali, da je bila revija bolj ali manj v slovenščini z enim ali dvema angleškima člankoma. V bistvu toliko, da smo malo zadostili financerju oziroma bili lahko uspešni pri pridobivanju sredstev na teh razpisih, na katere smo se prijavljali. To je bil seveda začetek tega, da smo po mojem mnenju začeli revijo obračati stran od praktikov in bolj poskušali iti na področje raziskovanja. To pa ima seveda tudi nekatere negativne posledice. Za podjetja in tako dalje ta revija kar naenkrat ni bila več tako zanimiva, je pa bila vedno bolj zanimiva za akademsko srenjo. Da bi pridobili te raziskovalce, da bi objavljali, smo pa seveda poskušali tudi vstopati v različne baze, kot je Scopus.

Gotovo, Marko, sem si sam z odpiranjem širši mednarodni skupnosti ves čas prizadeval okrepiti znanstvenoraziskovalni fokus revije, ki pa naj bi še vedno služila trem ključnim skupnostim: raziskovalni, odločevalski in praktikom. Če nadaljujemo, vsako obdobje urednikovanja zaznamujejo nekatere posebnosti in izzivi. Gotovo obdobje po osamosvojitvi Slovenije, o čemer sta govorili dr. Ana Krajnc in dr. Daniela Brečko, pa tudi obdobje pred vstopom v Evropsko unijo in po njem, čas globalne finančne krize, obdobje digitalizacije, ki jo omenja Nives, in to, Marko, na kar si sam opozoril, vključevanje revije v mednarodne baze. V mojem obdobju urednikovanja je glavni izziv, ki ostaja žal še vedno nerešen, povezan prav z vključevanjem revije v mednarodno bibliografsko bazo Scopus, ključne teme (na primer globalizacija in evropeizacija

izobraževanja, vključevanje starejših v skupnost, učeča se mesta, učenje na delu, trajnostni razvoj, izobraževanje in digitalna preobrazba) pa smo obravnavali prek pozivov za tematske številke. S katerimi ključnimi izzivi ste se soočali vi v času vašega uredni-kovanja revije in katere so bile glavne teme izobraževanja odraslih, ki so se vam zdele pomembne, da jih revija obravnava?

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Naš ključni izziv je bil prvič zelo lepa priložnost, da se premaknemo in nekaj ustanovimo, ker so bili dani objektivni pogoji s financiranjem nemškega inštituta. Naš namen je bil v glavnem razvijati domačo prakso in razvijati tudi domačo znanost, ne biti pa gluhi in slepi za raziskave v tujini. To se pravi, da je uredništvo imelo tudi tuje akademike in da so tudi pisali za nas članke. Recimo, spominjam se, ko je Collins – on je poznan v andragogiki, v Angliji je bil dekan pedagoške fakultete – ko sem ga prosila, naj napiše članek za našo revijo in ga pošlje, rekel (na kratko v prevodu), da »če iščeš nekoga, ki ti bo napisal članek s 1000 citati, potem ne vabi mene k sodelovanju. Pri meni ne bo citatov, ampak imam jaz pravico razmišljati. Bom razmišljal in to napisal.« Zdaj, ko vas poslušam, ste pa zaprti v tirnice. Jaz bi rekla na mojo dolgoletno izkušnjo, da je to ena poceni amerikanizacija naše družbe, zelo poceni. Ampak nevarna amerikanizacija, ker vemo, da ameriška družba je bolna družba in razpada in ta vzorec se že prenaša k nam, ampak pustimo to za kako drugo diskusijo. Kot sem na začetku rekla, uredniki se prilagajate in se morate prilagajati družbenemu stanju. Kot smo slišali: digitalizacija, več angleščine in tako dalje. To je življenjsko, potrebno in nujno. V dani situaciji prilagajanje razmeram pomeni tudi preživetje, bi rekla.

Tanja Šulak: Izpostavila bi, da nas je ob finančni krizi doletel drastičen upad naročnikov, in ker objave niso bile več plačljive, je bilo tudi vse manj avtorjev, ki bi bili pripravljeni pisati za revijo. To so bila kar naporna leta, na eni strani je potekalo prizadevanje za ohranjanje in pridobivanje novih naročnikov, na drugi pa je bilo veliko truda glavne urednice vloženega v pridobivanje in motiviranje piscev za revijo. Sčasoma se je pričela pojavljati tudi drugačna politika financiranja revij v Sloveniji, uvedeno je bilo točkovanje revij, tudi znanstvenih in strokovnih objav, in ob tem tudi spremenjeno in zaostreno sofinanciranje revij s strani države. Posledično je revija vse bolj postajala znanstvena revija in s tem še bolj izgubljala svoje prejšnje naročnike. Obenem pa se je pričela odpirati v mednarodni prostor in pričela z objavami tudi v angleščini.

Dr. Daniela Brečko: Izmed tem smo namenjali pozornost državljski vzgoji, znotraj tega tudi učenju za demokracijo. Hkrati seveda tudi učenju za družino, takrat se je, mislim, to prvič pojavilo. To so bile nekako za Slovenijo takrat nove teme. Potem smo poklicnemu izobraževanju namenjali tudi kar nekaj pozornosti. Kot sem že rekla, moja glavna strast je bila prav izobraževanje zaposlenih, ker sem pač izhajala takrat iz podjetja in sem videla, kaj se dejansko da na tem področju narediti. Tudi že takrat se je malo začelo povezovanje s tako imenovanim področjem HRM, se pravi *human resources management*. Danes vidimo, če pogledamo v angleščini, *learning and development* je funkcija, ki jo opravlja izobraževalni manager, medtem ko je HRM mogoče še nadgradnja tega, se pravi malo širša funkcija. Smo začeli to dvojje prepletati, tako da se je Slovenija takrat s temi pojmi,

izrazi tudi prvič seznanjala, soočala. Veliko energije smo namenjali – apel je pravzaprav prišel iz podjetij – tudi tako imenovanemu področju kariernega razvoja in kakšna je vloga izobraževanja znotraj kariernega razvoja. Do takrat, saj veste, v starem sistemu nismo kaj dosti razmišljali o karieri, kasneje pa smo morali sami začeti razmišljati o tem, kaj bomo počeli, kam bomo šli, kaj želimo, kakšne so naše ambicije in tako naprej. Pa seveda tudi na paradigmo vseživljenjskega izobraževanja smo bili zelo pozorni takrat, da smo jo z vseh možnih kotov predstavili, tako da je postala res zanimiva, in mislim, da tukaj nam je pa res uspelo. Danes se že vsakdo s tem na nek način strinja, tudi že živi na nek način to dejstvo. Pa tudi vse teme, ki so takrat bile aktualne. Recimo funkcionalno pismenost smo tudi obravnavali v tem obdobju. Že takrat smo ugotavljali, da bo tudi dostop do nekih komunikacijskih sredstev delal razliko med izobraženim in manj izobraženim človekom in hkrati bo to vplivalo na kakovost njegovega življenja v celoti. Jaz moram reči, da smo se za tiste čase lotevali tem, ki jih je Slovenija res nujno potrebovala, in smo se seveda tudi trudili pripeljati nekaj tujih avtorjev, da razmišljajo o tem. Čeprav, kot sem že rekla, smo pa vendarle zelo cenili domače prakse, kjer je bil pa seveda tudi izziv, da nismo vedno dobili primerne članka. Tudi nasploh, o vlogi učenja v človekovem življenju. To je bila tudi ena taka glavna poanta, smo o tem na tak in drugačen način pisali in mislim, da je bilo to za tiste čase dokaj uspešno. Sam pristop je bil pa v tem obdobju bolj ali manj res izkušnjski. Zelo smo se veselili prispevkov, v katerih je bila podana tudi kakšna neposredna izkušnja, primer iz prakse, kako so to tudi delali. Malo manj smo bili mogoče nagnjeni k znanstvenoraziskovalnemu delu, čeprav verjamem, da je potrebno, pa tudi takrat jih je nekaj vendarle že bilo. Vendar pa danes zagotovo revija brez tega ne bi preživela. Se zelo strinjam s tem, kar je že tudi prej povedal Marko, da vsaka izobraževalna institucija ali pa vsaka institucija že ima neka svoja komunikacijska sredstva in to izkorišča za promocijo svojih produktov. Dejansko revija v taki obliki, kot je bila na začetku, verjetno ne bi več preživela. Zaradi tega se gotovo rabi spremeniti v drugo smer.

Nives in Marko, kako je bilo v času vajinega urednikovanja? Kateri so bili ključni izzivi? Katere teme so bile v ospredju?

Dr. Marko Radovan: Nekaj teh izzivov sem že prej omenil. Spraševala sva se o mediju, ki se spreminja. To je zdaj še bolj očitno, torej v kakšni obliki naj revija izhaja, pa ne toliko zaradi neke ekonomičnosti, ampak zaradi potreb ali pa pričakovanj bralcev. En del tega razmisleka, zakaj spreminjati tudi samo obliko revije, je bil v tem, da bi šli lahko enkrat v prihodnosti potem veliko lažje na te formate, če bo tekst oblikovno enostavnejši. HTML niti ni tako problematičen, ampak format ePUB pa v bistvu ne podpira tako bogatega oblikovanja, kot ga je takrat revija imela. To je en izziv, s katerim se bomo morali najbrž tudi v prihodnje še soočiti. Torej medij, ki se spreminja, način, kako beremo, vsaj raziskovalci. Mi imamo raznorazne aplikacije, s katerimi si označujemo kakšne odstavke, besede v besedilih, da si jih potem lahko nekje združujemo. Kar se tiče samih vsebin, pa ... Na začetku je rekla Daniela, da je bilo veliko o metodah izobraževanja in tako dalje. Tukaj so se potem seveda teme spreminjale, postale so bolj nacionalne, mednacionalne, teoretske

teme. Kaj sploh je izobraževanje odraslih? Mislim, da smo šli tudi nekoliko ven iz strogo samega razumevanja izobraževanja odraslih, bolj v vseživljenjsko učenje v zelo različnih oblikah, kot je bilo že omenjeno. Torej tudi družinska andragogika oziroma učenje v družini, različne priložnostne oblike. Tukaj smo poskušali oziroma smo bili primorani tudi s tematskimi številkami nekako iskati tiste raziskovalne teme, ki so v določenem trenutku aktualne v Sloveniji, Evropi in tudi v svetu. To je bil ta izziv, kako te teme nekako predstaviti, dobiti avtorje, hkrati pa biti tudi zanimiv za naročnike revije.

Dr. Nives Ličen: Poleg tega, kar je Marko povedal o digitalizaciji, so se v tistem času začeli »preobrti« v epistemologijah. Recimo narativni obrat, afektivni obrat, zelo izrazit je bil obrat v (kvalitativni) metodologiji. Ti obrati so zahtevali tudi drugačne premisleke, tako da smo nekatere avtorje osebno nagovarjali. Spomnim se, da smo naprosili doktorja Krašovca, da je pripravil tri članke o neoliberalizmu. Ker smo v obdobju 2013–2017 še poskušali ohranjati tudi strokovni del v reviji, smo bili v stiku z avtorji in avtoricami iz prakse. Kasneje se je stik s prakso izgubil. Spraševali smo se, kako vedenje z različnih področij združevati, da se področje razvija. Spraševali smo se, ali bo revija bolj namenjena strokovnim pogledom in razpravam ali pa bo bolj izrazito objavljala znanstvene članke.

Hvala. Nives, dala si iztočnico glede povezovanja teorije in prakse, pa bi se v nadaljevanju navezal na to. Skratka, teorija in praksa izobraževanja odraslih sta medsebojno neločljivo povezani. Ni skrivnost, da je izobraževanje odraslih najprej vzniknilo iz potreb prakse, šele kasneje je pomen začela pridobivati tudi teorija. Kot je nedavno ugotavljal Kjell Rubenson, skrb o pomanjkanju teoretičnih podlag izobraževanja odraslih dandanes nekatere raziskovalce izobraževanja odraslih vodi k, če lahko tako rečemo, pretiranemu ukvarjanju z razvojem abstraktnih teoretičnih konceptov, ki niso povezani s prakso, kar lahko povzroči tudi to, na kar ste vi, dr. Ana Krajnc, opozarjali v svojih delih, da začne pešati tudi praksa izobraževanja, če ta nima podpore v teoretskem raziskovanju. Zanima me, kako vi danes vidite razmerje med teorijo in prakso izobraževanja odraslih, pa tudi politiko, ki danes prav tako pomembno sooblikuje področje izobraževanja odraslih.

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Ja, kot sem nekje objavila članek, čakam, da bo družba cenila izobraževanje odraslih in znanje. Čakam tisti trenutek, kdaj bo. Doslej tega preboja nismo naredili po mojem vtisu. To je moj vtis. Recimo, ko se je reorganiziralo. Z »Gabrovega« ministrstva je šla znanost, je šlo visoko šolstvo, šel je šport ven. Kar nekaj področij dela ministrstva za izobraževanje. Nam so na začetku 90. let rekli, minister za šolstvo, ko smo predlagali, da se to sploh imenuje ministrstvo za izobraževanje, ne za šolstvo, je rekel: »To pa ne, tega pa ne smemo.« Deterioracija je bila zelo sistematična in kaznovanje, ki smo ga na področju izobraževanja odraslih doživljali v samostojni Sloveniji. Bila je zelo vidna. Ko so, recimo, spremenili akt o Andragoškem centru Slovenije, da ni bilo treba več imeti doktorata kot naziva in tako naprej, kar smo dali v začetku noter. Čeprav so imeli samo enega doktorja, Zorana Jelenca, takrat, ampak smo rekli: »Dajmo to kot perspektivo, da ima neko znanost.

Ne moreš razvijati, če nimaš širokega znanja. Ne moreš razvijati, če ne veš, kaj razvijaš.« In zdaj dobimo direktorico Andragoškega centra Slovenije, ki je zelo simpatična, ampak prihaja s predšolskega področja. Prvič so nam zakonodajo spremenili na slabše, da direktorja ne izbiramo po znanosti in znanstvenih nazivih, zdaj se znanje ne upošteva niti tu. Drugo, imamo vodjo sektorja na ministrstvu, ki piše, da bi zdaj dobili vsaj svoj direktorat na ministrstvu, ko gredo mnogi ven. Je dovolj prostora, da mi dobimo, ker imamo tam sedem sodelavk, ki so nam krasno predane, ampak nimajo nobene moči. Nobene moči. Ne vem, kako bo to skozi spravila. Ali vidite, to so taki kiksi. Recimo zdaj pri organizaciji ministrstva ne delajo po nobeni logiki izobraževanja odraslih. Preštete, koliko Slovencev in koliko let izobraževanja. Če še starejše prištejemo, 30 do 40 let, potem je to 70 let izobraževanja odraslih in več. Jih ne zanima to. Ne pride do preskoka, dokler je določena logika, ki ima politično moč. Tudi smo Andragoško društvo Slovenije spodbudili, da bi dalo pobudo za to, da se ustanovi direktorat za izobraževanje odraslih na ministrstvu, pristojnem za izobraževanje. So čakali razgovor z ministrom in tako dalje. Skratka, nastalo ni nič. Najprej se ne nastavlja več doktorja, ampak tistega, ki bo ubogal. Po drugih kriterijih se nastavlja na področju izobraževanja odraslih. Tistega, ki ima v rokah moč, državno, politično moč. To se mi zdi, da je še deterioracija, ki je podedovana, ampak stopnjevana v današnje dni. Mi smo vedno privesek srednješolskega izobraževanja. Zakaj? Ne vem. Veste, kaj so mi rekli, ko sem v 70. letih poskušala Freireja prevesti? Zdaj ga je primorska univerza prevedla. Ko sem poskušala doseči prevod tudi pri znancih, tudi pri ljudeh, ki smo bili prijatelji, so rekli: »Ne moremo. Politično je sporno prevajati knjigo Pedagogika zatiranih, saj v Jugoslaviji vendar ni nobeden zatiran. Ni nobeden nizko izobražen.« Bili smo pa kot Alžirija. Na Unescovem zemljevidu smo imeli največji, enak procent kot Alžirija nepismenega prebivalstva. Ali si predstavljate to? Se spomnim, roza so bili. Sem rekla v Parizu: »Zakaj pa nas roza pobarvate?« »Ja, tako so pobarvani tisti, ki imajo 25 procentov nepismenega prebivalstva.« Analfabe v Jugoslaviji. Ampak se z izobraževanjem odraslih nihče ne ukvarja in mi nimamo nizko izobraženih, mi nimamo zatiranih. Tako počasi se premika v izobraževanju odraslih in vaše delo je res pionirsko. Da prodirate na takem področju počasi naprej. Kaj vse očitajo Slovenski univerzi za tretje življenjsko obdobje, ampak mi preživimo in gremo naprej. Vztrajamo naprej, ker ni vseživljenjskega izobraževanja, če ni izobraževanja prebivalstva v zadnjih 30 do 40 letih. Kakšno vseživljenjsko izobraževanje pa je to, ki ga mi zagovarjamo ali mislimo, da ga zagovarjamo? Je res veliko vprašanje.

Dr. Daniela Brečko: V poslovnem svetu velja, pa verjetno tudi nasploh, če že omenjamo inovativnost kot potrebo odraslih, da so ves čas inovativni tako ali drugače, ena misel je: »*Innovation without implementation is hallucination.*« To pomeni, da mi res moramo teorijo in prakso še naprej nekako preplesti. Po drugi strani pa lahko tudi razmišljam v tej smeri, zakaj je izobraževanje odraslih v politiki podcenjeno, kar mislim, da je. Dejansko mogoče to izhaja tudi iz tega, ker politika nekako predvideva, da bodo za izobraževanje odraslih že poskrbela podjetja in bodo tudi financirala za tiste, v katere se namenijo vlagati. In to se dejansko tudi dogaja. To jim na nek način dovoljujemo. Dejansko danes, če pogledate, kaj pa financira ministrstvo? V bistvu marginalne skupine kvečjemu še, drugih

ne financira. Ali pa če dobi kakšna evropska sredstva, potem financira v bistvu neumnosti, kot jim jaz rečem. Kot je bil zadnji razpis za izobraževanje starejših odraslih, ki se je začelo pri 42 letih. A je to starejši odrasli? Lepo vas prosim. To je samo zavajanje. Naj bi se nehali izobraževati pri 42 in potrebujemo po tem podporo. To danes ne bo šlo več. To je bil razpis za podjetja, podjetja so lahko črpala sredstva za izobraževanje starejših od 42 let. Pri razpisih se včasih zgodi to, da v končni fazi morate zadovoljiti samo birokratske zahteve, sploh ni pomembna tema, ni pomembna neka kakovost procesa, nič ni pomembno. Tudi rezultati na koncu, samo da tiste zadovoljiš v poročanju. Po drugi strani pa še ena misel, da, glejte, danes govorimo, da je znanje nova svetovna valuta, in tega se vsi dobro zavedamo. Ko pa gledate področje izobraževanja odraslih, je tukaj tako malo denarja, da je res škoda. Tudi revija je na tem področju, ne bo dobro preživela. Ker če sami izobraževalci odraslih ne znamo ceniti znanja, ga podcenjujemo, mislimo, da je vse zastoj, potem ne bomo daleč prišli. Mogoče bi morali ta osnovni *mindset* spremeniti, da je znanje res vredno. Tudi v denarju, če je pač to osnovna valuta, s katero vse primerjamo.

Dr. Marko Radovan: Jaz se tukaj strinjam z Ano. Izobraževanje odraslih ali pa andragogika sta tukaj že tradicionalno zapostavljena. Ves politični interes, ekonomski, je osredotočen na osnovno šolo in srednjo šolo, odrasli pa so potem nekje v ozadju. Seveda se tudi odrasli izobražujejo, ampak to je pač nek dodatek. Zelo dobro se je med covid krizo videlo, kje so prioritete. Mislim, da se je 90 procentov govora, diskusiji, raziskav in tako dalje usmerjalo na to, kako bodo srednješolci maturirali, kako ta covid kriza vpliva na osnovnošolce.

Dr. Nives Ličen: Ločevanje med teorijo in prakso ni tako ostro. Ko se začnejo raziskave s participativnimi metodami, občansko znanostjo, reflektivno prakso, ko se spodbujajo inovacije, je povezovanje med teorijo in prakso vedno bolj intenzivno.

V obdobju 2013–2017 smo si želeli več razmisleka o terminologiji, ker revija neguje in ustvarja strokovno besedišče. Pogovarjali smo se s profesorjem Muršakom o »jezikovnem kotičku« v reviji. Dva izziva sta se pokazala na presečišču teorija–praksa. Na eni strani strokovna terminologija, iskanje novega besedišča, na drugi strani pa razvoj raziskovalnih metod, ki so participativne.

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Zelo podpiram to ugotovitev Nives, ker je za industrijsko obdobje bilo značilno strogo ločevanje prakse in teorije, ni pa za postindustrijsko obdobje, karkoli je ta nova družba, ki nastaja. Del družbenega premika je bil tudi to, da teorija in praksa prideta skupaj. Zato imamo zdaj, na SAZU [Slovenska akademija znanosti in umetnosti] smo ustanavljali zadnji dve leti, občansko raziskovanje, ki je zelo popularno povsod in je v Sloveniji nastalo. Mi imamo raziskovalno izobraževanje že od 80. let, pa so bili tiho in delali po svoje. SAZU je zdaj to nekako fiksiral in v Centralni tehniški knjižnici je v zadnjih dveh letih tudi uradno zaživelo občansko raziskovanje, kar pomeni, da kdor se lahko uči, lahko tudi raziskuje. Če ga zanima, kakšna je pitna voda v Anhovem, vstopi v skupino o pitni vodi v Anhovem in raziskuje, kaj so viri pitne vode. Zelo podpiram, tudi jaz podobno opažam.

V zadnjih letih v mednarodnem prostoru raziskovalci proučujejo (na primer Andreas Fejes, Erik Nylander), koliko je področje izobraževanja odraslih pluralno v metodološkem in teoretskem smislu. Ugotavljajo, da v metodološkem smislu, kar je že Nives prej opozorila, na področju izobraževanja odraslih prevladujejo kvalitativne raziskave, ne kvantitativne, v teoretskem smislu pa da prevladujejo sociokulturne perspektive (situacijsko učenje – Wenger, socialno kognitivna in sociokulturna teorija – Vigotski), kritična pedagogika oziroma radikalno izobraževanje odraslih (izhajajoč iz Freireja) ter poststrukturalizem (izhajajoč iz Foucaulta). Kateri so bili prevladujoči teoretski in metodološki trendi v člankih v reviji za časa vašega urednikovanja?

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Ja, jaz se konkretnih člankov ne spomnim, da bi jih zdaj našela. Zase lahko ocenim, da kakor sem pomagala razvoju andragogike, sem tudi zavirala razvoj andragogike, ker nisem bila član stranke, ki bi imela družbeno moč. Sem gledala znanost nestransko. Kot znanost, ki naj razvija prakso, zato sem tudi ohranjala tistih 40 do 45 letnih predavanj, da sem iz prakse prinašala v predavalnico primere in tako dalje. Tudi tam so študentom omogočali, da doživljajo našo prakso, tako, kot je. Recimo poklicno izobraževanje je bilo zelo razvito, potem je bila zelo razvita ideologija Jugoslavije, to politično izobraževanje na ljudskih univerzah in delavskih univerzah v Sloveniji. To sta bili dve področji, ki sta bili takrat gonilni sili izobraževanja odraslih. Najprej si denar dobil, če si rekel, da imaš neko politično ideološko izobraževanje. To je tudi za ljudske univerze veljalo, za delavske univerze. Danes se teme spreminjajo in mi z njimi, čeprav uradno ne priznamo razvoja in imamo šolstvo, kakršno imamo. Izobraževanje odraslih mora razmišljati o tem, kakšno šolstvo ima pred seboj in kaj smo se naučili. Nas so recimo študentje na Filozofski fakulteti naučili nove logike. Naj vam povem primer, da sem prvemu in drugemu letniku predavala na koncu, leta 2002. Predavam v veliki predavalnici na filozofski in mi se pred tem zgoraj, v kabinetu, pogovarjamo kot kritika, samokritika, da profesorji uporabljamo preveč tujk in študentje verjetno ne poznajo vseh tujk. In jaz pridem in govorim o spreminjanju statusa žensk v Sloveniji. Nekaj sem ilustrirala in omenim Vido Tomšič, potem pa vprašam – sem si rekla, mogoče je pa to tujka tem mladim ljudem – vprašam: »Kdo pa je Vida Tomšič?« 120 študentov, prvi in drugi letniki skupaj, kolikor jih je bilo, polna dvorana, tišina, nihče ni vedel, kdo je Vida Tomšič, in veste, profesor se zgrozi, ko postavlja neumna vprašanja, očitno neumna, ker nobeden ne ve odgovora. In potem eno dekle reče: »Pri katerem predmetu bi pa mi morali to izvedeti?« Mi je bilo kristalno jasno, kaj je zašolana družba. Kristalno jasno. Ti ljudje, preden pridejo do fakultete, izgubijo mladost, izgubijo otroštvo, ker delajo samo za točke in predmete. Mi smo pa »bluzili«, pa smo prisluškovali, kaj se starši pogovarjajo, pa kaj se drugi odrasli okoli, pa kaj sosedu pravi moji mami in tako dalje. Marsikaj si izvedel. Oni nimajo časa, morajo biti za pisalno mizo in morajo sedeti, da bodo prišli na fakulteto. Ko jih uničimo, rečemo: »Zdaj pa pojdite na fakulteto, ljubčki, zdaj pa izvolite.« In temu so primerne fakultete. Vidite, tudi to je del našega razvoja. Malo smešno zveni, ampak tudi to je del našega razvoja in moramo se vprašati, kakšno imamo šolstvo. Tovrstne probleme bo morala revija reševati. Tudi odnos med šolstvom in izobraževanjem odraslih, ker vi že dobite produkt.

Dr. Daniela Brečko: V mojem obdobju so zagotovo dominirale sociokulturne perspektive. To nas je, tudi mene osebno, zelo motiviralo, ker smo v marsičem poudarili nekatera dejstva, ki izhajajo iz slovenske kulture. Najbolj sem nekako ponosna na skupnostno izobraževanje, lokalni razvoj. Temu smo namenili zelo veliko pozornosti takrat, kar je odpiralo te skupnosti, in mislim, da so rezultati danes tudi vidni še kje, niso bili samo takrat. Zdaj, kar se pa tiče samih raziskav, so zagotovo prevladovala kvalitativne raziskave, kar še zdaj, kakor opažam.

Dr. Nives Ličen: Mislim, da je izobraževanje odraslih v Sloveniji pod vplivom teorij, ki prihajajo iz družboslovnih smeri. Veliko izobraževalcev odraslih prihaja s Fakultete za družbene vede, Fakultete za organizacijske vede, Ekonomske fakultete. Manj je raziskovanja problemov z zornega kota filozofije. Drugo, kar je bilo prisotno, je to, da smo imeli malo člankov, ki bi izhajali iz večjih raziskav. Veliko je bilo manjših vzorcev, študij primerov.

Dr. Marko Radovan: V času najinega sourednikovanja nismo izvajali posebnih bibliometričnih analiz, ki bi natančno opredelile prevladujoče teoretične in metodološke trende v objavljenih člankih. Kljub temu lahko na podlagi splošnega vtisa in poznavanja vsebine revije strnem nekaj opažanj. Objavljeni članki so bili raznoliki in so zajeli širok spekter tematik s področja izobraževanja odraslih. Velik delež so imeli empirični članki, ki so temeljili na izvirnih raziskavah in so tako prispevali k razvoju znanja na tem področju. Kar zadeva teoretična izhodišča, so bili članki razpršeni med različnimi perspektivami. Morda bi lahko rekli, da je bil v nekem obdobju opazen trend prispevkov s področja kritične andragogike, ki so se navezovali na družbeno angažirano in emancipatorno vlogo izobraževanja odraslih. Vendar pa so bili tudi članki, ki so izhajali iz drugih teoretičnih okvirov, kot so sociokulturne teorije, humanistične perspektive, konstruktivistični pristopi in drugi. Metodološko so bili objavljeni članki prav tako raznoliki. Poleg že omenjenih empiričnih člankov, ki so pogosto uporabljali kvalitativne metode, so bili objavljeni tudi teoretski članki, pregledni članki, študije primerov in drugi tipi prispevkov. Na splošno bi lahko rekel, da je revija v času mojega sourednikovanja zagotavljala prostor za različne teoretske in metodološke pristope k izobraževanju odraslih ter s tem prispevala k pluralnosti in raznolikosti znanstvenega diskurza na tem področju.

Kakšen je vaš trenutni pogled na to, kako se revija razvija – na njeno vse večjo mednarodno odprtost, poudarek na znanstvenih člankih, objavljanje v slovenskem in angleškem jeziku, odprti dostop revije, prizadevanje revije za indeksiranje v bazi Scopus in za večjo citiranost revije v revijah, ki so vključene v mednarodno bazo Scopus ali Web of Science?

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Jaz bi rekla, da prihajamo na tiste resnice, ki jih razvoj poriva naprej. Zanimiva ta razprava, ki jo je tudi Nives imela, da problem ni nikoli enodisciplinaren. Vedno je interdisciplinaren. Če se andragogika širi v druge vede, je normalno, da vdirajo vanjo, ker to rabi. Nobena disciplina ne more več ostati sama sebi namen, medtem ko prej smo

pa delili prakso, teorije in disciplino. Naj karikiram s primerom. S seje sveta Filozofske fakultete si vedel, da neki doktorat verjetno ne bo na pedagogiki »prišel skozi«, ker ima besedo učenje v naslovu. Nisi smel tega imeti, ker si prebudil psihologe in so začeli glasovati proti in so anulirali temo in je bila tema zavrnjena. Niso nehali prej, dokler ni bila tema zavrnjena. Zakaj? Ker si šel na njihovo področje. To je bilo naše stanje, deljenje strogo na discipline. Tudi pedagogi smo svetovali kandidatu za doktorat: »Daj namesto učenja kaj drugega, izobraževanje ali kaj drugega. Samo ne izzivati te diskusije glede na stanje in mnenje.« Ker tam smo bili ljudje različnih disciplin in si lahko na licu mesta to doživljal, kako so bile discipline strogo deljene druga od druge. Ni več stroge delitve, problemi so interdisciplinarni. Dobili smo dovoljenje, da raziskujemo. Raziskovanje je odprto področje in nas zelo tepe, ker imamo premalo raziskav na našem področju. Nikakor pa ne ostati pri monodisciplinarnosti, ker je interpretacija težka. Težko zagovarjamo individualnost v izobraževanju odraslih in delež, ki ga ima družba v tej individualnosti. Saj človek ne živi sam, je družbeno bitje in moraš enako tudi sociologijo upoštevati. V paradigmah se premikajo stvari in so drugačne paradigme in drugačna izhodišča danes.

Dr. Daniela Brečko: Moram reči, da sem vesela, da je zaznati napredek v jasni smeri. Se pravi, da se pride v mednarodne baze, hkrati pa postane revija bolj mednarodna. S tem verjetno tudi bolj interdisciplinarna, oboje skupaj. To so bile že takrat naše velike, velike želje, vendar realno nismo imeli pravih možnosti za to, da bi nas v kakšno izmed teh bazi dali, tako da za to sem res vesela in hvala vsem, ki ste k temu prispevali. Verjamem, da bo revija tudi indeks Scopus prej ali slej dobila. No, bi pa nekaj mogoče tukaj rekla. Zdaj v Sloveniji kar nekaj revij že obstaja, ki objavljajo tudi prispevke s področja izobraževanja odraslih in tudi imajo zelo podobne namene, zelo podobne želje, da se indeksira. S tem v zvezi bi mogoče rekla, da bi bilo fino, da bi revija *Andragoška spoznanja* še enkrat premislila svoj *scope*. Se pravi, katero področje bo dejansko pokrivala. Konkretno, da ne bo potem nekako stvar razvodenela z vsemi temi revijami, da človek ve, na katero revijo se res lahko obrne. Vsekakor pa to, da se gre v smeri bolj akademskih razprav, kvalitativnih in kvantitativnih člankov, se mi zdi tudi prav.

Tanja Šulak: O mednarodnih bazah in posledično raznoraznih točkovanjih, ki izhajajo iz njih, imam tudi sama mnenje – menim, da gre v ozadju za diskriminatorno in vse prevečkrat nepošteno delovanje kapitalističnih korporacij, predvsem do majhnih akterjev, kot je naša država. Spomnim se začetnih prizadevanj revije za vključitev v baze; ob zavrnitvah so bili njihovi argumenti na zelo trhljih nogah, sploh glede na tedanjo vključenost včasih tudi revij zelo čudnega »porekla« v te eminentne baze. Škoda se mi zdi, da je naša znanstvena srenja poprijela za te nam tuje sisteme s korporativnimi ozadji, bolje bi bilo, če bi razvili svoje lastne sisteme vrednotenja in financiranja znanstvenoraziskovalnega dela in znanstvenoraziskovalnega tiska.

Dr. Nives Ličen: Verjetno je bila dobra odločitev, da postane revija mednarodna in objavlja v obeh jezikih. Med področji, ki bi jih lahko še vključevali, je vloga univerze pri izobraževanju odraslih, odkrivanje novih poti spoznavanja, nevroznanost in izobraževanje odraslih.

Dr. Marko Radovan: Glede razvoja revije menim, da je bila odprtost v mednarodni prostor nujna in koristna. Revija je s tem pridobila pri prepoznavnosti, kakovosti in vplivu. Večja mednarodna odprtost je omogočila objavlanje člankov vrhunskih tujih avtorjev, kar je dvignilo raven revije in razširilo njen doseg. Vendar pa menim, da nas akademska politika vrednotenja akademske odličnosti raziskovalcev in vrednotenja kakovosti revij na tem področju sili v večjo internacionalizacijo, kot bi si jo sicer želeli. Poudarek na znanstvenih člankih, objavlanje v angleškem jeziku, prizadevanje za indeksiranje v bazi Scopus in za večjo citiranost v mednarodnih bazah je vse posledica tega pritiska. Žal ima takšen pristop tudi negativne posledice. Revija postaja vse manj zanimiva za domače bralce, predvsem praktike, ki niso tako vešči angleškega jezika in jih bolj zanimajo praktično uporabni članki. To je škoda, saj je bila revija prvotno namenjena širšemu krogu bralcev, ne le akademski skupnosti. Načeloma sem zagovornik odprtega dostopa, saj omogoča dostop do znanstvenih informacij vsem, ne glede na njihove finančne zmožnosti. Vendar pa se je odprti dostop marsikje sprevrgel v povišanje stroškov objavljanja, kar najbolj občutijo avtorji. To je še posebej problematično za avtorje iz držav v razvoju, ki imajo pogosto omejena sredstva. Kljub tem izzivom lahko rečem, da sem zmerno optimističen in menim, da je revija na dobri poti. Z nadaljnjim razvojem in prilagajanjem se lahko uspešno umesti v mednarodni prostor, hkrati pa ohrani svojo vlogo pomembnega vira znanja in informacij za domačo strokovno javnost.

Še vprašanje za konec. Kaj bi sporočili bralcem revije, različnim raziskovalcem, odločevalcem, praktikom ob 30-letnici izhajanja?

Dr. Ana Krajnc: To, kar smo razmišljali ravnokar o interdisciplinarnih programih in kako discipline niso ločene, temveč druga drugo prekrivajo, nam lahko da neko širino. Ta razprava je bila zelo zanimiva za prihodnje, ker mislim, da s to širino – psihologijo, sociologijo in tako naprej – vse pride zraven in odpiramo vrata za nove raziskovalce. Novo raziskovalno področje je tudi individualizacija. Zelo pomembna tema, ker bomo imeli vedno več odraslih kot rednih študentov, ker si bodo morali pridobiti vsaj višjo izobrazbo, če ne drugega. Terciarno izobrazbo naj populacija ima, je tako kot osnovna šola za časa Marije Terezije. To je pa spet odprto vprašanje. To se pravi pametno voziti uredniško politiko med enim in drugim. Dovolj specifično, hkrati pa odprto za prisluhe drugih disciplin. Želim vse najboljše, uspehe in lepo pot naprej.

Dr. Daniela Brečko: Kaj bi želela sporočiti bralcem revije? Predvsem bi jim rekla to, da je revija res dočakala 30 let. To pomeni, da ima Slovenija lepe, bogate izkušnje. Pionirsko delo je naredila Ana na področju izobraževanja odraslih in od tega se lahko tudi ves svet uči. Predvsem bi bralce povabila, naj revijo spremljajo naprej in naj jo tudi sooblikujejo s svojimi prispevki. In seveda bi si res želela, da postane in ostane to, kar je tudi bil namen, osrednja revija za področje izobraževanja in učenja odraslih. Mislim, da jo res potrebujemo.

Tanja Šulak: Vsekakor čestitke sedanji uredniški skupnosti, da revija še obstaja!

Dr. Nives Ličen: Reviji želim, da bo zmogla kritično razmišljati o izobraževanju odraslih z najširšega zornega kota, da bo povezovala. Želim zelo uspešno nadaljevanje in še enkrat iskrene čestitke uredniškemu odboru.

Dr. Ana Krajnc: Mislim, da so zelo dobri predlogi, ki ste jih dali, da pustimo vrata odprta široko in da ohranimo svojo identifikacijo, kdo smo.

Dr. Marko Radovan: Ob 30-letnici izhajanja bi se želel zahvaliti vsem bralcem, raziskovalcem in praktikom, ki ste v teh letih soustvarjali revijo in prispevali k njenemu razvoju. Hvala, ker delujete na področju andragogike in ker svoja spoznanja, izkušnje in raziskovalne ugotovitve delite z drugimi. Še posebej sem vesel, da ste mnogi med vami izbrali revijo kot platformo za objavo svojih del in s tem prispevali k vsebinam, ki jih revija ponuja.

Hvala vsem za sodelovanje in delitev vpogledov v čas vašega urednikovanja revije.

Intervju je vodil Borut Mikulec.

NAVODILA AVTORJEM

Glej: <https://journals.uni-lj.si/AndragoskaSpoznanja>

Revija *Andragoska spoznanja* je mednarodna znanstvena revija za izobraževanje in učenje odraslih. Objavlja znanstvene in strokovne članke in slovenskem in angleškem jeziku. Namenjena je objavi izvirnih znanstvenih člankov (raziskave, razprave, analize), poročil, razmišljanj o strokovni terminologiji in knjižnih ocen predvsem s področja humanistike in družboslovja, ki obravnava različne vidike učenja in izobraževanja v odraslosti in starosti ter s tem povezane pojave. Zaželeni so tudi prispevki s področij drugih znanstvenih disciplin, perspektiv in tradicij, ki se povezujejo s področjem učenja in izobraževanja odraslih. Objavljamo raziskave o organiziranem izobraževanju (izobraževalni sistemi, institucije itd.), neformalnem izobraževanju in vseh pojavnostih priložnostnega učenja, pri čemer spodbujamo raznolikost teoretskih in metodoloških pristopov.

Vsi članki so recenzirani, recenzentski postopek je anonimen. Prispevkov ne vračamo, o zavrnjenih prispevkih pa avtorja obvestimo. Uredniški odbor si pridržuje pravico do sprememb naslova in drugih uredniških posegov.

Članki v reviji so brezplačno odprto dostopni. S tem si prizadevamo, da bi bili raziskovalni dosežki dostopni čim širšemu krogu ljudi, in tako podpiramo globalno izmenjavo raziskovalnih spoznanj. Avtorju se za objavo članka v reviji ne zaračunavajo stroški, članki pa so objavljeni na spletni strani revije takoj po izidu posamezne številke.

Članke sprejemamo vse leto na naslov uredništva (borut.mikulec(at)ff.uni-lj.si) ali preko spletnega sistema (OJS), ki ga uporablja revija (povezava na spletni strani revije).

Oblikovanje prispevkov

Znanstveni prispevki naj ne presegajo 8000 besed, vključno z referencami in opombami ter povzetkom. Strokovni članki naj ne presegajo 5000 besed. Prispevki, ki so namenjeni objavi v drugem delu revije (poročila o dogodkih, zgodbe o učenju, napovedi novosti, recenzije knjig), naj ne presegajo 1500 besed. Za pisanje prispevkov avtor uporabi program Microsoft Word, le en slog (Normal) in tip pisave Times New Roman, velikost 12. Izvirne termine, če je potrebno, zapiše v oklepaju za slovenskim prevodom v poševni pisavi. Prva stran osnovnega besedila se začne z naslovom prispevka. Naslov naj bo napisan v slovenskem in angleškem jeziku. Sledijo povzetek v slovenskem in angleškem jeziku ter ključne besede (4–5). Povzetek obsega 100 do 150 besed in ne vključuje navedb virov. V povzetku naj bo opredeljen namen prispevka, teoretični in metodološki okvir ter glavne ugotovitve in sklepi raziskave oziroma razprave. Slike in preglednice naj bodo ustrezno oštevilčene in naslovljene ter umeščene na ustrezno mesto v besedilu. Opombe naj bodo v besedilu navedene kot sprotne opombe (na dnu strani). Prispevek mora biti sestavljen v naslednjem vrstnem redu: naslov, povzetek, ključne besede, glavno besedilo, reference, priloge (če so potrebne). V ločeni datoteki pošljite: naslov prispevka, ime in priimek avtorja(ev), akademski ali strokovni naziv, ime ustanove, v kateri ste zaposleni, elektronski naslov ter telefonsko številko.

Navajanje virov

Reference naj bodo navedene skladno s slogom navajanja APA (7. izdaja). Navodila so dostopna na spletni strani revije.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE AUTHORS

See: <https://journals.uni-lj.si/AndragoskaSpoznanja>

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